March 26, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

If we are to achieve an expanding economy which will enable us to assume our proper role of world leadership in the struggle against communism, we must have a firm farm economy. Urge your approval S. J. Res. 162.

A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

July 16, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

You no doubt are aware of the great interest expressed by millions of Americans in the June 23 White House Conference at which time you received graciously Messrs. Lester B. Granger, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins and myself.

While our conference was concerned with many problems of great interest to millions of Americans and especially Negro citizens, I would like to quote herewith point number two in our nine point program which was submitted to you at that time:

> Much emphasis has been laid on the need for restoring communication between white and colored Southerners who are troubled by a common fear of reaction. The President can well set the example in this matter by convoking a White House Conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of complying peaceably with the Court's rulings.

It was the hope of our committee in presenting these proposals that after study and consideration appropriate action in the interest of the general public welfare could be expected from the White House. However, inasmuch as the opening of school for the fall term is less than two months away it becomes increasingly imperative that a White House Conference be convened as an expression of the interest and determination of the Nation's Chief Executive to give to our Country a program which would aid in obtaining a more orderly compliance with our Constitution as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court.

I can assure you that I express the hopes of millions of our fellow citizens when I say that such a White House Conference convened at the very earliest possible time would be in the interest of the general welfare and would help in achieving what the United States Supreme Court in the public school desegregation cases meant when it said, "with all deliberate speed."

Very respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago 15, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit, Michigan

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
Affiliated with the A. F. of L.- C.I.O.

217 WEST 125th STREET — Room 301
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO 2-5080 - 1
440

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
International Secretary-Treasurer

C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
11 North Jefferson Street
St. Louis 3, Missouri

THOMAS PATTERSON
Eastern Zone Supervisor

August 1, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

You no doubt are aware of the great interest expressed by millions of Americans in the June 23 White House Conference at which time you received graciously Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Messrs. Lester B. Granger, Roy Wilkins and myself.

While our conference was concerned with many problems of great interest to millions of Americans, and especially Negro citizens, I would like to quote herewith points one and two in our nine point program which was submitted to you at that time.

> "The President of the United States should declare in a nationwide pronouncement, prior to September, that the law will be vigorously upheld with the total resources at his command.
>
> Much emphasis has been laid on the need for restoring communication between white and colored Southerners who are troubled by a common fear of reaction. The President can well set the example in this matter by convoking a White House Conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of complying peaceably with the Court's rulings."

In view of the recent victory of Governor Orval Faubus in the democratic primary election in Arkansas, which has dealt a blow to law and order at home and our status as the leader of the free world abroad, both of these points are immensely apropos at this hour.

We were encouraged by your reaction to the proposal for a White House Conference because in our judgement an urgent and immediate need exists for such a meeting.

In reflecting upon our discussion, it seemed to me that time had not permitted clear and precise definitions. Our proposal envisages a conference not on civil rights questions in general which are to be submitted for debate to a group with widely divergent views; rather, we are urging the convening of a White House Conference on implementing the Supreme Court decision on integrated education.

With such a subject, limited in scope, several things can be achieved:

First: The development of a program will be facilitated by setting realizable goals. While many other areas of conflict exist and require attention, it is wiser to select one for intensive, serious study to insure substantial progress. Furthermore, the integration of schools has become a crucial and symbolic effort which affects all other aspects of the civil rights struggle.

Second: The persons invited are not selected to represent different points of views. Rather, the character of the conference requires that invitees be those who have accepted the Supreme Court decision as law, and integration as a principle; or those whose adherence to law and order and respect for the Court are paramount beliefs, taking precedence over distaste or personal dislike for the Supreme Court decision. It is particularly important that the character of the conference be established as an assemblage of leaders whose minimum view is that law and order be upheld, over those whose convictions concerning the Constitution and laws of morality motivate them to realising solutions at the earliest moment.

Such a conference could not conceivably include persons who are determined to thwart and frustrate the law. To invite them to the White House to challenge the Fourteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court decision would be politically and socially grotesque. The Chief Executive functions to enforce the laws of the nation. Those who oppose the laws have a constitutional right to express themselves, but they could hardly, in fairness to those the law seeks to protect, be given encouragement and a forum by the White House.

I am enthusiastic about the constructive results such a conference would inevitably yield. I earnestly believe the majority of Americans, white and Negro, after years of debate and tensions, genuinely desire that both justice and social peace be attained. Their honest conscience will respond warmly to a serious statesman-like quest for plans which accomplish results, eliminate violence and reduce tensions.

As it has often been stated, this is not a Negro problem but an American problem, and the white citizens of the nation surely will at this point welcome the definitive and promising character of a White House meeting.

It is further my considered view that it is imperative that such a conference be held at the earliest possible date. I am convinced that such a conference will not only reduce tension, but it will also provide people of good will in many parts of the South with the courage and wisdom to deal creatively with the small minority of local citizens who attempt to create confusion and stir up violence.

In addition, such a conference will help us deal with the frustration and bitterness that infests many Negro people, who fervently look to their government to take the moral and educational leadership that the situation requires, just as it took the leadership under your firm hand in cleansing the Capitol and the armed forces of our nation of the evil of segregation, for which, you may be assured, citizens of color are deeply grateful.

Needless to say, I greatly appreciate how very busy you are, but I have nevertheless written you at some length since, in the eyes of the world, and in the hearts of millions of Americans, the problem we have discussed is the barometer of American democracy.

I hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

August 1, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

You no doubt are aware of the great interest expressed by millions of Americans in the June 23 White House Conference at which time you received graciously Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Messrs. Lester B. Granger, Roy Wilkins and myself.

While our conference was concerned with many problems of great interest to millions of Americans, and especially Negro citizens, I would like to quote herewith points one and two in our nine point program which was submitted to you at that time.

> "The President of the United States should declare in a nationwide pronouncement, prior to September, that the law will be vigorously uphold with the total resources at his command.
>
> Much emphasis has been laid on the need for restoring communication between white and colored Southerners who are troubled by a common fear of reaction. The President can well set the example in this matter by convoking a White House Conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of complying peaceably with the Court's rulings."

In view of the recent victory of Governor Orval Faubus in the democratic primary election in Arkansas, which has dealt a blow to law and order at home and our status as the leader of the free world abroad, both of these points are immensely apropos at this hour.

We were encouraged by your reaction to the proposal for a White House Conference because in our judgement an urgent and immediate need exists for such a meeting.

In reflecting upon our discussion, it seemed to me that time had not permitted clear and precise definitions. Our proposal envisages a conference not on civil rights questions in general which are to be submitted for debate to a group with widely divergent views; rather, we are urging the convening of a White House Conference on implementing the Supreme Court decision on integrated education.

With such a subject, limited in scope, several things can be achieved:

First: The development of a program will be facilitated by setting realizable goals. While many other areas of conflict exist and require attention, it is wiser to select one for intensive, serious study to insure substantial progress. Furthermore, the integration of schools has become a crucial and symbolic effort which affects all other aspects of the civil rights struggle.

Second: The persons invited are not selected to represent different points of views. Rather, the character of the conference requires that invitees be those who have accepted the Supreme Court decision as law, and integration as a principle; or those whose adherence to law and order and respect for the Court are paramount beliefs, taking precedence over distaste or personal dislike for the Supreme Court decision. It is particularly important that the character of the conference be established as an assemblage of leaders whose minimum view is that law and order be uphold, over those whose convictions concerning the Constitution and laws of morality motivate them to realizing solutions at the earliest moment.

Such a conference could not conceivably include persons who are determined to thwart and frustrate the law. To invite them to the White House to challenge the Fourteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court decision would be politically and socially grotesque. The Chief Executive functions to enforce the laws of the nation. Those who oppose the laws have a constitutional right to express themselves, but they could hardly, in fairness to those the law seeks to protect, be given encouragement and a forum by the White House.

I am enthusiastic about the constructive results such a conference would inevitably yield. I earnestly believe the majority of Americans, white and Negro, after years of debate and tensions, genuinely desire that both justice and social peace be attained. Their honest conscience will respond warmly to a serious statesman-like quest for plans which accomplish results, eliminate violence and reduce tensions.

As it has often been stated, this is not a Negro problem but an American problem, and the white citizens of the nation surely will at this point welcome the definitive and promising character of a White House meeting.

It is further my considered view that it is imperative that such a conference be held at the earliest possible date. I am convinced that such a conference will not only reduce tension, but it will also provide people of good will in many parts of the South with the courage and wisdom to deal creatively with the small minority of local citizens who attempt to create confusion and stir up violence.

In addition, such a conference will help us deal with the frustration and bitterness that infests many Negro people, who fervently look to their government to take the moral and educational leadership that the situation requires, just as it took the leadership under your firm hand in cleansing the Capitol and the armed forces of our nation of the evil of segregation, for which, you may be assured, citizens of color are deeply grateful.

Needless to say, I greatly appreciate how very busy you are, but I have nevertheless written you at some length since, in the eyes of the world, and in the hearts of millions of Americans, the problem we have discussed is the barometer of American democracy.

I hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

October 10, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

With Governor Orvale Faubus of Arkansas and Governor J. Lindsey Almond, Jr. of Virginia cynically and brazenly gambling with the future of public schools adversely affecting Negro and white childrens; with a veritable tirade of abuse and denunciation of the United States Supreme Court by prominent southern state officials merely because of its decisions for desegregation and integration proceeding apace; with the so-called massive resistance movement of Virginia against federal judicial power growing more menacing, together with demagogic appeals to the passions and prejudices of misinformed southern people, resulting in explosive outbursts of violence in the form of the bombing of schools and the churches and homes of Negro civil rights leaders; with the strange, amazing and incredible behavior of a governor of a state making a national appeal to America for sympathy and financial support for the maintenance of segregation in schools, in utter defiance of the law of the land, and the reckless police brutality against The Reverend Martin Luther King who preaches the doctrine of non-violence and love for one's enemies; a few Negro and white citizens in New York City, shocked and outraged by the aforementioned state of affairs, came together in my office to discuss some form of social action to speak to the conscience of the nation in the interest of upholding the law of the land and the principle of interracial brotherhood, and agreed that some form of massive demonstration should be developed for the dramatisation of the cause of integration of public schools.

Since both white and Negro youth are the victims of segregation which is deliberately designed psychologically to condition the former to the belief in their superiority and the latter in their inferiority, which can only tend to split our population, with a division of a yawning chasm of human hate, it was felt that whatever type of social action is proposed it should be interracial.

Thus, it was decided to stage an interracial Youth March in Washington, D. C., October 25, 1958, with a view to informing, awakening and arousing public opinion to the grave danger of Faubusism and that the specious doctrine of massive resistance and interposition may have in undermining, if not effecting the ultimate destruction of the confidence of the American people in the integrity of the Supreme Court and its role in our governmental system.

Now, it has come to my attention that there is some disquiet in Washington, D. C. regarding the proposed Youth March for Integrated Schools with respect to its purposes, sponsorship and operation.

In order that there may be no confusion in the mind of anyone, may I convey on behalf of the Committee some facts that I am certain will be clarifying and reassuring.

First of all, let me definitively and positively state that the objectives of this March are not directed against you or your administration. It is not to our interest to weaken but to strengthen your hand to uphold the law of the land. This demonstration is wholly non-partisan. You may be assured that I would not permit this March to be utilised to embarrass you or your administration for this would only tend to mar its moral grandeur.

On the contrary, this March is an organised expression of support to your forthright position on the United States Supreme Court decisions for desegregation of public schools which will ultimately help to achieve an orderly transition from segregation to integration, despite efforts of some state government personalities who would defy the President of the United States and repudiate the Constitution.

Its further purpose is to express specifically the attitude of white and Negro people in behalf of the principle of integrated schools and particularly to applaud the achievement of such integration in some schools in certain areas of the South.

It seeks to demonstrate that, contrary to the misrepresentation and attacks by Communist Russia to the effect that Negro and white people are in an irreconcilable racial war in this country, Little Rock is not typical of America and that Negro youth and their parents are not marching down the path to first-class citisenship and human dignity alone but they have many friends among the white population in our country in government, in labor unions, the church and business, as shown by this interracial demonstration.

It will also indicate that there are responsible organizations that have welcomed the decisions of the Supreme Court and executive steps of yourself and United States Attorney General William P. Rogers in implementing the federal court decisions to complete the process of orderly democratic change.

Let me also assure you that this demonstration is wholly free from the taint of communists or communism since the leadership of this enterprise rejects uncompromisingly any support or cooperation from that source.

May I say that the finest representatives of our community have joined in the active direction of this non-partisan, non-violent effort. Our leadership includes representatives of the church, labor unions and educational groups.

An executive committee has met weekly in my office, under my chairmanship, superintending all details. Also, a children's committee has met weekly under the personal direction of some of the distinguished women of our community.

In short, our leadership has not merely given expression to the form and method but has maintained administrative direction so that the character of the March will fully carry out the meaning it is intended to express; namely, democracy in education through integration.

In the opinion of our leadership, this March, symbolic of our true democracy, is an opportunity for registering positive, moral and spiritual achievements and enrichment of our great democratic heritage as well as for redefining our next steps in a great struggle for human dignity and our American way of life.

May we suggest that we would welcome immensely your cooperation in this endeavor by receiving a few of the youth at a convenient place in the White House in order that they may express to you their hopes and aspirations and receive your blessings and inspiration, with a brief statement concerning what your administration has done and is doing to give force, effect, reality and integrity to the great decisions of the United States Supreme Court for the desegregation and integration of public schools.

One of the basic and cardinal purposes of the March is to make it unmistakably clear to the South and other parts of our nation, as well as the world at large, that the Negroes are inflexibly determined never to retreat from the position they have taken for complete integration in public schools and other areas of our national community.

We are confident that your personal greetings to a few of the youth will give them heart, hope and faith for future democratic dedication and moral commitment in service to our great American family, of which you are the respected, honored and distinguished head.

If it may be convenient for you to serve us in the aforementioned manner, I will be pleased to get word concerning same.

Respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

[1958]

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing you both to express our thanks for the courtesies shown to us in our conference of Monday, June 21st, and to clarify the discussion around one of our proposals. We were encouraged by your reaction to the proposal for a White House Conference because in our judgment an urgent and immediate need exists for such a meeting.

In reflecting upon our discussion, it seemed to us that time had not permitted clear and precise definitions. Our proposal envisages a conference not on Civil Rights questions in general which are to be submitted for debate to a group with widely divergent views; rather, we are urging the convening of a White House Conference on Implementing the Supreme Court Decision on Integrated Education.

With such a subject, limited in scope, several things are achieved:

First: The development of a program will be facilitated by setting realizable goals. While many other areas of conflict exist and require attention, it is wiser to select one for intensive, serious study to insure substantial progress. Furthermore, the integration of schools has become a crucial and symbolic effort which affects all other aspects of the Civil Rights struggle.

Second: The persons invited are not selected to represent different points of view. Rather, the character of the conference requires that invitees be those who have accepted the Supreme Court decision as law and integration as a principle, or those whose adherence to law and order and respect for the Court are paramount beliefs taking precedence over distaste or personal dislike for the Supreme Court decision. It is particularly important that the character of the conference be established as an assemblage of leaders whose minimum view is that law and order be upheld, over to those whose convictions concerning the Constitution and laws of morality motivate them to realizing solutions at the earliest moment. Such a conference could not conceivably include persons who are determined to thwart and frustrate the law. To invite them to the White House to challenge the 14th Amendment and the Supreme Court decisions would be politically and socially grotesque. The Chief Executive functions to enforce the laws of the nation. Those who oppose the laws have a constitutional right to express themselves, but they could hardly, in fairness to those the law seeks to protect, be given encouragement and a forum by the White House.

We are enthusiastic about the constructive results such a conference would inevitably yield. We earnestly believe the majority of Americans, white and Negro, after years of debate and tensions, genuinely desire that both justice and social peace be attained. Their honest conscience will respond warmly to a serious statesman-like quest for plans which accomplish results, eliminate violence and reduce tensions. As we have all often stated, this is not a Negro problem but a white problem, and the white citizens of the nation surely will at this point welcome the definitive and promising character of a White House meeting.

It is further our considered view that it is imperative that such a conference be held this summer prior to the opening of the next school term. We are convinced that such a conference will not only reduce tension at the opening of school in September, but it will also provide people of good will in many parts of the South the courage and wisdom to deal creatively with the small minority of local citizens who attempt to create confusion and stir up violence. In addition, such a conference will help us deal with the frustration and bitterness that infests many Negro people, who frankly feel that their government has not taken the moral and educational lead that the situation requires.

Needless to say, we appreciate how very busy you are, but we have nevertheless written you at some length since in the eyes of the world and in the hearts of millions of Americans the problem we have discussed is the barometer of American Democracy.

We hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

/Suggested Signatures/

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Roy Wilkins
Lester Granger
A. Philip Randolph

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 2, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your recent telegram concerning S. J. Res. 162, a bill to stay temporarily any reduction in support of prices or acreage. The President appreciated the expression of your views on this matter.

After giving the most careful attention to all of the factors involved, the President felt that he had no alternative but to withhold his approval of this legislation. A copy of the President's veto message is enclosed for your information.

Sincerely,

Gerald D Morgan

Gerald D. Morgan
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
Suite 301
New York 27, N. Y.

Enclosure

APR 7 REC'D

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I thought you might like extra copies of the picture taken on June 23.

Sincerely yours,

Rocco C. Siciliano

Rocco C. Siciliano
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Enclosures

JUL 9 REC'D

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President has asked that I reply for him to your thoughtful letter of August 1, 1958. In your letter you again urge the importance of the first and second points of the nine-point program that you, Dr. King, Mr. Granger and Mr. Wilkins presented to the President during your conference with him on June twenty-third.

With respect to the first point, the President has been and continues to be firmly of the view expressed by him at his August twentieth press conference. At that time, he issued a statement again emphasizing the duty of all persons to comply with the orders of the Federal courts and his own determination to fulfill the responsibility of the Federal government to secure such compliance.

With respect to the second point, urging a White House conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of obtaining peaceable compliance with the court rulings, the President believes that in view of the cases now pending in the Supreme Court and in the lower Federal courts this is not an appropriate time for the calling of such a conference.

The President wishes to express again his appreciation for your constructive suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Rocco C. Siciliano

Rocco C. Siciliano
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

SEP RECD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 29, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Though no written reply was sent to your letter of October 10 in which was requested an appointment with the President to meet some of the marchers, I met, as you know, with Mr. Theodore Brown as well as the Reverend C. Shelby Rooks and Mr. William Bowe. Subsequently, I had several conversations with Mr. Brown about the request.

On Friday, the day before the March, I talked with Mr. Brown three times and indicated that unfortunately it would not be possible to arrange an appointment with the President. At no time was it indicated that the group might wish to meet with myself or other members of the White House staff. As you can appreciate, it was with some surprise that I read in the papers that the group came to the gates of the White House last Saturday afternoon and asked to see the President.

The reports I have indicate that after being told it was not possible for them to see the President, they then pressed to see a White House staff member and my name was mentioned. Needless to say, though I was not in the office at that time, I would have been very happy to meet with the group had I known this was desired. I regret that an impression has been given to the public that these people "were turned away."

I assure you that the statement which was left at that time is being given careful review and consideration.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Rocco C. Siciliano

Rocco C. Siciliano
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

OCT 30 REC'D

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice President

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President

BROTHERHOOD
of
SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants

AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
Affiliated with the A. F. of L.

217 WEST 125th STREET — Room 301
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO 2-5080-1

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
International Secretary-Treasurer

C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President

THOMAS PATTERSON
Eastern Zone Supervisor

November 19, 1958

Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Siciliano:

This letter acknowledges receipt of yours of October 29. Needless to say, I was a bit disappointed not to have received some reply from the White House to my letter of October 10, prior to October 25, the date of the Youth March for Integrated Schools.

It is quite true, as you say, that Mr. Theodore Brown did not specifically request an appointment with any Presidential aide. However, it is not clear that Mr. Brown understood that an appointment with the President was completely out of the question. According to Mr. Brown, he was under the impression, even as late as Friday afternoon, October 24, that the President might be willing to receive a delegation of the youth marchers, October 25, at the White House. Beyond this, I was inclined to assume that the White House would have initiated some dignified and proper reception of the delegates by one of the aides to the President if he was unable to receive them.

Now, I note that you state: "At no time was it indicated that the group might wish to meet with myself or other members of the White House staff."

While no explicit request was made to have the youth delegation meet a member of the President's staff, I am sure Mr. Brown and myself assumed that this request was implicit in our efforts to have the youth delegation received at the White House.

There were three reasons for the aforementioned assumptions:

(1) The March was composed of over ten thousand young people from the North and the South. They represented some of the major trade unions, colleges, church and civic organizations of our nation.

(2) The young people sought to express to the nation and to the world that "Little Rock is not America." The delegation's being received at the White House would, undoubtedly, have reinforced this fact. Their not having been received, though there was no specific commitment for same, has scarcely been positively interpreted.

(3) Throughout the educational campaign of the March I, as the chief spokesman for the Committee, had attempted to make it clear, both privately and in the press, that we did not seek to embarrass either the President or his administration but, rather, repeatedly indicated that we sought to "strengthen the President's hands" for the most positive and forthright action in enforcement of the Supreme Court's decisions on desegregation and integration as the law of the land. My letter to the President, dated October 10, was, in part, designed to make this position crystal clear. I am sure you will agree that I went on at some length in that letter commenting on the question of the purpose of the March so there might be no misunderstanding, precisely because I was determined that the March, coming as it did so close to the date of elections, should not be used in any partisan political manner. The fact that a number of leaders felt that I leaned over backwards in this direction made the peremptory manner of reception, or lack of reception, all the more embarrassing and painful.

For these, among other reasons, I felt assured that if representatives of the March called at the White House their petition and statement would be welcome and they themselves received in a friendly manner by some responsible member of the President's staff.

I have attempted in the above paragraphs to set the record, as I see it, straight. However, the final purpose of this letter is to propose that the President give consideration to receiving the same delegation of youth, constituting ten young people, five white and five colored, coming from colleges in the South and North, at some convenient time. You may be sure that the youth will greatly appreciate this manifestation of concern by the President in their views on the grave problem of integrated schools.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

November 19, 1958

Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Siciliano:

This letter acknowledges receipt of yours of October 29. Needless to say, I was a bit disappointed not to have received some reply from the White House to my letter of October 10, prior to October 25, the date of the Youth March for Integrated Schools.

It is quite true, as you say, that Mr. Theodore Brown did not specifically request an appointment with any Presidential aide. However, it is not clear that Mr. Brown understood that an appointment with the President was completely out of the question. According to Mr. Brown, he was under the impression, even as late as Friday afternoon, October 24, that the President might be willing to receive a delegation of the youth marchers, October 25, at the White House. Beyond this, I was inclined to assume that the White House would have initiated some dignified and proper reception of the delegates by one of the aides to the President if he was unable to receive them.

Now, I note that you state: "At no time was it indicated that the group might wish to meet with myself or other members of the White House staff."

While no explicit request was made to have the youth delegation meet a member of the President's staff, I am sure Mr. Brown and myself assumed that this request was implicit in our efforts to have the youth delegation received at the White House.

There were three reasons for the aforementioned assumptions:

(1) The March was composed of over ten thousand young people from the North and the South. They represented some of the major trade unions, colleges, church and civic organizations of our nation.

(2) The young people sought to express to the nation and to the world that "Little Rock is not America." The delegation's being received at the White House would, undoubtedly, have reinforced this fact. Their not having been received, though there was no specific commitment for same, has scarcely been positively interpreted.

(3) Throughout the educational campaign of the March I, as the chief spokesman for the Committee, had attempted to make it clear, both privately and in the press, that we did not seek to embarrass either the President or his administration but, rather, repeatedly indicated that we sought to "strengthen the President's hands" for the most positive and forthright action in enforcement of the Supreme Court's decisions on desegregation and integration as the law of the land. My letter to the President, dated October 10, was, in part, designed to make this position crystal clear. I am sure you will agree that I went on at some length in that letter commenting on the question of the purpose of the March so there might be no misunderstanding, precisely because I was determined that the March, coming as it did so close to the date of elections, should not be used in any partisan political manner. The fact that a number of leaders felt that I leaned over backwards in this direction made the peremptory manner of reception, or lack of reception, all the more embarrassing and painful.

For these, among other reasons, I felt assured that if representatives of the March called at the White House their petition and statement would be welcome and they themselves received in a friendly manner by some responsible member of the President's staff.

I have attempted in the above paragraphs to set the record, as I see it, straight. However, the final purpose of this letter is to propose that the President give consideration to receiving the same delegation of youth, constituting ten young people, five white and five colored, coming from colleges in the South and North, at some convenient time. You may be sure that the youth will greatly appreciate this manifestation of concern by the President in their views on the grave problem of integrated schools.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 28, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This will acknowledge your letter of November 19 regarding your understanding of the situation surrounding the Youth March for Integrated Schools last October 25.

As I indicated in my letter of October 29, my purpose in writing was to explain the factual situation in view of the unfavorable publicity given. In my letter I attempted to point out my impressions of the conversations had with Mr. Theodore Brown and my understanding of my last conversation with him on Friday afternoon, October 24, in which it was confirmed that a meeting with the President would not be possible.

Following your explanation of the events surrounding the Youth March, you conclude your letter with the indication that this whole matter might now be cleared up if the President were able to see the same delegation of young people who came to the White House gates that Saturday afternoon. I regret to advise you that such a meeting will not be possible. The President, however, has had the benefit of the statement that was left for him, and asked me to thank your group for it.

Sincerely yours,

Rocco C. Siciliano

Rocco C. Siciliano
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York 27, New York

DEC

December 5, 1958

Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Siciliano:

Thank you for your letter of November 28, 1958 informing me that the President will not be able to meet with the youth delegation from the Youth March for Integrated Schools.

I note that the statement of the youth delegation has come to the attention of the President.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Ferrol Bobo Starks
1466 West 50th Street
Los Angeles 62, California

July 16, 1958

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
c/o The Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters
The Pullman Company
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Through an item in Jet Magazine, I see that a Delegation met with the President recently which delegation was composed entirely of men.

I want to know whether the omission of any women from this Delegation was due to the wishes of the Committee, or the edict of the White House, or was it that the business at hand pertained exclusively to men?

This letter is being addressed to you as I have been informed that you headed the Delegation.

Your courtesy in giving a prompt reply to these questions will be most appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Ferrol B. Starks

(Mrs.) Ferrol Bobo Starks

Member Executive National Board,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
President, Los Angeles Council,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
Associate Director, Pacific Region, ZETA PHI BETA Sorority

JUL [illegible]

August 19, 1958

Mrs. Ferrol Bobo Starks
1466 West 50th Street
Los Angeles 62, California

Dear Mrs. Starks:

Thank you for your letter of July 16, 1958 in which you inquire whether the ommision of a woman from the delegation of Negro citizens who met with President Eisenhower on June 23, was due to the wishes of the committee, or the edict of the White House, or was it that the business at hand pertained exclusively to men.

May I say that the committee, composed of Messrs. King, Wilkins, Granger and myself, had nothing to do with the composition of the committee. This was handled by the President and his advisors at the White House. None of the members of the committee knew that he would be a part of the committee until he was so advised by the White House.

Personally, I would certainly have recommended that a woman be placed on the committee. In fact, the records will show that the conferences I attempted to arrange with the President at the White House always included the name of a woman. I keenly regret that a colored woman was not a member of our committee.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

A Statement
to the
President
# of the
United States

Issued by:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

A Statement to the President of the United States[*]

The process of peaceful advancement toward equality of citizenship for all Americans has reached a critical turn.

New economic and cultural forces in our nation's life are changing the pattern of Negro-white relations. Any effort to impede this process will affect unfavorably all American society. Frequently tension is an inherent element of basic social change. Thus it is not a matter of choice between an unjust status quo with social peace, and integration with tension. The nation can adopt forthrightly a bold program which moves through tension to a democratic solution; or it can depend upon evasion and compromise which purport to avoid tension, but which in reality lead the entire society toward economic, social and moral frustration.

Years of educational, legislative and legal effort to bring the status of Negro Americans in line with the guarantees of the Constitution have led, inevitably, to the determination by our highest court that enforced racial segregation and its attendant discrimination in publicly-owned facilities is morally and legally indefensible.

At every intermediate stop along the way to this conclusion bitter opposition was encountered, but justice and common sense have heretofore prevailed; the unity of the nation has been strengthened; its moral fibre has been renewed.

Today, however, the last-ditch resistance to the application of principles long since accepted by most of the nation has assumed a significance beyond the question of racial justice, important as that is. The welfare of the whole country is involved in the issues with which this presentment is concerned.

Presently there is manifest a pattern of calloused disrepect for law. Moral values have been corrupted. Mob violence has emerged as an instrument to maintain the status quo.

The basic constitutional freedoms of speech, association, assembly and redress of grievances, vital to all Americans, have been perverted, abridged or denied through arbitrary practices or cynical legislation in the states.

State and local office holders of high and low station and national legislators, all sworn to uphold the Constitution, have incited to disobedience of the law and have campaigned nationally for support for their position. In community after community, fear of reprisals or of scorn has reduced to a whisper the reproach a moral people should feel for immoral behavior.

It is no secret that the foreign relations program of our nation has been hampered and damaged by the discriminatory treatment accorded citizens within the United States, solely on the basis of their race and color. In our world-wide struggle to strengthen the free world against the spread of totalitarianism, we are sabotaged by the totalitarian practices forced upon millions of our Negro citizens.

These citizens have exhibited unparalleled patience in the face of decades of proscription and persecution. They have placed unfaltering trust in the guarantees of the Constitution and in the orderly processes of the courts. Today they are frustrated and angry. In their resentment and despair, an increasing number of them is questioning whether their forbearance and respect for orderly procedure are rewarding.

The decision of Federal Judge Harry J. Lemley reversing school integration in Little Rock and postponing further effort until 1961 has shocked and outraged Negro citizens and millions of their fellow Americans. This opinion is being construed, rightly or wrongly, as a green light to lawless elements in their defiance of federal authority.

---

[*] Delivered to President Eisenhower in person at a White House Conference in Washington, D. C., June 23, 1958.

We have come to this pass largely because we have not recognized that adjustments of the magnitude called for in this vast social change cannot be undertaken effectively without planned effort of similar magnitude. We cannot combat pneumonia by prescribing an occasional tablet of aspirin and a goblet of goodwill.

Just as our Government has moved with pace and imagination to meet the revolution of rising expectations in other parts of the world, so it is essential that similar imagination and intelligence—and courage—be shown by our Government in meeting the results of the revolution of rising expectations at home.

This is not to say that measures taken by this Administration up to now have been without value. The nation was immeasurably strengthened in its understanding of the gravity of the constitutional issues by the action taken at Little Rock last September to uphold the sanctity of the orders of federal courts. The Chief Executive's personal support of efforts to eliminate segregation in the armed services and on service installations has been beneficial, although pockets still remain which should be wiped out. The enactment of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, with the active support of the Administration, was a significant advance.

Valuable as these and other measures have been, they have not as yet clearly provided a planned and integral approach to the multitude of tough problems which must be solved along the way. It is in the hope that these essential objectives may thereby be promoted that we suggest and urge the adoption of the following program:

1. *The President of the United States should declare in a nationwide pronouncement, prior to September, that the law will be vigorously upheld with the total resources at his command.*
2. *Much emphasis has been laid on the need for restoring communication between white and colored Southerners who are troubled by a common fear of reaction. The President can well set the example in this matter by convoking a White House Conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of complying peaceably with the Court's rulings.*
3. *Information, resources and advice of the appropriate government agencies addressed to the problems of integration should be made available to all officials and community groups seeking to work out a program of education and action.*
4. *The President should request both parties to lay aside partisanship so that the Congress can enact a civil rights bill which will include Part III, originally in the 1957 bill, in order that constitutional rights other than voting rights may be enforced by the United States Attorney General. Lack of adequate and clear statutory authority has made the Federal Government a mere spectator in the disgraceful maneuverings at Little Rock.*
5. *We urge the President to direct the Department of Justice to give all legal assistance possible under the law, including the filing of a brief as a friend of the court and appearance of counsel, in the appeal from the Lemley decision in the Little Rock case.*
6. *The President of the United States should direct the Department of Justice to act now to protect the right of citizens to register and vote. In the nine months since the enactment of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, overt acts have been committed against prospective Negro registrants in some areas and numerous complaints have been submitted to the Department, but, to date, not a single case has reached a court of law. Unless immediate action is undertaken, thousands of Negro citizens will be denied the right to cast a ballot in the 1958 elections.*
7. *The President should direct the Department of Justice to act under existing statutes in the wave of bombings of churches, synagogues, homes and community centers; also in the*

murderous brutality directed against Negro citizens in Dawson, Georgia, and other communities.

8. *In order to counteract the deliberate hamstringing of the new Civil Rights Commission, the President should recommend to the Congress the extension of its life for at least a full year beyond its present expiration date.*
9. *The President should make it clear, both in statement and in act, that he believes in the principle that federal money should not be used to underwrite segregation in violation of the federal constitutional rights of millions of Negro citizens; and that this principle should be applied whether in matters of federal aid to education, hospitals, housing, or any other grants-in-aid to state and local governments. In support of national policy, the Federal Government should finance continuation of public schools where state funds are withdrawn because of integration.*

In addition to the enumerations above, Negro citizens are deeply concerned over the efforts to curb the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, particularly the restrictions proposed in H.R. 3, a bill, which is both anti-civil rights and anti-labor.

Widespread discrimination against Negroes in employment persists in industry, business and government and has been underscored by the general rise in unemployment. The problem is highlighted by repeated failures of efforts to enact national fair employment legislation and by the demonstrated ineffectiveness of administrative directives.

The need continues for vigorous enforcement of the Federal policy of non-discrimination in government employment. The national government can set an example by removing the barriers which have limited the employment of Negro citizens in all U. S. installations abroad, including the foreign service.

These recommendations are made in the belief that tensions between citizens in our country, and the anxieties of citizens themselves, will be eased and eventually erased if a clear national policy and a program of implementation are established by the Chief Executive of the nation.

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH
(President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Vice President, AFL-CIO)

LESTER B. GRANGER
(Executive Director, National Urban League)

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING
(President, Southern Leadership Conference)

ROY WILKINS
(Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)

A STATEMENT TO PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The process of peaceful advancement toward equality of citizenship for all Americans has reached a critical turn.

New economic and cultural forces in our nation's life are changing the pattern of Negro-white relations. Any effort to impede this process will affect unfavorably all American society. Frequently tension is an inherent element of basic social change. Thus it is not a matter of choice between an unjust *status quo* with social peace, and integration with tension. The nation can adopt forthrightly a bold program which moves through tension to a democratic solution; or it can depend upon evasion and compromise which purport to avoid tension, but which in reality lead the entire society toward economic, social and moral frustration.

Years of educational, legislative and legal effort to bring the status of Negro Americans in line with the guarantees of the Constitution have led, inevitably, to the determination by our highest court that enforced racial segregation and its attendant discrimination in publicly-owned facilities is morally and legally indefensible.

At every intermediate stop along the way to this conclusion bitter opposition was encountered, but justice and common sense have heretofore prevailed; the unity of the nation has been strengthened; its moral fibre has been renewed.

Today, however, the last-ditch resistance to the application of principles long since accepted by most of the nation has assumed a significance beyond the question of racial justice, important as that is. The welfare of the whole country is involved in the issues with which this presentment is concerned.

Presently there is manifest a pattern of calloused disrespect for law. Moral values have been corrupted. Mob violence has emerged as an instrument to maintain the *status quo.*

The basic constitutional freedoms of speech, association, assembly and redress of grievances, vital to all Americans, have been perverted, abridged or denied through arbitrary practices or cynical legislation in the states.

State and local office holders of high and low station and national legislators, all sworn to uphold the Constitution, have incited to disobedience of the law and have campaigned nationally for support for their position. In community after community, fear of reprisals or of scorn has reduced to a whisper the reproach a moral people should feel for immoral behavior.

It is no secret that the foreign relations program of our nation has been hampered and damaged by the discriminatory treatment accorded citizens within the United States, solely on the basis of their race and color. In our world-wide struggle to strengthen the free world against the spread of totalitarianism, we are sabotaged by the totalitarian practices forced upon millions of our Negro citizens.

These citizens have exhibited unparalleled patience in the face of decades of proscription and persecution. They have placed unfaltering trust in the guarantees of the Constitution and in the orderly processes of the courts. Today they are frustrated and angry. In their resentment and despair, an increasing number of them are questioning whether their forebearance and respect for orderly procedure are rewarding.

The decision of Federal Judge Harry J. Lemley reversing school integration in Little Rock and postponing further effort until 1961 has shocked and outraged Negro citizens and millions of their fellow Americans. This opinion is being construed, rightly or wrongly, as a green light to lawless elements in their defiance of Federal authority.

We have come to this pass largely because we have not recognized that adjustments of the magnitude called for in this vast social change cannot be undertaken effectively without planned effort of similar magnitude. We cannot combat pneumonia by prescribing an occasional tablet of aspirin and a goblet of goodwill.

Just as our government has moved with pace and imagination to meet the revolution of rising expectations in other parts of the world, so it is essential that similar imagination and intelligence -- and courage -- be shown by our government in meeting the results of the revolution of rising expectations at home.

This is not to say that measures taken by this Administration up to now have been without value. The nation was immeasurably strengthened in its understanding of the gravity of the constitutional issues by the action taken at Little Rock last September to uphold the sanctity of the orders of Federal courts. The Chief Executive's personal support of efforts to eliminate segregation in the armed services and on service installations has been beneficial, although pockets still remain which should be wiped out. The enactment of the 1957 Civil Rights Act with the active support of the Administration was a significant advance.

Valuable as these and other measures have been, they have not as yet clearly provided a planned and integral approach to the multitude of tough problems which must be solved along the way. It is in the hope that these essential objectives may thereby be promoted that we suggest and urge the adoption of the following program:

1. The President of the United States should declare in a nationwide pronouncement, prior to September, that the law will be vigorously upheld with the total resources at his command.

2. Much emphasis has been laid on the need for restoring communication between white and colored Southerners who are troubled by a common fear of reaction. The President can well set the example in this matter by convoking a White House Conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of complying peaceably with the Court's rulings.

3. Information, resources and advice of the appropriate government agencies, addressed to the problems of integration, should be made available to all officials and community groups seeking to work out a program of education and action.

4. The President should request both parties to lay aside partisanship so that the Congress can enact a civil rights bill which will include Part III originally in the 1957 bill, in order that constitutional rights other than voting rights may be enforced by the United States Attorney General. Lack of adequate and clear statutory authority has made the Federal Government a mere spectator in the disgraceful maneuverings at Little Rock.

5. We urge the President to direct the Department of Justice to give all legal assistance possible under the law, including the filing of a brief as a friend of the court and appearance of counsel, in the appeal from the Lemley decision in the Little Rock case.

6. The President of the United States should direct the Department of Justice to act now to protect the right of citizens to register and vote. In the nine months since the enactment of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, overt acts have been committed against prospective Negro registrants in some areas and numerous complaints have been submitted to the Department, but, to date, not a single case has reached a court of law. Unless immediate action is undertaken, thousands of Negro citizens will be denied the right to cast a ballot in the 1958 elections.

7. The President should direct the Department of Justice to act under existing statutes in the wave of bombings of churches, synagogues, homes and community centers; also in the murderous brutality directed against Negro citizens in Dawson, Georgia, and other communities.

8. In order to counteract the deliberate hamstringing of the new Civil Rights Commission, the President should recommend to the Congress the extension of its life for at least a full year beyond its present expiration date.

9. The President should make it clear both in statement and in act that he believes in the principle that federal money should not be used to underwrite segregation in violation of the federal constitutional rights of millions of Negro citizens; and that this principle should be applied whether in matters of federal aid to education, hospitals, housing, or any other grants-in-aid to state and local governments. In support of national policy, the Federal Government should finance continuation of public schools where state funds are withdrawn because of integration.

In addition to the enumerations above, Negro citizens are deeply concerned over the efforts to curb the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, particularly the restrictions proposed in H.R. 3, a bill which is both anti-civil rights and anti-labor.

Widespread discrimination against Negroes in employment persists in industry, business and government and has been underscored by the general rise in unemployment. The problem is highlighted by repeated failures of efforts to enact national fair employment legislation and by the demonstrated ineffectiveness of administrative directives.

The need continues for vigorous enforcement of the Federal policy of non-discrimination in government employment. The national government can set an example by removing the barriers which have limited the employment of Negro citizens in all U.S. installations abroad, including the foreign service.

These recommendations are made in the belief that tensions between citizens in our country, and the anxieties of citizens themselves, will be eased and eventually erased if a clear national policy and a program of implementation are established by the Chief Executive of the nation.

A. Philip Randolph

Lester B. Granger

Reverend Martin Luther King

Roy Wilkins

June 23, 1958

July 9, 1958

Reverend Martin Luther King
309 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Martin:

Of course you are familiar with the enclosed statement, drawn up by our mutual friend, to be submitted to the President by the four members of the committee who met with him in the White House, June 23rd.

I strongly believe that we need to get together to discuss the next step which, in my opinion, should press for the President calling a White House conference on integration of schools. I believe we may be able to do this since he expressed no strong opposition to it.

In addition to this, I think it would be well if the four members of the committee, if convenient, hold a sort of panel forum in Harlem or some convenient city, and tell the public the whole story of the conference, with permission for questions from the floor following a brief statement by each member of the committee. I think this will give the public a clearer understanding of the value of the conference and help to dissipate much of the pessimism and cynicism being expressed through the Negro press about the conference.

May I know your reactions to these suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Enclosure

Washington, D. C.
June 23, 1958

TO : The Rev. Martin L. King, Mr. Roy Wilkins, Mr. Lester Granger.

FROM: A. Philip Randolph

RE : White Conference with President Eisenhower, June 23, 1958,
10:45 A.M.

It would seem that we should take the opportunity, in view of the participation in the conference of Attorney General William Rogers, to not only include areas for action by the President, but also areas vitally affecting the welfare of the nation, and particularly the American Negro, by expressing proposals needing immediate attention and action by the Attorney General. Accordingly, the following twelve points are recommended:

1. That he deplore and condemn attacks upon the Supreme Court and attempts to curb, limit and reduce its jurisdiction and that of other federal courts.

Since our system of government is one of law--constitutional law--the attacks on the Supreme Court and other federal courts and their decisions interpreting the Federal Constitution are subversive in the true sense of the word and tend to undermine the very foundation of our governmental system.

2. That he instruct and direct the Attorney General to enforce vigorously all the federal statutes in existence, including the ones sup-

posedly implemented by the so-called Civil Rights Law of 1957.

3. That he request both parties to lay aside partisanship and immediately restore Part III originally in the civil rights bill of 1957 in order that other constitutional rights other than so-called voting rights may be enforced by the United States Attorney General. This would include the federal right to go to an unsegregated school, parks, libraries, swimming pools, railroad stations, etc.

Since hearings are being had or have been had before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, this should be the first order of business and this could be passed—Part III—before the adjournment of Congress.

4. That he make clear by a new and definite statement that he will enforce, with troops if necessary, the judgments and decrees of the federal courts—in order that there be no misunderstanding as to the effectiveness of federal court judgments.

5. That he call upon all the governors, mayors, state, county and municipal officials of every kind in every state to obey and respect the federal constitution, and also to obey the judgments and orders of the federal courts.

This is necessary in order to restore the respect for law which is imperative if we are to live under a government of law.

That he call all the governors together for the purpose of securing their cooperation and that of each one in each state—a pledge from each governor that he will enforce the federal constitution of his state.

That he address a letter to each member of every state legislature, every county board of commissioners, and important city councils asking them to uphold the law of the land--the Federal Constitution and the judgments and orders of the federal courts.

This is an area in which he can use his moral influence and the influence of the high office.

These actions will make plain and certain our country's attitude toward racism and unlawful acts designed to thwart the Constitution and deny American citizens their federal constitutional rights.

These acts will strengthen his hand in foreign affairs against communists who justify their acts of violence in Russia and in the satellite states by showing everywhere in the world violence against Negroes in the United States and the denial of their admitted Supreme Court declared Constitutional rights.

Acts such as above would support supremacy of federal law rather than permit white supremacy advocates to run riot against the Constitution.

6. That he request the Congress in a special message to enact a Fair Employment Practices Act, acts against discrimination on interstate carriers, including buses, ships, airplanes, and all means of conveyances, and that these acts include sanctions and penalties to assure their effectiveness.

7. That all segregation in the armed forces be abolished completely everywhere--including especially any such segregation on governmental reservations and areas no matter where located--hospitals, schools, etc.

8. That he make it clear both in statement and in act and administrative deed that he believes in the principle that federal money should not be used to promote and aid segregation and the violation of the federal constitutional rights of millions of Negro citizens; and that this principle should be applied whether in matters of federal aid to education, hospitals, and all other grants in aid to state and local governments.

9. That he use the full power and prestige of his office to influence forthwith Senate confirmation of Mr. William White as an Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Justice. The nomination of Mr. White has been pending, but due to the inaction of the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Eastland in cooperation with some Democrat and Republican members of the committee, the important work for the new section dealing with civil rights matters in the Department of Justice has been bottlenecked by the failure to confirm the appointment of Mr. White.

10. That he create forthwith a National Commission on Discrimination in Housing, composed of distinguished leaders of civil rights, religious, business, labor and government, to make an exhaustive study, with recommendation to the President on the effect upon the public welfare of segregation and discrimination in housing throughout the nation, both public and private.

The effects of racial discrimination in housing and its effect upon Negroes' inability to achieve equality of participation in employment and educational facilities as set forth by the Supreme Court decision can only be assured by a national policy based on federal administrative and legislative action.

11. That the continued flagrant discriminatory practices by the State Department and U. S. Foreign Service in its employment and personnel practices be investigated forthwith, under the President's supervision, to eliminate gross discrimination against American Negro citizens. That the Foreign Service Act which virtually gives the State Department unlimited authority in pursuing its employment practices and personnel policies, has aided and abetted that Department's desire to greatly limit and in many areas exclude, qualified Negroes from State Department positions here at home and the Foreign Service abroad.

That he appoint and integrate Negro citizens to the various Presidential appointive positions in the Foreign Service so that the various ambassadors and counsels positions throughout the world will be open to all citizens without regard to race or color.

12. That he break the racial iron curtain against the appointment of Negroes to the federal district court benches. In the history of this nation, there has never been a Negro appointment to the federal district court bench in any of the districts in any of the 48 states. Since these courts are federal courts of original jurisdiction with the power of the judge to impanel grand juries and to preside over cases before petty jurors, it is a national shame that Negroes who serve with distinction on many state, county and local courts are barred solely because of color from the important federal district court benches.

13. That he appoint a Negro as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court bench at such time as a vacancy exists and distinguished lawyers and jurists are being given consideration to fill the vacancy. In the history of the United States Supreme Court it is glaringly noticable that no American Negro has ever been appointed to the nation's highest judicial court.

February 17, 1959

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower,
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

On April 18th, many thousands of Negro and white young people will assemble in Washington to express their commitment to the achievement of integrated schools.

In the months prior to the 18th, the young people will be gathering petitions through their churches, unions, social agencies, and civic organizations. The signers will comprise a true cross section of America because the distinguished Chairmen of our committee, as well as Mr. George Meany, have joined in inviting the people of their own organizations to subscribe to the important principles we support.

In the American tradition, these young people wish to present their petition to their government. In the exercise of this citizenship activity they are eager to have a representative delegation meet with you.

We are writing at this time to ensure that this deeply desired meeting our sincere young people seek may be definitaly arranged. Unfortunately, last year certain misunderstandings resulted in a situation we all regreted. At that time, I told the young people who were deeply grieved at not being able to see their President that in light of the positive steps you and your administration had taken, I had every confidence that if we requested an engagement early enough you would undoubtedly make arrangements to receive them in 1959.

I would like to reiterate that this assembly is non-partisan and is directed at no one except recalcitrant elements hindering orderly progress in the enforcement of law.

May I hear from you so that a report on arrangements can be made to our chairmen and to the full committee.

I recall the meeting with you last summer and publicly stated the positive impression it left with me. It was on the basis of these impressions that I have always felt certain the dedicated young people would find a welcome at the White House.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

CC: Rocco Siciliano

Class of Service
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

QTN 3-4 BOOK OF 2 NIGHT LETTER CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= FEB 2

= HON DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER=
: THE WHITE HOUSE=
: WASHINGTON D.C.= :

= ATTORNEY GENERAL HERBERT BROWNELL JR.
DEPT. OF JUSTICE :
= WASHINGTON D.DC.=

PERMIT ME TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION A GRAVE CONDITION INVOLVING THE COLLAPSE OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM AGAINST A NEGRO LEADER OF LABOR AND A MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN THE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

PERSON OF MR EDWARD NIXON 647 CLINTON AVE MONTGOMERY ALA
AND REV M.L. KING OBVIOUSLY BECAUSE OF THEIR LEADERSHIP
IN A BOYCOTT BY NEGRO CITIZENS OF BUS LINES THAT PRACTICE
DISCRIMINATION AGAINSTCITIZENS BECAUSE OF RACE AND COLOR
IN MONTGOMERY ALABAMA. THE HOMES OF THE AFOREMENTIONED
LEADERS HAVE BEEN BOMBED THE FORMER MR NIXON'S ONLY LAST
NIGHT FEBRUARY FIRST= FORTUNATELY WITHOUT DEATH OF ANYONE
OR GREAT DAMAGE TO THE HOME= SINCE THESE MEN AND THEIR
COWORKERS ARE ONLY EXERCISING THEIR GOD-GIVEN AND
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO REFUSE TO RIDE ON BUSES AND TO
PERSUADE THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS TO DO LIKEWISE IN ORDER TO
AVOID INSULT STIGMA AND SHAME OF JIM CROW; CIVIC ACTIVITIES

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

THAT ARE A PART OF THE AGE OLD TRADITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY THEIR PERSON AND HOMES AND FAMILIES ARE ENTITLED TO THE PROTECTION OF THE LAW ENFORCING AGENCIES OF THEIR COMMUNITIES AND STATE= FAILING TO RECEIVE SAFEGUARD FROM THEIR LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS SINCE THEY ARE CITIZENS OF BOTH STATE AND FEDERAL COMMUNITY THEY CAN ONLY LOOK TO THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES OF OUR NATION= I THEREFORE EARNESTLY AND URGENTLY CALL UPON YOU TO USE YOUR GREAT AND GOOD OFFICE TO SEE TO IT THAT NEGRO LEADERS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS GET PROTECTION IN THE LAWFUL EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHT TO BOYCOTT AN AGENCY OF TRANSPORTATION WHICH OFFERS INSULT TO THE DIGNITY OF THEIR PERSONLITIES= MAY I URGE YOU TO

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

HAVE THIS CONDITION INVESTIGATED IMMEDIATELY TO PREVENT FURTHER VUOLATIONS BLOODSHED AND POSSIBLY DEATH= I AM CONFIDENT THAT YOU ABHOR THIS OUTRAGEOUS AND SHOCKING EXHIBITION OF LAWLESSNESS AND INHUMANITY AND THAT YOU WILL TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO STOP IT IN THE INTEREST OF JUSTICE AND CHRISTIANITY AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE GOOD NAME OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR DEMOCRACY=....

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH=
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
= BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

KNY 1 CNG BROTHERHOOD SCP= NIGHT LETTER = OCT 29=
THE PRESIDENT=
THE WHITE HOUSE=
WASHINGTON D.C.=

ACCORDING TO REPORT IN THE NEW YORK POST OCTOBER 29= = JESSE WOODS NEGRO FARM LABORER WAS APPARENTLY KIDNAPPED FROM JAIL CELL MIDNIGHT SUNDAY OCTOBER 28 WITH NO CLUE TO HIS PRESENT WHEREABOUTS= THERE IS GRAVE FEAR OF LYNCHING= REPORTS INDICATE TERRIFIC STRUGGLE IN JAIL AND BLOODSTAINS DISCOVERED INDICATE MOB ACTION= SINCE IMMEDIATE ACTION BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS BEEN

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

TAKEN ON KIDNAPPING CASES ABOVE MASON-DIXON LINE WITHIN 24 HOURS OF THE KIDNAPPING WISH EARNESTLY TO REQUEST AND URGE THAT YOU USE YOUR GREAT OFFICES TO SECURE IMMEDIATE ACTION BY THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION AND DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN INVESTIGATING THIS SHOCKING AND MONSTROUS OUTRAGE AGAINST HIMAN DECENCY AND JUSTICE=

I AM CONFIDENT YOU WILL EMPLOY EVERY FACILITY OF THE LAW AT YOUR DISPOSAL TO BRING THESE CULPRITS TO JUSTICE FOR SUCH UNLAWFUL RACIAL TERRORISM IS NOT ONLY INTOLERABLE AND WRONG BUT INCREASINGLY ADDS TO THE PROBLEM OF OUR COUNTRY IN WINNING THE CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT OF THE PEOPLES OF COLOR OF THE WORLD IN OUR DEMOCRATIC WAY OF

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

LIFE.=

: RESPECTFULLY,
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH = INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
= BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

✓ Mr Robt H Johnson - Grand Exalted Ruler ~~Leader~~ of Elks

Philadelphia

Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks

O.V. Catto Bldg
160 Fitzwater St
Phil 46

Natl Newspaper

✓ President of ~~Negro~~ Publishers' Assoc.

✓ Mr C C Dejoie Jr -
Louisiana Weekly

3 ✓ Vivian Carter Mason - C

Natl Council of Negro Women

1318 Vermont Ave NW
Wash, DC

4 Rev. J. H. Jackson - ~~Mt.~~ Olivet Baptist Church
Chicago, Ill

C Pres, Natl Baptist Convention

5 Pres. Natl. ~~Negro~~ Bar Association

Dallas

Call Cora Walker - Mo 2-9230

Willard Hotel - Sept 1, 2, 3

✓ Harold E Bledsoe
Natl Bar Assoc, Inc
1308 Bway
Detroit, Mich

X M. P. Webster

X Roy Wilkins

X Lester Granger

CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

I will serve X

I will not serve ________

on the committee to hold conference with the President if conference is granted.

Signed Carl Murphy

Carl Murphy

CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

I will serve ✓

I will not serve ________

on the committee to hold conference with the President if conference is granted.

Signed F. D. Patt

CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

I will serve Yes

I will not serve ________

on the committee to hold conference with the President if conference is granted.

Signed David N. Licorish

CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

I will serve ✓

~~I will not serve~~ ________

on the committee to hold conference with the President if conference is granted.

Signed J. H. Jackson

CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

I will serve ✓

~~I will not serve~~ ________

on the committee to hold conference with the President if conference is granted.

Signed O B Powell Mrs

Bro Randolph! Jan 8, 1957

The last time I was at the White House in Conference there were seventeen (17) beside Mr. P.R. man.

Mr A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th St.
N. Y. C. 27

Rm 301

New economic and cultural forces in our nation's life are changing the pattern of Negro-white relations. Any effort to impede this process will affect all American society for the worst. Any effort to accelerate or to resist will cause some immediate dislocation. Tension is an inherent element of basic social change.

The choice is not between an unjust status quo with social peace, or integration with tension.

The real choice is between whether the nation forthrightly adopts a bold program which can rapidly move through the inevitable tension to a democratic solution or depends upon methods of evasion and compromise which purport to avoid tension but in reality lead the entire society towards economic, social and moral degeneration.

A process of disintegration and degeneration is already manifest in the widespread, calloused disrespect for law, corruption of moral values, mob violence and the shameful toleration of violence by those who do not initiate or participate directly in it.

We cannot remain a nation founded upon justice and morality when even officers of law incite and encourage law breaking, and campaign nationally for support for their misdeeds. The fierce indignation and social reproach a moral people should feel for blatant, arrogant, immoral behaviour too frequently fades to a whisper as fear of reprisals or scorn engulfs community after community. The reign of ignorance and evil becomes a national blight.

We have reached this moral and social crisis because there has been a failure to understand that it is a Herculean task to realize justice for 17 million Americans whose rights have for so long been violated and denied with impunity.

The dimensions of the task assume enormous magnitude when to the problems of the millions of southern Negroes there is added the tens of millions of white Southerns for whom adjustments are required.

To thus define the enormity of the problem suggests at once that only tools of great magnitude can do an effective job. To leave it to sporadic limited planning and implementation by small groups, or to understaffed voluntary or governmental agencies, is equivalent to treating a plague by recommending the administration of an aspirin. A war on a vast social evil requires an army fitted for combat on all levels and fronts.

If we are to educate and influence for good, and change the hearts and minds of millions of our citizens, all agencies of government and community life must be mobilized vigorously and creatively in a campaign for justice on a national scale.

This we have not done. In this default lies the roots of the continued confusions, resistance, conflicts and violence. We therefore urge that the Administration take the lead and assist in the development of a massive operation in community planning and social engineering.

To this end we propose the following as some of the necessary elements of a program for the Executive Department:

First: The office and person of the President of the United States should declare in a nationwide pronouncement, prior to September, that the law will be vigorously upheld with its total resources. The pronouncement should emphasize that America's principles of justice require firm adherence to the laws of its government, but that beyond this, its moral character imperatively compels compliance with integration programs, which human decency has long sanctioned and the delaying of which corrupts our ethical standards.

Second: To widen communication between honest white elements and Negroes of the South, the President should call a White House Conference on a large scale of major leaders from representative southern communities.

Third: The Administration should direct appropriate governmental departments and agencies to prepare and circulate educational materials of every type from booklets, motion pictures, lectures, mass advertising directed to urging whole-hearted acceptance and implementation of integration under the law. Its purpose should be to mobilize all resources so that millions may be reached and educated in the shortest possible time. The pattern can well be the role which government has played when, in time of war, to unify the nation and achieve many changes of depth in the mode of living of people, various agencies developed creative tools of education which in months, not decades, altered accustomed patterns of living.

Fourth: The President should appoint in several states, north and south, Presidential Committees of Advisors, consisting of distinguished citizens who are dedicated to the principle of integration and who represent a cross-section of agencies, religious bodies, labor unions, civic and welfare organizations. The committees will (a) formulate educational programs for communities and (b) coordinate research investigations to study and report on local problems, thus creating a source of reliable, objective data on which to base solutions. The committees should be adequately staffed with funds made available to them from executive sources.

Fifth: A Bureau of Negro Affairs should be set up. It should be concerned with the special health, educational, economic and migration problems which beset the Negro population as a result of decades of segregation and the deprivation of basic rights and normal economic opportunities. Many negative attitudes toward integration cannot be overcome so long as the Negro faces economic and cultural disadvantages.

Planning and organization are vitally essential to the creation of a new cultural and economic status for the Negro. Such a status is an essential aspect if integration is to be effectively and harmoniously realized and accepted.

The urgent need for special attention to integrated housing and skilled employment opportunities for Negroes should be a very special concern of this bureau to supplement the work of voluntary agencies which have had the major burden of operating in this field for many years.

Sixth: A conference of Federal Attorneys-General of the southern states should be convened to determine methods of coping with interstate and intrastate violations of law in the most effective, immediate, and appropriate manner.

Seventh: The appointment of a Negro of cabinet rank as Secretary of Integration to keep the President informed of developments and to coordinate the work of all executive departments and agencies which are engaged in active programs for integration, and to work with human relations agencies, school boards, election boards, and all other instrumentalities which have been enlisted in this national campaign.

We deeply believe that these actions will stimulate and inspire the citizenry with enthusiasm for a noble goal, and will convince recalcitrant elements that the government is sincerely dedicated to firm implementation of its laws. It will engender respect for the integrity of our government both of our own citizens as well as among the deeply concerned peoples of the rest of the world.

Mr President, such a program is both a practical and a moral necessity if our nation is to advance toward social peace and democratic fulfillment.

TELEGRAM

February 2, 1956

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERMIT ME TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION A GRAVE CONDITION INVOLVING THE COLLAPSE OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM AGAINST A NEGRO LEADER OF LABOR AND A MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN THE PERSON OF MR. EDWARD NIXON, 647 CLINTON AVENUE, MONTGOMERY, ALA. AND REV. M. L. KING, OBVIOUSLY BECAUSE OF THEIR LEADERSHIP IN A BOYCOTT BY NEGRO CITIZENS OF BUS LINES THAT PRACTICE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CITIZENS BECAUSE OF RACE AND COLOR IN MONTGOMERY, ALA. THE HOMES OF THESE LEADERS HAVE BEEN BOMBED: THE FORMER, MR. NIXON'S, ONLY LAST NIGHT, FEB. 1, FORTUNATELY WITHOUT DEATH OF ANYONE OR GREAT DAMAGE TO THE HOME. SINCE THESE MEN AND THEIR CO-WORKERS ARE ONLY EXERCISING THEIR GOD-GIVEN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO REFUSE TO RIDE ON BUSES AND TO PERSUADE THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS TO DO LIKEWISE IN ORDER TO AVOID INSULT, STIGMA AND SHAME OF JIM-CROW, CIVIC ACTIVITIES THAT ARE A PART OF THE AGE-OLD TRADITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY, THEIR PERSON AND HOMES AND FAMILIES ARE ENTITLED TO THE PROTECTION OF THE LAW-ENFORCING AGENCIES OF THEIR COMMUNITIES AND STATE. FAILING TO RECEIVE SAFEGUARD FROM THEIR LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS, SINCE THEY ARE CITIZENS OF BOTH STATE AND THE FEDERAL COMMUNITY, THEY CAN ONLY LOOK TO THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES OF OUR NATION. I, THEREFORE, EARNESTLY AND URGENTLY CALL UPON YOU TO USE YOUR GREAT AND GOOD OFFICE TO SEE TO IT THAT NEGRO LEADERS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS GET PROTECTION IN THE LAWFUL EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHT TO BOYCOTT AN AGENCY OF TRANSPORTATION WHICH OFFERS INSULT TO THE DIGNITY OF THEIR PERSONALITIES. MAY I URGE THAT YOU HAVE THIS CONDITION INVESTIGATED IMMEDIATELY TO PREVENT FURTHER VIOLATIONS, BLOODSHED AND POSSIBLY DEATH. I AM CONFIDENT THAT YOU ABHOR THIS OUTRAGEOUS AND SHOCKING EXHIBITION OF LAWLESSNESS AND INHUMANITY AND THAT YOU WILL TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO STOP IT IN THE INTEREST OF JUSTICE AND CHRISTIANITY AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE GOOD NAME OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR DEMOCRACY.

RESPECTFULLY,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

White House Letter

2 copies

Dear Mr. ________________,

This letter is to acknowledge receipt of yours of Oct. 29. Needless to say, I was disappointed not to have received some direct reply from the White House to my letter of October 10th prior to October 25th.

It is quite true that Mr. Theodore Brown did not specifically request an appointment with any presidential aid. However, it is not clear that Mr. Brown understood that an appointment with the president was completely out of question.

But beyond this, I had every reason to assume that the White House would have initiated some dignified and proper reception of the delegation, if President Eisenhower was unable to receive it.

There are three reasons for this assumption:-

1. The March was composed of over 10,000 young people from the North and the South. They represented the major trade unions, colleges, churches and civic organizations of our nation.

2. The young people sought to express to the nation and to the world that "Little Rock is not America". The delegation's having been received at the White House would undoubtedly have reinforced this fact. Their not having been received has seemingly been positively

[illegible].

3. Throughout the March's educational campaign, I, as the chief spokesman for the Committee, made it clear, both privately and in the press, that we did not seek to embarrass either the President nor this administration, but rather, repeatedly stated that we wanted "to strengthen the President's hands for the most positive and forthright action". My letter to the President, dated Oct 10th, was in part to make these positions crystal clear. I went on at some length in that letter so there might be no misunderstanding, precisely, because I was determined that the March's coming at a time so close to the date of elections, should not be [illegible] in any [illegible] political manner.

The fact that a number of leaders felt that I had [illegible] a [illegible] the committee made the [illegible] of the deliberations all the more [illegible] and painful.

For these among other reasons, I felt assured [illegible] of the March [illegible] the White House [illegible] the [illegible] would be made [illegible] and stated. I received [illegible] themselves call the President's staff. Actually, it was not [illegible] have [illegible] to [illegible] that [illegible] suggested by [illegible] of the Nation's [illegible] distinguished [illegible] white and Negro [illegible] could [illegible] calling at the gate — [illegible], a [illegible] when [illegible] changes [illegible] underlying [illegible], but are always [illegible] possible [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] site. The feeling [illegible] [illegible] in many of [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] thing for [illegible] people [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] consideration.

E[illegible] [illegible] that the doing of the White House [illegible] have been [illegible] [illegible] of Young[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] and often at [illegible] [illegible] in order to impress upon their [illegible] and the nation their [illegible] that [illegible] should [illegible] fully [illegible].

I have attempted in the above paragraph to [illegible] the [illegible], as I see it, clear. However, the [illegible] [illegible] of the letter [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] proceed from here on:

> Given the general confusion and embarrassment attendant to the [illegible] [illegible] at the White House, I hope that [illegible] Eisenhower can [illegible] clear to receive the youth delegation at the White House in the immediate future. The young people are prepared to go to the White House at his call; [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] and a short biographical statement concerning them [illegible].

May I hear [illegible] [illegible] earliest convenience.

Sincerely,
A. P. Randolph

PERSONS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN CONFERENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Lester Granger, Executive Director
National Urban League, Inc.

✓ Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines, President
National Association of Colored Women

✓ Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, President
National Council of Negro Women

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund

Dr. C. B. Powell, Publisher & Editor
New York Amsterdam News

Dr. Benjamin Mays
Morehouse College

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People

✓ Dr. David Licorish
Abyssinia Baptist Church

Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People

Dr. J. H. Jackson, President
National Baptist Convention, USA., Inc.

✓ Mr. Loren Miller
Attorney and Civil Leader
NAACP - Los Angeles, California

Dr. Martin L. King, President
Montgomery Improvement Association

Mr. M. P. Webster
International Vice President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

✓ Mr. Carl Murphy, President
National Newspaper Publishers Association

Bishop D. Ward Nichols
A.M.E. Church

New economic and cultural forces in our nation's life are changing the pattern of Negro-white relations. Any effort to impede this process will affect all American society for the worst. Any effort to accelerate or to resist will cause some immediate dislocation. Tension is an inherent element of basic social change.

The choice is not between an unjust status quo with social peace, or integration with tension.

The real choice is between whether the nation forthrightly adopts a bold program which can rapidly move through the inevitable tension to a democratic solution or depends upon methods of evasion and compromise which purport to avoid tension but in reality lead the entire society towards economic, social and moral degeneration.

A process of disintegration and degeneration is already manifest in the widespread, calloused disrespect for law, corruption of moral values, mob violence and the shameful toleration of violence by those who do not initiate or participate directly in it.

We cannot remain a nation founded upon justice and morality when even officers of law incite and encourage law breaking, and campaign nationally for support for their misdeeds. The fierce indignation and social reproach a moral people should feel for blatant, arrogant, immoral behaviour too frequently fades to a whisper as fear of reprisals or scorn engulfs community after community. The reign of ignorance and evil becomes a national blight.

We have reached this moral and social crisis because there has been a failure to understand that it is a Herculean task to realize justice for 17 million Americans whose rights have for so long been violated and denied with impunity.

The dimensions of the task assume enormous magnitude when to the problems of the millions of southern Negroes there is added the tens of millions of white Southerns for whom adjustments are required.

To thus define the enormity of the problem suggests at once that only tools of great magnitude can do an effective job. To leave it to sporadic limited planning and implementation by small groups, or to understaffed voluntary or governmental agencies, is equivalent to treating a plague by recommending the administration of an aspirin. A war on a vast social evil requires an army fitted for combat on all levels and fronts.

If we are to educate and influence for good, and change the hearts and minds of millions of our citizens, all agencies of government and community life must be mobilized vigorously and creatively in a campaign for justice on a national scale.

This we have not done. In this default lies the roots of the continued confusions, resistance, conflicts and violence. We therefore urge that the Administration take the lead and assist in the development of a massive operation in community planning and social engineering.

To this end we propose the following as some of the necessary elements of a program for the Executive Department:

First: The office and person of the President of the United States should declare in a nationwide pronouncement, prior to September, that the law will be vigorously upheld with its total resources. The pronouncement should emphasize that America's principles of justice require firm adherence to the laws of its government, but that beyond this, its moral character imperatively compels compliance with integration programs, which human decency has long sanctioned and the delaying of which corrupts our ethical standards.

Second: To widen communication between honest white elements and Negroes of the South, the President should call a White House Conference on a large scale of major leaders from representative southern communities.

Third: The Administration should direct appropriate governmental departments and agencies to prepare and circulate educational materials of every type from booklets, motion pictures, lectures, mass advertising directed to urging whole-hearted acceptance and implementation of integration under the law. Its purpose should be to mobilize all resources so that millions may be reached and educated in the shortest possible time. The pattern can well be the role which government has played when, in time of war, to unify the nation and achieve many changes of depth in the mode of living of people, various agencies developed creative tools of education which in months, not decades, altered accustomed patterns of living.

Fourth: The President should appoint in several states, north and south, Presidential Committees of Advisors, consisting of distinguished citizens who are dedicated to the principle of integration and who represent a cross-section of agencies, religious bodies, labor unions, civic and welfare organizations. The committees will (a) formulate educational programs for communities and (b) coordinate research investigations to study and report on local problems, thus creating a source of reliable, objective data on which to base solutions. The committees should be adequately staffed with funds made available to them from executive sources.

Fifth: A Bureau of Negro Affairs should be set up. It should be concerned with the special health, educational, economic and migration problems which beset the Negro population as a result of decades of segregation and the deprivation of basic rights and normal economic opportunities. Many negative attitudes toward integration cannot be overcome so long as the Negro faces economic and cultural disadvantages.

Planning and organization are vitally essential to the creation of a new cultural and economic status for the Negro. Such a status is an essential aspect if integration is to be effectively and harmoniously realized and accepted.

The urgent need for special attention to integrated housing and skilled employment opportunities for Negroes should be a very special concern of this bureau to supplement the work of voluntary agencies which have had the major burden of operating in this field for many years.

Sixth: A conference of Federal Attorneys-General of the southern states should be convened to determine methods of coping with interstate and intrastate violations of law in the most effective, immediate, and appropriate manner.

Seventh: The appointment of a Negro of cabinet rank as Secretary of Integration to keep the President informed of developments and to coordinate the work of all executive departments and agencies which are engaged in active programs for integration, and to work with human relations agencies, school boards, election boards, and all other instrumentalities which have been enlisted in this national campaign.

We deeply believe that these actions will stimulate and inspire the citizenry with enthusiasm for a noble goal, and will convince recalcitrant elements that the government is sincerely dedicated to firm implementation of its laws. It will engender respect for the integrity of our government both of our own citizens as well as among the deeply concerned peoples of the rest of the world.

Mr President, such a program is both a practical and a moral necessity if our nation is to advance toward social peace and democratic fulfillment.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE White House Conference
Eisenhower
Press Release

1958

FOR RELEASE AT 12:00 NOON (EST) March 31, 1958

CAUTION: The following message of the President scheduled for delivery to the Senate today, March 31, 1958, MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation of its contents may be given out or published UNTIL RELEASE TIME.

The same caution applies to all newspapers, radio and television commentators and news broadcasters, both in the United States and abroad.

PLEASE USE EXTREME CARE TO AVOID PREMATURE PUBLICATION OR ANNOUNCEMENT.

James C. Hagerty
Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

TO THE SENATE:

I return herewith, without my approval, Senate Joint Resolution 162. I have given earnest consideration to the many representations made to me both for and against it. It is my judgment that to approve this resolution would be ill-advised, from the standpoint both of the nation and of our farm families as well. It is regrettable that for the second time in two years the Congress has sent me a farm bill which I cannot in good conscience approve.

Specifically, the Resolution would have such consequences as these:

1. It would pile up more farm products in government warehouses.

2. It would restrict the growth of markets.

3. It would postpone the day when agriculture can be released from the strait-jacket of controls.

4. It would by-pass the problems of the small operator who produces so little for sale that price supports have scant meaning.

5. It would hold up the needed transition to modern parity and would in fact disregard the parity principle.

6. It would be unfair to those winter wheat growers who signed up under the 1958 acreage reserve program with the understanding that the price supports which had then been announced would be the effective rates.

This Resolution would fix farm price supports and farm acreage allotments at not less than existing levels. The true need is to relate both price supports and acreage allotments to growing market opportunities.

With regard to government controls, what the farm economy needs is a thaw rather than a freeze.

Improvements have been made in farm legislation in recent years. The keys to these improvements have been expansion of markets and greater opportunity for our farm people to exercise their own sound judgment.

more (OVER)

Fears were expressed by some that farm prices might collapse when high rigid price supports were abandoned. These fears did not materialize. Instead, farm prices rose. This month the index of prices received by farmers is 9 percent above the level that prevailed in June of 1955 when high rigid price supports were last generally in effect. The parity ratio now stands at 87, up 6 points from a year ago.

Most of agriculture is without production controls and without price support. This is generally true of meat animals, poultry, and fruits and vegetables.

There is impressive evidence that farmers stand to profit from less rather than more governmental intervention. Unsupported prices of cattle and hogs are unusually strong.

Despite these bright spots, many farm problems remain to be solved. The price-cost squeeze continues to harrass our farm people. Production restrictions impose a severe burden. Many of our farmers -- those on farms not large enough to be profitable -- are earning incomes which are below any generally accepted standard.

Cotton, wheat, corn and other basic crops have major problems. Progress in solving the problems of these crops cannot be made by going backward. We must continue in the direction which the Congress set in 1954 and endorsed in 1956 -- changes in the direction of greater opportunity for adjustments made necessary by our ever-changing agriculture.

I said, prior to the passage of this Resolution, that what it proposed would be a turn of 180 degrees in the wrong direction. After reviewing the Resolution in its final form, I adhere to this conviction.

For the 1957 crop, prices were supported, product by product, in accordance with a complex set of legislative and administrative considerations. The same was true in the establishment of acreage allotments. To carry these forward unaltered, despite changes in demand, in supply, and in surplus stocks, would be contrary to sound legislative procedures and would completely disregard economic fact.

Now I want to turn to the progress that has been made through programs already in effect. In recent years a many-sided attack on farm problems has been launched. Substantial gains have been achieved:

Through the Rural Development Program to help those at the low end of the income scale.

Through market-making exports which last year reached an all-time high.

Through providing needed credit to family farms.

Through sharing our abundance with the needy at home and abroad.

Through market development in cooperation with producer organizations and the food trade.

Through surplus reduction, which has cut down our stocks by more than a billion dollars.

more

Through stepped-up research to find new uses for farm products.

Through special programs to increase milk consumption.

Through expanded long-range conservation measures.

While it is necessary to reject the freeze embodied in this Resolution, the Congress and the Executive Branch can be helpful in other ways.

A five-point program should be undertaken, involving various separate but related actions. Some of these are the responsibility of the Congress and some are administrative. Some call for legislation, while ample authority already exists for others.

1. The old basic law should be revised. On January 16, 1958, I sent to the Congress a Special Message on Agriculture which recommended needed changes. Many of the problems will be alleviated if the Congress will act on these proposals in this session:

Authority to increase acreage allotments up to 50 percent, and to widen the range within which price supports may be provided.

Elimination of acreage allotments for corn, permitting all corn farmers to plant in accordance with their best management decisions, so that price supports would apply to all corn rather than, as the freeze bill would have it, to only about one acre in seven in the commercial corn area.

Abolishment of escalator clauses in the law because these rigid provisions keep farm people continually under the shadow of price-depressing surpluses.

Extension of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, with substantial increased authority to move surplus stocks abroad.

Shifting the price supports for cotton to the average of the crop, the same as for all other farm products.

There is opportunity to make these needed changes before fall seeding time if the matter is undertaken promptly.

2. When these necessary legislative changes have been made, 1959 acreage allotments will be established at levels as high or higher than those prevailing in 1958. Certain statutory provisions which place a floor under acreage allotments for cotton and rice are scheduled to expire after the 1958 crop. Producers face sharp acreage reductions unless the law is changed. When the Secretary of Agriculture has been given the necessary authority to adjust price supports and acreage allotments he will set 1959 allotments at levels at least as high as those in use this year. For cotton and rice these allotments will be substantially above the levels which would otherwise prevail.

3. When necessary new authorization is provided in keeping with my legislative recommendations, the special export programs for our surplus crops will be enlarged. Opportunities exist to export, both for dollars and through special programs, large quantities of our staple commodities.

more

(OVER)

Wheat is becoming better known to consumers abroad. Market development and promotional activities have made more people acquainted with the merits of our many export products. These commodities can alleviate hunger and need, and should be so used.

4. Dairy products acquired under the price support operation will be used outside the regular domestic commercial market. These products will not be offered for sale in such markets during the remainder of 1958 at less than 90 percent of parity. While freezing supports would not be a useful step, we seek to help the dairy industry in other ways.

To strengthen markets, the butter, cheese and dry milk acquired under price support will be donated to the school lunch program, to charitable institutions and to needy persons. Exports will be made when this can appropriately be done.

Such inventory management will serve to bolster the market.

Meanwhile, the Administration will continue to support the special school milk and armed services milk programs. We will also support as a further aid to dairy farmers the accelerated bruccelosis control program. Stepped up promotional activity will increase consumption.

Every constructive step available to us will be taken to increase the use of our wholesome dairy products.

5. An export program for cotton, corn and other feed grains, similar to the present export program on wheat, will be put into effect. This can be done without legislation. The effect of this program will be to move these products directly from commercial markets to the export trade without running them through the Commodity Credit Corporation. Under the wheat export program farmers have obtained broader markets and substantial price benefits in the marketplace. Marketing efficiency has been promoted and the amount of wheat which has moved into government channels has been reduced. The new program for cotton and feed grains is expected to have similar effects.

To meet the rapidly changing conditions in agriculture, farmers must be able to make their own management decisions on their own farms. They must not have their production and prices frozen in an outmoded pattern. They must not be made the captives of a restricted history; they must be given freedom to build a brighter future. This can be done if farmers and those who serve them will team up in support of sound legislative and administrative action.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE

March 31, 1958.

#####

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH **SUBJECT FILE** White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Administration of Justice
1966

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

May 6-7-8, 1966

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LEGIBILITY IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Page

Introduction 1

1. Protection of Negroes and Civil Rights Workers from Intimidation in Connection with the Exercise of their Rights 1

2. Equal Justice for Negroes 3

3. Police-Minority Group Community Relations 5

I. PROTECTION OF NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS FROM INTIMIDATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHTS 5

A. Support of Title V of the Administration Bill 5

B. Enactment of Federal Legislation to Assure Compensation to Victims of Racial Violence 8

(1) Congress Should Enact Legislation Giving Persons Who Suffer Physical Injury or Property Loss as the Result of Exercising Rights Protected by the Criminal Provisions of Title V of the Administration Bill or As the Result of Urging or Aiding Others to Exercise Such Rights, a Right of Action in Federal Court for Money Damages Against the Person Responsible for the Injury or Loss 8

(2) Congress Should Amend Section 1983 of Title 42 of the United States Code to Provide that Any County Government, City Government, or other Local Government Entity that Employs Officers Who Deprive Persons of Rights Protected by Section 1983 Shall be Jointly Liable with the Officers to Persons Who Suffer Injury or Loss from Such Officers' Misconduct. 9

C. Effective Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws to Support the President's Request, in His Message to Congress of April 29, 1966, for more Federal Agents to Increase the Effective Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws 10

II. EQUAL JUSTICE 12

A. Support for Titles I and II of Administration Bill: Non-discrimination in Juror Selection 12

(1) Support for Titles I and II of the Administration Bill which Provide for Non-discrimination in the Selection of Federal and State Jurors 12

B. Enactment of Federal Legislation to Secure Equal Justice in Areas Other Than Juries 15

(1) Enact Federal Legislation to Provide for the Removal of Civil Rights Cases from State to Federal Trial Courts in Order to Assure a Fair Trial 15

Page

(2) Enact Federal Legislation to Permit Private Persons to Obtain Injunctive Relief where State Prosecutions are Brought Against Persons for Exercising 1st Amendment Rights Directed at Obtaining Equal Treatment for all Citizens Regardless of Race, Color, Religion, or National Origin 17

(3) Enact Federal Legislation to Afford More Adequate Criminal Sanctions Against State and Local Officials Who Deprive Citizens of Constitutional Rights 17

(4) Amend Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to Cover Discrimination in Public Employment 19

C. Undertake Efforts to Assure Adequate Legal Representation for Negroes and Civil Rights Workers in Controversial Cases. 19

(1) Law Schools and Bar Associations, Including the American Bar Association, Should Take Steps to Assure Zealous Representation by Local Counsel of Negroes and Civil Rights Workers 19

(2) The Federal Government Should Consider Establishing Legal Aid Centers to Provide Adequate Legal Representation to Negroes and Civil Rights Workers 20

III. IMPROVEMENT OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS 20

A. The Federal Government Should Seek to Improve Police-Community Relations by Establishing Assistance Programs in the Areas of Recruitment, Testing Selection, Training, Organization and Pay . . . 20

B. Federal Assistance should be Conditioned upon Steps by States to Improve Police-Community Relations 22

(1) Initiation of a Positive and Aggressive Campaign to Recruit and Hire Qualified Minority Group Personnel for the State Highway Patrol and other State Law Enforcement Bodies. The Minority Group Personnel should be Fully Integrated into the Law Enforcement Units. 22

(2) Establishment of Minimum State Standards for all Police Officers, Enforced through Uniform State Tests and Licenses . . . 22

(3) Provision for Periodic Training Programs in both Skills and Attitudes for All Police Officers to Improve their Professional Techniques of Law Enforcement. 22

(4) Provision of a Salary Supplement for Police Officers Who are Continuing Their Education or Who Have Graduated from College 22

Page

(5) Assistance to Localities in Developing Better Police Forces. The Assistance Should Include Guidance in Taking Advantage of Federal as Well as State Programs in this Field, e.g., It Should Help the Smaller Police Departments in Preparing Applications for Federal Funds and in Helping its Men to Prepare to Pass State Licensing Tests 22

C. Federal Assistance Also Should be Conditioned upon Steps by Localities to Improve Police-Community Relations 23

(1) Upgrading of Police Organization, Equipment and Facilities. . . 23

(2) Establishment of an Adequate Complaint Procedure. 23

(3) Definition of the Role that the Police Department is Expected to Play in the Community. 23

(4) Establishment of a Community Relations Unit in the Police Department. 24

D. The Federal Government Should Establish a National Police Cadet Training Corps 24

E. Private Groups Should Be Impressed with the Responsibility They Have for Improving Law Enforcement 25

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to set down briefly certain guidelines for positive action to assure equal justice in the administration of law in the United States. The guidelines fall into three categories:

1. Protection of Negroes and Civil Rights Workers From Intimidation in Connection with the Exercise of Their Rights

The concern is to develop effective legislative and executive measures to combat the deplorable condition, found in some parts of the deep South, which allows American citizens to be murdered, beaten, and subjected to other forms of intimidation because they have exercised constitutional or other federal rights or aided others in the exercise of such rights. The murders of the three civil rights workers in Neshoba County, Mississippi, of Lemuel Penn and Viola Liuzzo on the highways of Georgia and Alabama, of Reverend Reeb in Selma, Alabama, and of Jonathan Daniels in Hayneville, Alabama, are among the most notorious examples. Twenty-six Negro and white civil rights workers were murdered between the 1960 sit-in demonstrations and the spring of 1965. In addition to these murders, there have been numerous shootings, beatings, bombings and church burnings. In Mississippi alone there were 150 incidents of serious racial violence reported from 1961 to the middle of 1964.

The problem is magnified by the fact that the assailants are rarely brought to justice. The United States Commission on Civil Rights investigated racial violence in several Mississippi counties. Two of these counties were

Adams and Madison. In its 1965 Law Enforcement Report, the Commission found that:

> From September 1963 to September 1964, in Adams County and the surrounding area, four Negroes were whipped and a white civil rights worker assaulted; one Negro was shot and seriously injured, and at least one Negro was murdered. There were also cross burnings on several occasions and arson attempts on two Negro homes, as well as destruction by fire of four Negro churches and a Negro cafe. A climax was reached on the night of September 26, 1964, when the homes of the mayor of Natchez and a prominent Negro contractor were bombed. Law enforcement authorities failed to solve any of these cases.

The results in Madison County were similar:

> Civil rights workers have been active in Canton, the county seat, since 1962. The violence which occurred in 1964 was primarily directed at them, at their headquarters, the "Freedom House," and at local churches. In Madison County from June 1963 to September 1964, five Negroes were wounded by gunshot and the Freedom House was bombed twice and shot at on three occasions. Three other buildings in the Negro community were bombed, and four Negro churches were destroyed by fire. There were also several assaults on Negroes and white civil rights workers. In only two cases were the persons responsible for this violence arrested and prosecuted, and in both instances the defendants pleaded no contest and received minimal fines.

The Commission found that investigation of these incidents by the responsible law enforcement officials was shallow and that in some cases officials treated civil rights workers as suspects rather than the victims of the violence.

The threat to the personal security and rights of Negroes and civil rights workers in the South warrants the attention of the country and the Congress. Interference with the exercise or attempted exercise of federally protected rights cannot be accepted. There must be adequate federal protection for those asserting federal rights.

2. Equal Justice for Negroes

The second area of concern is the need to secure equal justice for Negroes in the South. We are not interested in abstract principles, but in ensuring that Negro citizens and civil rights workers are free to exercise their constitutional rights free from harassment, intimidation and discrimination by courts, court officials, unfairly selected juries and law enforcement agents.

In the South justice is administered to Negroes by white men, who occupy the positions of judge, justice of the peace, prosecuting attorney, sheriff, policeman, courtroom clerk, bailiff and juror. As Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard Law School and a member of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, has written, these persons "use their authority far too often to perpetrate a system of social control, which may represent what has been regarded as the southern way of life, but which is wholly inconsistent with rights established by valid Federal power as a part of"the supreme Law of the Land." "The Negro, and his supporters, march in the streets not because the law is not clear, but because it has not been followed. He knows from long experience that a resort to the courts will far too often result, initially, in delay, frustration, injustice, and denial of clearly defined rights. It is small comfort to him that three years later he will get justice from the Supreme Court of the United States." Dean Griswold called for the dispensation of "true and real justice" by the local officials close at hand.

The Southern Regional Council has described the pervasiveness of dual justice in the South:

> "In many areas of the South, dual justice is a standing abuse to all Negroes--the maid, the undertaker, the field hand, the school teacher, the minister. It exists from birth to death and the knowledge of it comes so early that a man may think he received it in his genes. It exists in the day to day brushes with "the law": the policeman on his beat, at traffic court, in civil cases. It exists in the more awesome confrontations with judges and juries in rape and murder cases. To the extent that it exists, it provokes desperation among Negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes them to shun the policeman and the courts as enemies."

The dual system of justice in the South is reflected in discriminatory setting of bail, verdicts, sentencing, and discriminatory treatment by law enforcement officials. It is also reflected in segregated courtrooms and courthouse restrooms. Perhaps more fundamental is the difficulty in obtaining adequate representation by lawyers--officers of the courts--who must cope with the consequences of asserting in behalf of Negroes or civil rights workers constitutional rights repugnant to much of the white community.

3. Police-Minority Group Community Relations

The third area of concern is police-minority group community relations. This is primarily an urban problem most pronounced in the North and West but with grave implications for the entire nation. Substantial numbers of minority group citizens who reside in these urban areas complain bitterly about what they consider to be permissive law enforcement, police brutality, discourteous treatment, improper arrest and detention practices and discriminatory personnel policies. Hundreds of thousands of ghetto residents see the police as their enemy. Many urban riots of the last few years-- Philadelphia, Harlem, Watts, Los Angeles--were sparked by incidents involving the police and the police became the principal target of the rioters.

Police-minority group community relations problems in our urban centers are deep and complex. Positive steps must be taken to deal with them.

I. PROTECTION OF NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS FROM INTIMIDATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHTS

A. Support of Title V of the Administration Bill

There should be broad support of Title V of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill, which would provide greater federal protection to Negroes and civil rights workers from intimidation.

Commentary:

The problem of guaranteeing protection for Negroes and their supporters in the deep South, who seek to exercise their federal rights, was faced by post-Civil War Congresses. A series of civil rights bills aimed at this problem were enacted. However, subsequent Congressional amendments and court decisions have largely emasculated these civil and criminal statutes. Today, they are weak weapons to fight racial violence and other racial intimidation where local authorities are unwilling to do so. Three major difficulties in applying these statutes have come from court opinions which: (a) require, in a prosectuion for violation of the criminal statutes, a showing of "specific intent," amounting almost to a demand that the Federal Government prove that the assailant actually had in mind not only illegal violence, but also an intent to deprive the victim of a specific constitutional right; (b) declare that the statutes do not apply to acts by private individuals when there is no color of state law; and (c) hold that the statutes do not provide protection for all federal rights, but only for certain limited ones.

On March 28, 1966, as the Administration was preparing its bill to submit to Congress, the Supreme Court handed down two significant decisions, United States v. Price and United States v. Guest, which bear on these federal civil rights statutes. The impact of these decisions is not yet certain. However, there was some clarification. First, the present civil rights statutes dealing with violence--18 U.S.C. 241 and 242--provide protection for all rights included in the Federal Constitution. Thus, any future statute could provide such extensive coverage. Second, a majority of the court appears ready to rule that the Federal Government, under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment, has the power to pass a statute that would penalize private persons whose actions interfere with any Fourteenth Amendment right.

With this background, the Administration has drafted Title V of its Civil Rights Bill of 1966--a statute imposing criminal penalties to deter and punish interference by force or threat of force with activities protected by federal law or the Constitution. The areas of protected activity are enumerated specifically in the bill. They are voting, public accommodations, public education, public services and facilities, employment, housing, jury service, use of common carriers, and participation in federally assisted programs.

Title V is designed to punish persons who injure, intimidate or interfere with persons because of their race, color, religion, or national origin while they are engaging or attempting to engage in these protected activities. The statute would also punish violence or intimidation intended to discourage persons from engaging in the protected activities. Under this provision, intimidation of persons who have not been involved in civil rights activity would be punished if the victim were selected in order to discourage others from exercising the protected rights.

The new law also would cover intimidation and violence directed at persons who urge or aid others to participate in the protected activity, or who engage in speech or peaceful assembly opposing the denial of the opportunity to engage in the protected activity. The statute would protect officials or other persons, such as voting registrars, restaurant owners and employers, who have the duty to afford the rights involved.

An important feature is a provision for graduated penalties in accordance with the seriousness of the consequences of the violation. For example, if death results, the violator may be imprisoned for life; if bodily injury short of death occurs, the violator may receive a maximum sentence of ten years and a $10,000 fine; if no personal injury results, the violator is subject to a maximum prison term of one year and a maximum fine of $1,000.

Sections 241 and 242 are not eliminated from the Code. Rather they are left as alternative bases for prosectuion, but each is amended to make its penalty provisions roughly comparable to those outlined above.

Title V should be helpful in affording a much firmer basis for federal criminal prosectuion of perpetrators of racial violence. It will also enable the F.B.I. to determine more precisely when a violation of federal criminal civil rights statutes has taken place and so be better prepared to take appropriate action including making on-the-scene arrests.

B. Enactment of Federal Legislation to Assure Compensation to Victims of Racial Violence.

No remedy is complete if it does not make the victim whole. The Administration bill provides more effective criminal penalties against racially motivated violence and offers the promise of juries more likely to convict the guilty. But there remains a need for more effective remedies than those now on the books for assuring compensation to those who are injured by racial violence. The lack of effective civil remedies has been documented in many studies, most particularly in the 1961 Report of the Commission on Civil Rights. Legislation should be enacted to assure that victims of private racial violence will be compensated for physical injuries and personal property losses.

(1) Congress should enact legislation giving persons who suffer physical injury or property loss as the result of exercising rights protected by the criminal provisions of Title V of the Administration Bill, or as the result of urging or aiding others to exercise such rights, a right of action in federal court for money damages against the person responsible for the injury or loss.

Current federal law (42 U.S.C. 1985(3) is inadequate to enable persons who are injured by private persons in the course of exercising federally protected rights to bring suits for money damages in federal court. Section 1935(3) is applicable only to conspiracies. Also, the Supreme Court has indicated that action under color of law (action by local governmental officials or employees) requires proof of conspiracy to deprive a person of "the equal protection of the law, or of equal privileges and immunities under the law." It is thus highly questionable whether the existing statute reaches acts of private persons. A new law is needed to give persons who suffer physical injury or property loss as the result of exercising any of the specific rights protected by the criminal provisions of Title V of the Administration Bill, or as the result of urging or aiding others to exercise such rights, a right of action for money damages in federal court against those responsible for the injury or loss.

(2) Congress should amend Section 1983 of Title 42 of the United States Code to provide that any county government, city government, or other local government entity that employs officers who deprive persons of rights protected by Section 1983 shall be jointly liable with the officers to persons who suffer injury or loss from such officers' misconduct.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights in a recent report found that law enforcement officers in certain communities had arrested and abused victims of racial violence, had frequently arrested civil rights workers for petty offenses or on unsubstantiated charges, had frequently interfered with the exercise of the right to assemble peacefully to make known grievances, had failed to protect civil rights demonstrators against hostile and angry crowds, and had subjected civil rights participants to intolerable jail conditions designed to inflict punishment--all in violation of the United States Constitution.

Section 1983 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code authorizes the federal court to grant relief in money damages to any person deprived under color of law of any right, privilege, or immunity secured by the Constitution. Under this section, a person who has suffered personal injury or property loss as a result of conduct by a local law enforcement officer which is in violation of the Constitution may sue that officer in federal court and obtain financial compensation. The victim of official misconduct may be stymied, however, in his effort to obtain financial compensation from an individual official responsible for his loss if the official has insuffieient funds to make full retribution. Section 1983 should be amended to make any county government, city government, or local entity that employs officials who deprive persons of rights protected by Section 1983, jointly liable with the officers to the victims of such officers' misconduct. Such legislation was recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights in 1961, 1963 and 1965. Aside from assuring the recovery of sufficient funds to compensate for the loss, the legislation would have the additional value of encouraging local governmental entities to assume, more realistically, their responsibility for the misconduct of their employees.

C. Effective Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws to Support the President's Request, in His Message to Congress of April 29, 1966, for More Federal Agents to Increase the Effective Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws.

The panel on the Administration of Justice at the Planning Session recommended that the President of the United States immediately implement a recommendation of the United States Commission on Civil Rights which called for greater federal involvement in local law enforcement in certain southern communities where there had been or was likely to be substantial racial violence. Since that time the Supreme Court has decided the Guest and Price cases; the Administration has submitted to Congress a civil rights bill containing new criminal provisions designed to deter and punish interference by force or threat of force with activities protected by the Constitution or other federal law, and the President, in his message of April 29, 1966, called upon Congress to "authorize an appropriation providing for another 100 F.B.I. agents and additional supporting personnel--to strengthen our capacity to deal with civil rights crimes." The President stated that "the Federal Government has its responsibilities to see that federal rights are secured and their transgressors brought to justice," and that "we shall meet these responsibilities."

The Supreme Court decisions, Title V of the Administration Bill, and the President's request, if favorably considered, should have a significant impact on law enforcement in areas where there is a tendency toward racial violence. The extent of the impact of these recent developments cannot be assessed accurately at this time. We should support the President's request for additional F.B.I. men. Consideration of other enforcement measures should be deferred until the effect of these developments become clear.

II. EQUAL JUSTICE

A. Support for Titles I and II of Administration Bill: Non-discrimination in Juror Selection

(1) Support for Titles I and II of the Administration Bill which provide for non-discrimination in the selection of Federal and state jurors.

Commentary:

Title I of the Administration's Bill has, as its basic objective, the assurance that Federal grand and petit jurors be drawn from a broad cross section of the community. There are four key features:

a) No person or class of persons shall be denied the right to serve on grand or petit juries in Federal courts on account of race, color, religion, sex , national origin, or economic status.

b) Voter registration rolls become the exclusive source from which names of prospective jurors must be drawn, with the exception that this need not be done where voter rolls reflect discrimination.

c) Detailed compulsory procedures are specified for the selection of names from basic sources, and for each subsequent step in the selection process.

d) A special method is provided for determining whether jury officials have followed the prescribed procedures.

It can be seen that this proposal bars what have come to be known as "blue ribbon" juries. It attempts to meet the critical objective of drawing Federal jurors from the broadest possible cross section of the community by overcoming the most basic problem: finding a generally available source of names that is broadly representative of the population of the judicial district by race, color, religion, sex, national origin, and economic status. The proposal relies upon the voting rolls maintained by State officials and federal examiners on the theory that these rolls reflect a full and fair cross section of the community in most areas, and assumes that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 will assure an early end to racial discrimination in the registration process.

Recognizing that an interim period of discrimination may exist, there is a special provision for implementing the ban on discrimination in Federal juries. Where Negroes or other groups are still not fairly represented on the voter rolls, the judicial council of the circuit (the Federal appellate court judges,) may designate other sources of names. Additionally, there is an important requirement that names be taken at random, from the voting rolls.

The bill retains substantially the qualifications prescribed by present law, i.e., a juror must be 21 years old, a citizen residing in the judicial district, free of any serious mental and physical disabilities, and not convicted of a serious crime (unless pardoned), and able to read, write, speak and understand English. The jury commission can determine such qualifications only on the basis of a standard juror qualification form or the returned summons. Subjective judgments about the competence of jurors, such as intelligence and good character, are forbidden. Once a person is found qualified, his name is placed in a "qualified juror wheel," and subsequently, if his name is drawn, he is assigned to participate on grand or petit jury panels.

There are provisions for assuring that selection procedures in both criminal and civil cases are followed. Non-compliance can be raised prior to the introduction of any evidence at trial. If there is some evidence of non-compliance, the challenging party is given access to the relevant records and papers of the jury commission which are otherwise confidential. If the Court finds non-compliance, it may dismiss the indictment or stay the proceedings until a proper jury is selected. Actual prejudice need not be shown by the challenger.

The bill would change significantly the present law governing exclusions and excuses from jury service, the theory being that jury duty is an obligation of citizenship. Excuses are only granted on an individual basis and then only for a six month period in cases of "unusually severe hardship."

Title II of the Administration Bill is designed to eliminate all forms of unconstitutional discrimination in the selection of juries in state courts. In contrast to Title I, which deals with federal courts, Title II does not prescribe any specific procedure to be followed in selecting jurors. The states can continue to use any seemingly valid jury selection methods until a federal court determines that such methods have operated in a discriminatory manner.

There are three essential provisions:

First, discrimination in state jury selection processes on account of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or economic status is prohibited. Second, the Attorney General is authorized to enforce the prohibition on discrimination by civil injunctive proceedings against state and jury officials. Third, a discovery mechanism is provided to facilitate determinations as to whether unlawful discrimination has occurred in the jury selection process.

The Attorney General is authorized to sue for preventive relief in federal courts when he has grounds to believe that state jury officials are violating the provision against jury discrimination. This is a power similar to those he already has explicitly with respect to voting, public accommodations and employment. Also, this bill specifies certain types of relief which the federal courts can grant in suits brought either by the Attorney General or by private individuals, such as suspending state procedures which are used for discrimination, and even prescribing objective criteria for determining qualifications, requiring state jury officials to maintain detailed records, and appointing a special master to take over the functions of the state jury officials. These types of judicial relief are not novel and are akin to those operative in the voting area today.

There is a special discovery procedure, which in effect assures that one can ascertain whether or not discrimination has occurred in the jury selection process. This procedure is available both to the Attorney General and to private litigants as well as to a defendant in a criminal case. It assures that when an individual asserts that there has been discrimination, the state or local officials must furnish a written statement regarding jury selection and how the names were secured. This in turn will become evidence of whether the jury has been fairly selected and the party who complains may not only cross examine, but may present other evidence to support his charge. The Bill contains a specific provision making the destruction or concealing of official evidence a federal crime punishable by $1,000 fine or one year in prison or both.

B. Enactment of Federal Legislation to Secure Equal Justice in Areas Other Than Juries

(1) Enact legislation to provide for the removal of civil rights cases from State to Federal trial courts in order to assure a fair trial.

Commentary:

The Administration Bill does not contain a provision for the removal of cases from a state to a federal trial court. The Planning Session participants considered a removal provision as one of several elements that might be included in a new civil rights bill. In those instances where other measures to secure a non-discriminatory trial fail, removal of the case to a federal court may be the only alternative. At the present time removal of a case from a state to a federal court is difficult to accomplish unless it is based upon an invalid state stutute.

There are a number of different approaches which have been suggested to the Congress. The Administration takes the position that it has recently participated in two cases in the Supreme Court, Rachel v. Georgia, and Peacock v. City of Greenwood, which would have the impact, if decided as the Justice Department desires, of expanding removal beyond unlawful state statutes. There is no assurance, however, that the Supreme Court will adopt a broad reading of the existing removal statute. The importance of removal in civil rights cases seems to warrant, therefore, legislation to provide for the removal of cases from a state to a federal trial court in any local criminal prosecution or civil or criminal contempt proceeding where the person prosecuted is a member of a racial group which is discriminated against in the administration of justice. Discrimination in the administration of justice would be established by proof of jury discrimination, voting discrimination affecting elections at which the prosecuting attorney or judge of the prosecuting governmental unit is elected, discrimination in any of the facilities of the administration of justice, such as the courts or the jails, or discrimination in sentencing, setting of bail or terms of release.

There should also be provision for the removal of cases, civil or criminal, from a state court to a federal district court where the prosecution or proceeding is maintained as a result of the exercise of first amendment rights in advocating racial equality or protesting the denial of racial equality, or where the prosecution or proceeding is maintained for any act or omission protected by the Constitution or federal laws against interferences by reason of race or color. Such a provision would enable civil rights advocates and persons attempting to exercise constitutional or other federally protected rights who are arrested by local authorities, because of their civil rights participation, to remove their prosecutions to a federal forum for trial.

The foregoing removal provisions are incorporated in the Douglas bill (S. 2923) and the Kennedy-Javits bill (S. 3170).

(2) Enact federal legislation to permit private persons to obtain injunctive relief where state prosecutions are brought against persons for exercising 1st amendment rights directed at obtaining equal treatment for all citizens regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

A federal statute (28 U.S.C. 2283) prevents a federal court, unless expressly authorized by Act of Congress, from enjoining state court proceedings. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964 have been held to authorize such injunctions where the state court proceeding is based on conduct protected by those statutes. But there is no statute which at present "specifically authorizes" an injunction against state criminal prosecutions brought against persons for exercising 1st amendment rights directed at obtaining equal treatment for all citizens regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin. In its 1965 Law Enforcement Report, the United States Commission on Civil Rights recommended that Congress amend 42 U.S.C. 1983 to create such authorization.

(3) Enact federal legislation to afford more adequate criminal sanctions against state and local officials who deprive citizens of constitutional rights.

Section 242 of the Federal Criminal Code is the provision of federal criminal law prohibiting state and local officials from willfully depriving citizens of their constitutional rights. It is the provision now used by the Federal Government to prosecute law enforcement officials for police brutality, instances of which are found in the North as well as the South. As judicially construed, however, a prosecution under Section 242 requires a showing of "specific intent" by the defendant to deprive the victim of recognized constitutional rights. This requirement stems from the concern of the Supreme Court that in the absence of such a requirement the statute, which forbids the wilful deprivation of "due process" rights, would impose no ascertainable standard of guilt.

The need to establish "specific intent" has been a serious barrier to federal criminal prosecutions for civil rights violence. While Title V corrects this problem with respect to interferences with equal protection rights (e.g. public facilities, voting), the problem is not remedied with respect to denials of due process rights by law enforcement officials. The Administration Bill therefore should be amended to enumerate specific due process rights, interference with which would constitute a crime. In 1961, the United States Commission on Civil Rights recommended such a statutory revision, suggesting that Congress enact a companion provision to 18 U.S.C. 242 making the penalties of that statute applicable to those who maliciously perform under color of law certain described acts, including the following:

a) Subjecting any person to physical injury for an unlawful purpose;

b) Subjecting any person to unnecessary force during the course of arrest or while the person is being held;

c) Subjecting any person to violence or unlawful restraints in the course of eliciting a confession to a crime or any other information;

d) Subjecting any person to violence or unlawful restraints for the purpose of obtaining anything of value;

e) Refusing to provide protection to any person from unlawful violence at the hands of private persons knowing that such violence was planned or was then taking place:

f) Aiding or assisting private persons in any way to carry out acts of unlawful violence.

(4) Amend Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to cover discrimination in public employment.

Negro citizens are subjected to discrimination in employment with state and local law enforcement agencies in many of our Southern States. They are not usually employed as prosecuting officials, policemen, highway patrolmen, sheriffs, deputies, constables, prison guards, court clerks, bailiffs, and the like. In some areas, all law enforcement agencies are entirely white. Even where Negroes are employed by law enforcement agencies, they are treated discriminatorily in terms of assignment and promotions. There are indications that some of these problems are not confined wholly to the South. As long as these conditions persist, Negro citizens in the communities involved cannot hope to receive fair treatment. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which established a federal right to equal opportunity in employment, does not cover state or local public employment. The Title should be amended to include such employment, so that Negroes will be fairly represented in state or local law enforcement agencies.

C. Undertake Efforts to Assure Adequate Legal Representation for Negroes and Civil Rights Workers in Controversial Cases

(1) Law schools and bar associations, including the American Bar Association, should take steps to assure zealous representation by local counsel of Negroes and civil rights workers.

The law schools and the bar associations bear a large share of the responsibility for the inability of Negroes and civil rights workers in the South to receive adequate representation in controversial cases. If the bar associations and the law schools made it clear to their students, members, and the public that lawyers have an obligation to provide a vigorous defense in all cases--regardless of whether they involve Negroes or unpopular causes, individual lawyers might be less reluctant to accept such cases. The law schools and the bar association should be urged to assume responsibility in this area.

(2) The Federal Government should consider establishing legal aid centers to provide adequate legal representation to Negroes and civil rights workers.

In those areas of the country where Negroes and civil rights workers are not being provided adequate legal representation, the Federal Government should consider establishing legal aid centers so that competent counsel will be available. These centers might be similar to the neighborhood legal service centers established under the poverty program to handle both civil and criminal cases. Lawyers employed by the center would be employed on a career basis, thereby reducing public pressure.

III. IMPROVEMENT OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

A. The Federal Government Should Seek to Improve Police-Community Relations by Establishing Assistance Programs in the Areas of Recruitment, Testing, Selection, Training, Organization and Pay.

Commentary:

Improvement of police-community relations should be sought through the multi-pronged efforts of the Federal Government, the states, local governments, and private groups. In line with a recommendation first made by the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 1961, the Federal Government now is engaged in an experimental program aimed at improving the quality of state and local police forces and other agencies of justice. The Office of Law Enforcement Assistance of the Department of Justice has the responsibility for administering this program. Its first appropriation for a partial year of operation was 7.2 million, and the President has proposed to increase this to 13.7 million for the next fiscal year. It seems doubtful that either 7.2 million or 13.7 million will be adequate to accomplish the objective, given the scope of the problem. Any such federal program must expend greater effort and money in dealing with the urgent problems underlying the explosive state of police-community relations in many of our urban ghettos.

The federal program should have the following objectives:

(1) to determine and establish the requisite qualifications for a police officer in an urban community;

(2) to improve techniques of recruitment, testing and screening, thereby increasing the likelihood that policemen will be selected who can perform their duties on a nondiscriminatory basis and who can be effective within the context of the myriad pressures that affect policemen in a time of social and legal change;

(3) to alter the patterns of police organization, advancement, and pay, so that more of our superior young people are attracted to careers in the police profession;

(4) to provide scholarships or other methods by which college-level training can be provided for police officers and by which college-educated persons may be brought into police forces at levels significantly above that of patrolman;

(5) to improve police training, both at the entry and in-service levels, in human relations and constitutional rights, as well as in techniques of effectively enforcing the law;

(6) to assist police departments in modernizing their entire organization

and administration so as to take advantage of modern business methods as well as the latest findings of science in apprehending offenders;

(7) to provide grants and assistance to aid government and private organizations and individuals in achieving the goals outlined below.

B. Federal Assistance Should be Conditioned Upon Steps by States to Improve Police-Community Relations.

While the states and localities may look to the Federal Government for financial assistance and support, this will not be enough. The states and localities themselves must take action in those areas in which success will depend upon their initiative. The states should take the following steps, which should be made conditions of federal assistance:

(1) Initiation of a positive and aggressive campaign to recruit and hire qualified minority group personnel for the state highway patrol and other state law enforcement bodies. The minority group personnel should be fully integrated into the law enforcement units.

(2) Establishment of minimum state standards for all police officers, enforced through uniform state tests and licenses.

(3) Provision for periodic training programs in both skills and attitudes for all police officers to improve their professional techniques of law enforcement.

(4) Provision of a salary supplement for police officers who are continuing their education or who have graduated from college.

(5) Assistance to localities in developing better police forces, the assistance should include guidance in taking advantage of federal as well as state programs in this field, e.g., it should help the smaller police departments in preparing applications for federal funds and in

helping its men to prepare to pass state licensing tests.

C. Federal Assistance Also Should be Conditioned Upon Steps by Localities to Improve Police-Community Relations.

The major burden for improving police-community relations rests on the local governments. These governments should undertake the following steps, which also should be made conditions for federal grants-in-aid:

(1) Upgrading of Police Organization, Equipment and Facilities

In those instances where the equipment, organization and physical facilities of the local police department are outmoded, as is often the case, the responsible local officials should recognize that general obsolescence tends to contribute to aggravated relations between police and citizens, for it prevents the police from doing their job in an effective way. Accordingly, sufficient financial and other support should be given to efforts to improve the basic structure of the police department.

(2) Establishment of an Adequate Complaint Procedure

Reports persist of police misconduct in many communities with substantial numbers of minority group citizens. Local officials should take action to assure that there is an adequate procedure whereby a citizen may file a complaint of such misconduct. At the least, this procedure should provide a basis for the belief that the complainant will be fairly and properly treated, that his complaint will be promptly heard and investigated, that disciplinary action will be taken against the offending officer in appropriate cases, and that the complainant will be informed of the disposition of his complaint. In some cases it may be necessary to establish a police-citizens advisory board to restore confidence in the complaint process.

(3) Definition of the Role That the Police Department is Expected to

Play in the Community.

Local officials should undertake an educational program in the community to facilitate understanding of what a police department traditionally has been expected to do and what is expected of the police department at the present time. In most urban areas the Negro community believes that the white community is using the police department as its subtle weapon to keep the Negro in his ghetto and in his place, and to perpetuate a distorted image of the amount of crime in ghetto areas. We are at the point where this unpleasant fact should surface and where the entire community, led by the officials, should seek to dispel this notion.

(4) Establishment of a Community Relations Unit in the Police Department.

Every police department should have a community relations unit. The unit should have a budget and should be commanded by a line police officer who reports directly to the chief of police. The unit's personnel should be rotated periodically. Experience indicates that these units can be effective only where the policeman at large realizes that the individual who is commanding the community relations effort may one day in the near future be commanding the precinct in which he may serve.

D. The Federal Government Should Establish a National Police Cadet Training Corps.

Police departments across the country have recognized that a substantial number of young men who ordinarily would be interested in careers as policemen do not enter such work because they cannot be employed as policemen before they are 21 years old. Most of these men have been graduated from high school and are otherwise qualified for the police force. Some communities have established cadet programs to train these men until they meet the age requirement. A federal program should make available to all high school graduates between the ages of 19 and 21 who are able to meet prescribed physical and mental requirements for police work, an opportunity to undergo a comprehensive training program in all phases of such work. These men would be given courses in constitutional law, human relations, and psychology in addition to training in regular police practice and procedures while awaiting full-time employment by a police department. Cadets would then be sent to their respective hometown police departments, where they would serve in such capacities as clerks, typists, and other non-law enforcement capacities, such as automobile ticketers. Upon attaining the age of 21, they would be employed as regular police officers. The program could be financed by the federal, state,and local governments.

E. Private Groups Should be Impressed With the Responsibility They Have for Improving Law Enforcement.

Although it is essential that law enforcement agencies take all of the above listed steps, true improvement in this area cannot be made without concerted supportive efforts by private groups and organizations. Businessmen can be shown why police-minority group community relations is the business of the business community, that there is a vital economic interest in the quality of law enforcement and in the maintenance of mutual respect between the police and members of minority groups. Businessmen must bring to bear on the problems of quality law enforcement and police-community relations the imagination and resourcefulness that have made it possible for them to prosper as businessmen in the community. This active and imaginative support is essential on a continuing basis, not just in time of crisis. One method of accomplishing this objective is to establish a businessmen's interracial committee to work with the police on problems that have been the source of poor police-minority group community relations.

Members of bar associations have special responsibility for improving law enforcement and police-minority group community relations. To begin with, they should look at archaic law enforcement practices and insure that they are brought into conformity with modern police practice and with the latest interpretations of law. In addition, they should form committees to probe deeply into police practices.

The community at large also has an important role to play. Civil rights, civic, social, and religious groups should be brought to the realization that police-minority group community relations is the business of the entire community. As a first step, each community should establish a broad-based interracial police-community relations committee to work with the police. Citizens on this committee should come from diverse backgrounds. But in order to be most effective there should be a substantial number of concerned and influential persons from the business community. The committee, through sub-committees, should work with the police in those areas which frequently have been the source of poor police-minority group community relations. The sub-committees could consider, both generally and with specific reference to minority groups, topics such as the following:

(1) Police discourtesy.

(2) Arrest and detention practices.

(3) Slowness in responding to service calls.

(4) Juvenile problems.

(5) Police personnel practices, such as the assignment and promotion of minority personnel.

(6) Permissive law enforcement.

(7) The complaint procedure.

The committee should also take the following actions:

(1) Urge the city to undertake independent studies of police law enforcement practices, administration and organization, and to carry out the recommendations once the studies are completed.

(2) Urge the appropriate prosecuting official in the community to hold regular conferences with ranking police officers to apprise them of new legal developments and to review law enforcement practices.

(3) Urge that sufficient money be allocated to the police department so that it can operate at its fully authorized strength and more fully meet its obligations and needs.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Correspondence

1965-66
+UNDATED

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

October 22, 1965

REPORT TO: The President

FROM: Morris B. Abram
William T. Coleman

On October 5, 1965, you appointed us as Co-Chairmen of the White House Conference, serving with Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Honorary Chairman.

We have undertaken your charge to organize the White House Conference on Civil Rights called for in your Howard University address of June 4, 1965. In that address you stated the theme and title of the Conference: "To Fulfill These Rights". You defined the objective of the Conference as enabling the American Negro to "fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure; to move beyond opportunity to achievement."

You have asked us as a first step to convene on November 17th and 18th a small group of "men and women with long experience in the fields of housing, employment, education, social welfare and the like" to "point the way toward new efforts to include the Negro American more fully in our society."

We are pleased, as you are, that Mr. Berl I. Bernhard has accepted the responsibility as Executive Director for the November Planning Session. As former Staff Director of the United States Civil Rights Commission, and as an attorney active in many civic and civil rights efforts, he is well equipped to give this planning meeting informed and able leadership.

We have sought the advice of knowledgeable persons in the fields of civil rights, labor, religion, business, and social welfare, as well as scholars and experts. Aided by these discussions we have developed plans for a November session which will explore in depth and in their interrelationships issues and proposals in such areas as employment and economic security, education, housing, family stability, administration of justice, and government and private resources for change. We have enlisted the services of experienced individuals capable of drawing upon the bdst thinking now available in the public and private sectors.

We hope the November meeting will identify the principle obstacles to the achievement of equality and justice, and outline fresh, creative and innovative approaches to solutions. At the conclusion of the Planning Session we will submit to you a report which will include ideas and proposals resulting from the sessions, and our recommendations for additional work to be done in preparation for the Conference in the Spring.

The White House Conference in the Spring, convening a broadly representative group of citizens, will have the capacity to assist you in arriving at and carrying out concrete recommendations for action.

We are mindful that the White House Conference must not only make recommendations for programs, but that it must, as you have said, "light the candle of understanding in the heart of all America".

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON
575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

MURRAY HILL 8-5600
CABLE: LONGSIGHT, N.Y.

SIMON H. RIFKIND
ROBERT E. SAMUELS
JOHN F. WHARTON
LLOYD K. GARRISON
MYER D. MERMIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
H. RUSSELL WINOKUR
ALEXANDER HEHMEYER
ADRIAN W. DEWIND
MORRIS B. ABRAM
MORDECAI ROCHLIN
PAUL J. NEWLON
JOSEPH S. ISEMAN
JAMES B. LEWIS
SIDNEY R. NUSSENFELD
MARTIN KLEINBARD
RICHARD H. PAUL
NORMAN ZELENKO
JOHN E. MASSENGALE
JAY H. TOPKIS
EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN
ROBERT H. MONTGOMERY, JR.
JOHN C. TAYLOR, 3RD
BERNARD H. GREENE
ERNEST RUBENSTEIN
ALLAN B. ECKER
ALAN N. COHEN
JAMES L. PURCELL
ARTHUR KALISH
DAVID T. WASHBURN
BERNARD FINKELSTEIN

RANDOLPH E. PAUL 1946-1956
LOUIS S. WEISS 1927-1950

Wm. Coleman
Rm 2635
Fidelity, Phila Trust Co Bldg
Phila, Pa
215 [illegible]

October 25, 1965

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

As I stated to you this morning, a conference was held with the White House Staff at the White House on Friday last.

Unfortunately, I was still "holding" over Dulles Airport when the meeting adjourned. When I finally landed at Baltimore, I hastened to our offices at 1800 G Street, and participated in the drafting of the enclosed report requested by the White House staff.

I am delighted you think well of the ideas in this report for the President has now officially affirmed the direction of our efforts.

The Report represents the melding of considerable thought, many responsible suggestions, and the views of the White House.

No one in the planning sessions has challenged the idea that economic dependence is central to the problems on which the President focused in his Howard University speech. For that reason, we insisted that the panels explore the various issues "in their inter-relationships" rather than as discrete matters. We also believe that specific proposals will be acceptable and will succeed in a degree tied to the elimination of prejudice itself. This is the reason for the last paragraph of the report.

Now that the President has given the direction which he wishes the Conference to take, we are able to move more decisively.

I hope that you will encourage all those whose ideas you respect to deal with those responsible for the Conference at all levels.

Respectfully,

Morris

Morris B. Abram

MBA:a

CC: William T. Coleman, Jr., Esq.
Berl I. Bernhard, Esq.

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON
575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

MURRAY HILL 8-5600
CABLE, LONGSIGHT, N.Y.

SIMON H. RIFKIND
ROBERT E. SAMUELS
JOHN F. WHARTON
LLOYD K. GARRISON,
MYER D. MERMIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
H. RUSSELL WINOKUR
ALEXANDER HEHMEYER
ADRIAN W. DeWIND
MORRIS B. ABRAM
MORDECAI ROCHLIN
PAUL J. NEWLON
JOSEPH S. ISEMAN
JAMES B. LEWIS
SIDNEY R. NUSSENFELD
MARTIN KLEINBARD
RICHARD H. PAUL
NORMAN ZELENKO
JOHN E. MASSENGALE
JAY H. TOPKIS
EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN
ROBERT H. MONTGOMERY, JR.
JOHN C. TAYLOR, 3RD
BERNARD H. GREENE
ERNEST RUBENSTEIN
ALLAN B. ECKER
ALAN N. COHEN
JAMES L. PURCELL
ARTHUR KALISH
DAVID T. WASHBURN
BERNARD FINKELSTEIN

RANDOLPH E. PAUL 1946-1956
LOUIS S. WEISS 1927-1950

November 30, 1965

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, Room 301
New York, New York 00027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I have tried to reach you by phone but with no purpose except to say how much I enjoyed our recent association and appreciated your skills, knowledge and dedication in the work in which we have been engaged.

I have already spoken to Bayard but you may convey to him my gratitude for all of his advice and cooperation.

Respectfully,

Morris

Morris B. Abram

MBA:rl

December 3, 1965

Mr. Morris B. Abram
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Abram:

I want to thank you for your letter of November 30, expressing your pleasure in the work of The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

I fully share your feeling of appreciation of the work of the Conference. I think it was constructive and creative, and prepared the basis for the big conference in the spring.

You played an important and significant role as one of the architects of the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

December 3, 1965

Mr. William T. Coleman, Jr.
2635 Fidelity Philadelphia
Trust Company Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Coleman:

I want to express my great pleasure in working with you in the development of The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

In my opinion the Conference was constructive and creative, and prepared the basis for the big conference in the spring which will be concerned with the application of some of the principles developed in the Planning Conference.

Let me congratulate you upon your fine role in serving as one of the architects of this significant effort.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

December 29, 1965

Mr. William T. Coleman, Jr.
Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish, Kohn & Kilks
2635 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building
123 South Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19109

Dear Mr. Coleman:

Just a word to say that the tentative date you suggested, January 5, 1966, for conference with Morris Abram, Carl Holman and myself, concerning the conference "To Fulfill These Rights," is inconvenient for Mr. Abram and Mr. Holman.

I will get in touch with you later to arrange another date more convenient for all concerned.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

(Temporary address)
609 North Carolina Ave. S.E.
Washington D. C.
November 20 , 1965

Mister A. Plilip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York , New York

Dear Mr. Randolph :

Just a word of congratulation for your wonderful contribution you have made in the advancement of the American-Negro in his struggle of achieving the full rights of citizenship ; also for your excellent chairmanship at the planning session for The White House Conference " To Fulfill These Rights ". You were indeed an asset to the program.

I trust that in your course of obtaining freedom and justice for the American-Negro, you will not abandon any American; who has also found himself subject to injustices because of his background, how he spells his name or where he came from.

Best wishes in the forthcoming Spring Conference and for a blessed and a happy Thanksgiving Day.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Cuellar

Charles S. Cuellar
President,
San Antonio Council for the
Spanish Speaking
383 Hatcher Ave.
San Antonio, Texas

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR
CO-CHAIRMEN
BERL I. BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1800 G STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TEL: 737-9010

November 26, 1965

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York City 22, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I would like to invite you to attend a meeting on Monday, December 6, 1965, at 3:30 p.m. in our offices, 1800 G Street, N.W., Room 1126. The purpose of the meeting will be to review the findings and proposals submitted by the directors of the eight workshop areas which were discussed at the November 17 - 18 Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

A preliminary report based on these tentative findings and proposals will be submitted to the White House during the week of December 6-10. It is not anticipated that we will have received and processed transcripts for all of the panels by that time.

The full and final report on the Planning Session will include suggestions as to the nature and scope of the spring Conference as well as proposed activities for the interim period leading up to that Conference. If time permits we hope to have some preliminary discussion of this latter report during our meeting of December 6th.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

M. Carl Holman

M. Carl Holman

December 1, 1965

Mr. M. Carl Holman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G. Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Holman:

I want to acknowledge, with thanks, your letter of November 26, concerning the meeting planned for December 6 to review the findings and proposals of the workshops of the November 17-18 White House Conference.

I greatly regret that I will be unable to attend the meeting as I will be enroute to California to the AFL-CIO Convention. I hope you will let me know something about the developments of the meeting.

Permit me to congratulate you on the splendid job you have done as one of the architects of the Conference. I consider the Conference a great success since it provides the basis for continuing discussion of proposals designed to meet the purpose of the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

PLANNING SESSION
FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

December 10, 1965

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Here is a collection of the press coverage through December 5 of the Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

Best regards,

Sincerely,

M. Carl Holman

M. Carl Holman

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

November 20, 1965

Dear Phil:

You can, and I am sure you do, take great pride and satisfaction from the results of the planning session. This was a unique experiment in the development of national policy in such a critical area, but I think it was an experiment well worth taking. I am sure many useful ideas were brought forth during the deliberations of the various committees.

Your guidance of the proceedings of the planning session was fair and firm. You have written another chapter in the great story of A. Philip Randolph and his contributions to building a better and more just America for all of us.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H Humphrey

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Honorary Chairman, Planning Session
for The White House Conference "To Fulfill
These Rights"
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 2, 1965

The Honorable
The Vice President of the United States
The United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

Just a word to express great appreciation on the part of The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", and myself personally, for the great address you made at the Conference and the delightful manner and charm with which you fielded the questions presented to you without evading a single issue.

It was a pleasure to have you at the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 25, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The Planning Session of the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," has, I believe, provided an excellent forum for free and constructive discussion of the important areas of civil rights. The leadership and direction you provided for this meeting has been of inestimable value. You clearly enunciated the principle that this Session was called to enable individuals to speak their minds and work to develop constructive programs. I understand that those who participated with you did just that.

I believe we share a sense of urgency concerning many of the issues that were raised at the Planning Session. As they are presented here for consideration, you can rest assured that they will receive our careful and prompt attention. My personal thanks to you for taking the time from your many duties to help your country.

This is nothing new for you, and the country is much the better over the past forty years because of your many efforts.

With warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit, Michigan 48226

BROTHERHOOD
of
SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
Affiliated with the AFL-CIO/CLC

217 WEST 125th STREET - Room 301
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

MOnument 2-5080 - 1

WILLIAM H. BOWE
Acting International Secy.-Treas.

C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California 94620

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
2906a North Union Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63115

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

December 3, 1965

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Permit me to express my great appreciation for your letter of November 25, 1965 in which you express your feeling that the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" provided "an excellent forum for free and constructive discussion of the important areas of civil rights." This is an accurate and sound appraisal of the Conference. I am sure that the citizens in attendance at the Conference were conscious of the fact that your wisdom and vision in calling this conference was fully justified.

There were, of course, many varied and varying views expressed on all proposals considered by the Conference. This made for clearer understanding and comprehension of the basic purposes of the Conference. The general discussions, and subsequent summarizations of same for the press, were immensely constructive and creative. They, of course, are submitted to you for your appraisal and judgement.

Now, I am confident that the Planning Conference has provided the basis for the main conference to be held in the spring, where participants may work for the application of the basic ideas set forth in the Planning Conference. May I also point out that it was generally conceded that your statement at the beginning of the Conference in the White House set the tone and idealism and philosophy of the Conference in clear and unmistakable language.

Let me express personally my great pleasure for the honor you conferred upon me in designating me as the honorary chairman of the Conference. It was a pleasure to see you and to have had the pleasure and privilege of presenting you to the Conference.

Respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph

December 3, 1965

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Permit me to express my great appreciation for your letter of November 25, 1965 in which you express your feeling that the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" provided "an excellent forum for free and constructive discussion of the important areas of civil rights." This is an accurate and sound appraisal of the Conference. I am sure that the citizens in attendance at the Conference were conscious of the fact that your wisdom and vision in calling this conference was fully justified.

There were, of course, many varied and varying views expressed on all proposals considered by the Conference. This made for clearer understanding and comprehension of the basic purposes of the Conference. The general discussions, and subsequent summarizations of same for the press, were immensely constructive and creative. They, of course, are submitted to you for your appraisal and judgement.

Now, I am confident that the Planning Conference has provided the basis for the main conference to be held in the spring, where participants may work for the application of the basic ideas set forth in the Planning Conference. May I also point out that it was generally conceded that your statement at the beginning of the Conference in the White House set the tone and idealism and philosophy of the Conference in clear and unmistakable language.

Let me express personally my great pleasure for the honor you conferred upon me in designating me as the honorary chairman of the Conference. It was a pleasure to see you and to have had the pleasure and privilege of presenting you to the Conference.

Respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph

December 22, 1965

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

Let me take this opportunity to assure you of my appreciation of the honor and privilege of having been intrusted by you with the great responsibility of serving as the honorary chairman of the Planning Session for The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," supplemented with a larger conference in the spring.

Your conceptually structuring the conference in the pattern of a spectrum, with luminous and thermal rays to provide the light of direction followed by the motivation of action, was excitingly challenging and profoundly creative.

None can gainsay the fact that there was extensive and provocative debate and discussion on the identification of problems with various and varied proposals for solutions, without any semblance of finalization, realizing that they were for your study, interpretation and evaluation, and utilization as you may deem advisable.

Certainly your wisdom and vision in calling this conference, in terms of the high qualitative standards of discussion by the participants in the conference and the nation-wide expression of concern about final policy and program by white and Negro citizens, national and local indigenous leaders, have been fully justified. In fact, your action, stemming as it were from your historic and unforgettable speech at Howard University, June 4, 1965, was an high order of statesmanship on perhaps the most important, urgent, and dangerously explosive socio-ethnic problem of this century of our country, the reason for which you have logically pinpointed.

Undoubtedly, the country is looking forward to the Spring Conference hopefully with much anticipation and interest.

Now, may I report to you upon the fine cooperation the distinguished and able co-chairmen, Morris B. Abram and William T. Coleman, Jr., and myself, received from Mr. Lee White who represented your views impressively and in a distinctively friendly manner.

By the same token, may I say that your professional White House staff, Berl I. Bernhard, M. Carl Holman, Jim Booker, Clifford Alexander, Harold Fleming and Offield Dukes, and the entire White House staff, gave constructive cooperation in developing the conference. They were dedicated and hard-working, obviously because they were aware of the fact that they were carrying out an assignment of promise and prophecy to help build the Great Society, under the leadership of a Great President, for a Great Country.

As you face these troubled times of trial by fire, may God ever sustain and keep you, and give you peace.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

LEON H. KEYSERLING
CONSULTING ECONOMIST AND ATTORNEY AT LAW
1001 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

STERLING 3-9191

November 19, 1965

Honorable A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Philip,

I am enclosing two corrected copies of your statement, which I was very happy to have had the opportunity to assist in, issued toward the end of the White House Conference yesterday.

Some of these corrections are minor, but the change from 2.2 billion to 2.2 trillion dollars on pages 6 and 7 are basic to the whole thesis. I thought that you might want to have these corrections in the event that you give the statements or parts of it further distribution. I hope that it may help to lift peoples' sights a bit.

You may want to send one copy of the corrected statement along to Bayard Rustin.

Looking forward to seeing you before too long and with all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Leon
Leon H. Keyserling

LHK:sa
Enclosures

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 7, 1965

Mr. Leon H. Keyserling
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Leon:

I want to thank you for the corrected copies of the statement which you were kind enough to develop for me so that it would be available for the press. We had these corrections made by the press room before they were sent out.

I want to express my great appreciation and thanks for your interest and fine spirit of cooperation in the economic thinking in connection with the conference.

I am thinking about organizing a committee for the purpose of drafting a rather comprehensive program on the proposals concerning housing and jobs. I hope I may be able to get your cooperation in selecting members of the committee. I will write you further about this.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

October 18, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Morsell, A. Philip Randolph, Dorothy Height, Norman Hill
Whitney Young, Prythia Hall, Walter Fauntroy, James Farmer

FROM: Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

RE: White House Conference

Mr. Randolph's letter reached the White House on Thursday, October 7. On Monday, October 11, the President finally appointed a staff to arrange the Conference. The chief members of that staff are Berl Bernhardt,Harold Fleming and Carl Holman. Clifford Alexander of the White House staff was appointed by the President to represent White House interests.

The first function of the staff was to meet on the afternoon of October 11 with Clarence Mitchell, Jack Conway, Norman Hill, Joe Rauh, Arnold Aronson, Marvin Caplin and Don Slaiman from the Leadership Conference. I understand that a number of questions were clarified, chief of which was that the November 17-18 conference was to be a planning conference for the main conference which is set for sometime in April, 1966.

In the meantime, it is clear that Mr. Randolph is the honorary chairman and Morris Abrams of the American Jewish Committee and a Negro attorney from Philadelphia, William Coleman, are the co-chairmen.

On October 7 I received a call from Mr. Abrams indicating that he was essentially in the dark as to what was happening regarding plans and I informed him of Mr. Randolph's letter with which he expressed agreement.

On October 11 Mr. Holman asked me to meet him in Washington the next day, October 12, and on that afternoon I met with Messrs. Bernhardt, Holman, Alexander and Fleming and also Norman Hill who was representing the AFL-CIO.

Several important decisions emerged from that discussion:

1) Although time is short there was general agreement that the planning conference could go in November, and the major conference take place in April.

2) That the committee for the planning should include at least one person from each of the major civil rights groups.

3) That while no important aspect of the problem should be ignored, the central focus of the conference should center on the achievement of economic stability of the Negro family through work with dignity. Protection of the citizen, particularly in the South, and the proper functioning of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Bills were additional themes given considerable discussion.

4) That the staff recommend to the White House that the idea advanced concerning the inclusion of Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, American Indians, etc., be rejected since such a course would make an orderly conference achieving the objective set out by the President difficult, if not clearly impossible.

5) It was agreed that a series of major papers would be drawn up and circulated in advance to those who will attend the planning conference. The suggested areas and persons proposed to prepare the documents are

Economics: Nat Goldfinger, Leon Keyserling, Frank Reisman, James Tobin, Vivian Henderson

Education: Kenneth Clark, James B. Conant, Patricia Sexton

Personal Security and Protection: Anthony Amsterdam

Housing: Charles Abrams, Herbert Gans, Hylan Lewis

Welfare: James Dumpson

Politics: Daniel Bell, James Wilson

The Negro Woman: Pauli Murray

Business and the Private Sector of the Economy: David Hunter, J. Irwin Miller, Thomas Watson

The papers on the Negro American, in the Fall, 1965 issue of The Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, will be used. Copies may be obtained from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 280 Newton Street, Brookline Station, Boston, Mass. 02146 - $1.50 per copy.

The committee will immediately need to give undivided attention to the nature of those papers, and the experienced and skilled persons who will write them, since they ought to be on hand within two weeks.

6) It was felt that the planning conference should be kept as small as politically and practically possible.

7) There was general agreement that persons from the following areas must be invited to the planning conference if it is to lay a realistic basis and plan a practical program that has any chance of success at the April conference:

(a) Civil rights leaders
(b) Labor leaders
(c) Leaders of the three religious groups
(d) Representatives of the business community
(e) Key men from various departments of Government
(f) Individuals with special academic skills and working experience in the field of civil rights

8) That I should spend as much time as possible in Washington where an office has been set up for Mr. Randolph. I presume that both Mr. Coleman and Mr. Abrams will also be provided with office space and will appoint an assistant to work with the committee on an ongoing basis.

From the haphazard manner with which things have occurred to date, and with the various emphasis one already observes at play within the President's staff, I am thoroughly convinced that the success or failure of the April conference will depend on the attention and work expended by the major civil rights organizations. I therefore recommend that each civil rights group appoint a key person from its staff to work on a day to day basis with the committee planning the conference between now and November 17 for, as you can clearly see, much work is to be done.

ROWLAND EVANS - ROBERT NOVAK

Rights Parley A Dismal Flop

WASHINGTON—Nothing in the glittering two-year history of President Johnson's Great Society has failed so dismally as his White House conference on civil rights last week.

Top officials had forebodings of disaster for months. That's one reason the conference was quietly changed to a "planning session" to prepare for a full conference next spring. But few were prepared for what happened Nov. 10 and 11.

RANDOLPH

The main results:

The gap between the civil rights movement and the Johnson administration is wider than ever.

A carefully planned effort to inject a new realism into the discussion of the plight of the Northern Negro was a flat failure.

The reason: shrill cries of Negro militants continued to drown out cautious attempts by more thoughtful Negro leaders to make a hard-headed appraisal of America's agonizing social problem.

THE CONFERENCE evolved last spring when the White House became engrossed in a confidential report on the deterioration of the Negro family prepared by Daniel P. Moynihan. His report was the underpinning of an eloquent commencement address at Howard University by President Johnson, summoning the White House conference.

The President's goal was a bold one: to switch the civil rights dialog from the easily understandable problem of dismantling Jim Crow in the South to the incomparably more difficult question of the Northern Negro ghetto. Thus, months of preparation went into researching the Negro male's loss of "manhood," the dominance of the Negro female, the breakdown of family life, and the acceleration of illegitimate births.

Walter Lippmann is traveling in South America. His column will be resumed on his return.

Sweeping the problems posed by the Moynihan report under the table, Negro leaders at the conference insisted that the federal government and the federal government alone could relieve the torment of the urban Negro.

IN THIS SPIRIT, ailing, aging Negro leader A. Philip Randolph called for a $100 billion federal "freedom budget" to aid the Negro. The source of this plan: civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, who has never disguised his doctrinaire Socialist view that the root of the Negro's misery is the American economic system.

The implication of Rustin's freedom budget was spelled out at the White House conference by outspoken Floyd McKissick, who insisted that, to alleviate the Negro's plight, "the capitalistic system" must be changed.

And only thinly disguised was an unhealthy dose of Negro racism. Lawrence Landry, a Negro radical leader from Chicago, complained publicly the conference was dominated by "whites and Jews."

ALL THIS was on the surface. Beneath the surface was disillusionment by those who had worked six months to prepare for two dismal days last week. One high policymaker in the administration grumbled bitterly that the Negro leadership knows only how to put its hand out to Uncle Sam. White intellectuals who had come to Washington to discuss Negro social disorganization were stunned by the demagoguery.

The question is why? Some disillusioned liberals hint darkly that radical white elements are at work, prodding Negroes to seek the unattainable (such as the $100-billion freedom budget), thereby promoting racial discord.

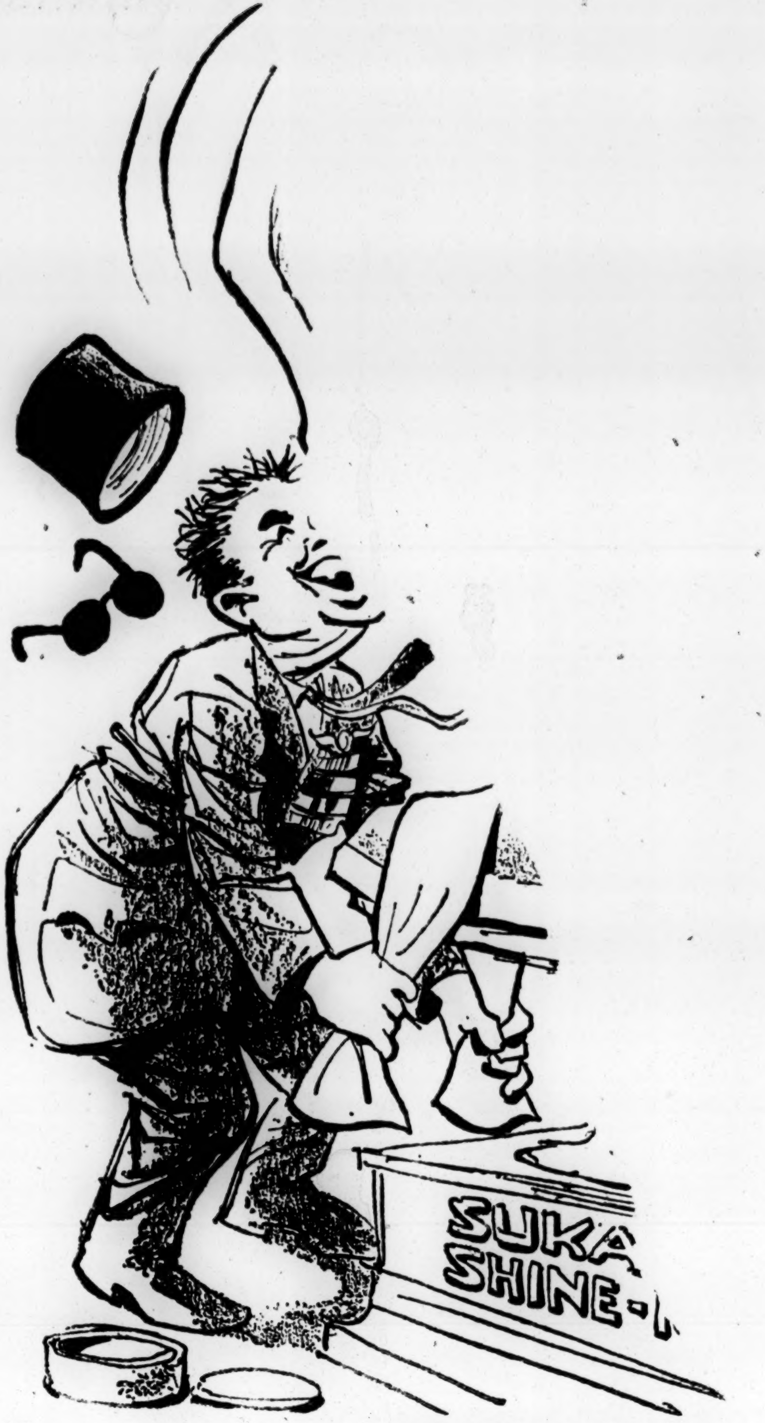
WASHINGTON

Beyond this, the civil rights leadership simply cannot break the mold of its own doctrine. To examine critically the generations-old habits of the Northern Negro and seek self-improvement would be for them a return to the discredited "Uncle Tom" preachments of Booker T. Washington. Nor can even highly intelligent leaders like Bayard Rustin free themselves from a doctrinal belief in the class struggle.

Thus, what was boldly conceived at the White House as a fresh new look became a tired rehashing of old slogans. What's more, it will happen again at the full-dress conference next spring unless the White House comes up with a new cast of characters willing to leave their dogmas at the door.

And That's A Fact . . .

Bobby Kennedy urges South Americans to join in banning conventional weapons—eggs, rocks, clubs and like that.



"Oh, thank you, sir!"

ROSCOE DRUMMOND

Realism On Red C

WASHINGTON—The United States has led its last successful fight to keep Red China out of the United Nations. When the issue next comes up, there is little doubt there will be enough votes to offer Peking a seat.

This means that U.S. opinion and U.S. policy will need to adjust to the inevitable and to decide, well in advance of the next vote, what the U.S. course should be.

MAO

What do I mean, adjust? Does this mean that a majority vote for Peking will prove that those who opposed Red China in the UN were wrong and those who supported her were right? Certainly not.

But it does mean realizing calmly that the world isn't going to come to an end if the UN votes to admit Red China.

It means that those who believe the UN should be more universal in its membership will be in the decisive majority and that the United States must be willing to play by the rules. Let us not be the ones to threaten to break up the UN or to withdraw when we don't get our way.

It means that the Johnson administration should re-examine what U.S. policy should be in the face of the new situation.

WE COULD CONTINUE to argue that Peking does not meet the requirements of the UN Charter. It doesn't.

The Charter says its members must give up "armed force" as a means of settling disputes. Mao Tze-tung says: "The seizure of power by armed force . . . is the highest form of revolution."

We could continue to argue that Red China's presence will hamper still further the

ability of the UN
king had been on
UN would have bee
the India-Pakistan tru

But this is now a
clear that the majority
side instead of outside th

Uncompromising op
cause and we ought t
structive course the U
sue.

THERE ARE TW
could usefully pursue.

One is to do every
sure that a vote to
a vote to expel Nat
country of 12,000,0
the present UN st
why it should lose
the UN wants to ad

The other line is
if Peking really w
iest way to do th
tion before the
Peking to appl
adopted, the ne
China.

Thus far,
it is the UN
suit Peking
itself to th
sion vote
paper aga
to do to
Nationalis
tion citi
South K
and rem
viet Un
etc.), fr

Appa
that Pe
doesn't

Reprinted from the August 22 1964 issue of Business Week by
special permission. Copywright 1964 by McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Johnson's call was heeded by men and women from all over the nation. Among those present were top executives from many blue-chip corporations.

Help on civil rights starting at the top

More than 400 leaders respond to White House call to use their influence for acceptance of civil rights law. While all are enthusiastic, next steps are uncertain

More than 400 business and civic leaders from all over the nation gathered in Washington Tuesday in answer to a call from Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson to use their influence in promoting "a spirit of acceptance and observance" for the civil rights law.

In the White House rose garden, the President greeted every member of the group with a handshake or an occasional bear hug. First, though, in an eloquent speech he summed up the day's theme: "We demand—and we are going to have—respect for law and order in this land."

Willing response. The group, which includes top executives of many blue-chip corporations, is the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations. It is sponsored by the Community Relations Service, a body set up under the Civil Rights Act, largely to help achieve compliance with the public accommodations and equal job opportunities provisions through conciliation.

Nearly everyone responded to Johnson's invitation. Members came at their own expense from as far away as Hawaii—and with a wide range of credentials. Among those present were Arthur Shores of Birmingham, Ala., whose home has been bombed, and B. B. Taylor of Baton Rouge, La., who has watched a cross burn on his lawn.

Business leaders in the group, either present or signed up as members, included Frederick R. Kappel, chairman of American Telephone & Telegraph Co.; H. M. Packard, president of S. C. Johnson & Son, Inc.; Henry Ford, II, chairman of Ford Motor Co.; Henry T. Heald, president of the Ford Foundation; David Sarnoff, chairman of Radio Corp. of America; Conrad N. Hilton, chairman of Hilton Hotels Corp.; and Kemmons Wilson, chairman of Holiday Inns of America.

High hopes. The response cheered Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy. After the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision in 1954, he noted that "there was a vacuum of leadership from responsible sources until finally the leadership was provided by demagogues and mobs." This time, he said, "we have a gathering of alert, intelligent, and responsible men and women."

But officials leading the conference were aware that this was only a beginning. Former Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins, director of the new Community Relations Service, observed that when the prohibition law was passed, many people felt it should be obeyed. But, he said, "these people did not find support at home, and they turned away from it." He added: "We don't want it to happen in this case—but it could."

Clearing the air. Business leaders at the conference were reassured on one "misunderstanding" which has been developing into a point of resistance to the law—the equal opportunity provisions. In no way, said Labor Secy. Willard Wirtz, does this mean the government will set racial "quotas" or "job preference" rules.

He warned that the "worst thing would be to try to take a shortcut across the quicksands of quotas." When you talk about quotas, he said, "you increase the opposition by 50%."

Enthusiasm. Chats with delegates after the day-long session indicated they were fired with enthusiasm. However, they were still unclear as to what would be specifically expected of them.

Private working sessions, with the committee divided into separate discussion groups, tried to narrow the approaches down to a manageable handful. In coming months, Collins' Community Relations Service will try to whip these into specific action programs, which members of the 400-man group can tackle.

While plans are still to be worked out, the separate working groups found agreement in a large number of areas. For example, if community relations groups do not already exist in their towns or states, they will try to get some going.

Leaders of nationwide businesses, particularly in the hotel and restaurant industry, will be asked to get local management to work with members of the National Citizens Committee. And in the South, an effort may be aimed at getting local law enforcement officers to comprehend the law fully.

Those at the White House gathering will try to get such local civic groups as Rotarians and Chambers of Commerce to take up the fight.

As Commerce Secy. Luther Hodges put it: "The stake of the businessman in civil order is great."

The New York Times
NEW YORK, N. Y.
D. 603,574 SUN. 1,283,785

AUG 1 9 1964

JOHNSON DECRIES RACIAL DISORDERS

Also Seeks to Play Down Their Effect on Election

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18—President Johnson said today that the time had come "to cease telling ourselves and the world that the destiny and fate of this nation will be decided by street rioters and night riders."

Addressing the first meeting of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations, Mr. Johnson said it also was time "to cease this cynical guessing of who will be helped, who will be hurt, by disorders and disobedience and disrespect for the decency of our society."

"All will be hurt," he said. "None will be helped."

The statement on "cynical guessing" was an apparent allusion to speculation on the effect of racial rioting on the voting in the November election.

The President declared:

"The question before our nation is not how whites will vote — or how Negroes will vote — next November. The question is how we shall work together and succeed for a hundred Novembers to come."

The President spoke to the 450 members of the committee, which was established under the new Civil Rights Act, in the White House Rose Garden.

The real problem, he suggested, is not "the shadow of race itself."

Rather, he said, it is "the darker shadow of indefensible counsel about what our response should be."

In both white and Negro communities, he said, "men are being told that no answer is better than any answer, no progress is better than any progress, no peace is better than any peace."

There are only two courses open to the nation, Mr. Johnson said:

"We can meet the challenge, or we can turn away from it. We can master the problem, or we can leave it to master us."

As for his Administration, he said, "we have chosen to meet it by the answer of law."

In support of that law, "to keep our system secure and our society stable," Mr. Johnson said "we must all begin to work where all of us work best—and that is in the communities where we live today."

Associated Press Wirephoto

DISCUSS CIVIL RIGHTS: Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, left, and LeRoy Collins, director of the Community Relations Service under the Civil Rights Act, at meeting of National Citizens Committee for Community Relations. They both spoke at the meeting in Washington.

Americans need to ask themselves, the President said:

"Are we prepared to give up our prosperity and our peace and let our prejudices make paupers of us all?

"Are we of this generation to be remembered for allowing America's progress to run aground on the shoals of race?"

The President said the answers were "No."

Mr. Johnson noted that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had been passed with the support of both Democrats and Republicans and that "conservatives voted for it as did liberals." He added:

"We demand—and we are going to have—respect for law and order in this land.

"That respect begins with this law which is the law of our land today."

Americans, he asserted, "will not—and must not—permit the destiny and direction of their nation to fall today into the hands of those who seek our division."

Earlier, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy told the citizens committee that the nation was being given a second chance to fill the "vacuum of leadership" that had existed after the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation in 1951.

This was an apparent allusion to the Eisenhower Administration.

The Attorney General said the biggest development was not violence in some areas but the fact that "hundreds and thousands of communities are accepting the law."

Thus, he said, "instead of massive resistance today we have massive compliance and cooperation."

Former Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida, director of the Community Relations Service under the Civil Rights Act, told the committee, nevertheless, of "big problems and little problems from every section of the country" that he said were already finding their way to his office.

The committee will work with the Community Relations Service and Governor Collins in seeking voluntary solutions to civil rights problems. Arthur H. Dean of New York is its chairman.

He told the committee that its job was "to contribute to and build up an affirmative national climate of respect for the law, equal treatment for all citizens, and cooperation to that end."

New York Post

AUG 18 1

RFK – Nation Must Take Rights Offensive

Washington, Aug. 18 (AP)—Attorney General Kennedy said today the nation has been given a rare second chance to fill the "vacuum of leadership" which he said followed the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation 10 years ago.

Kennedy said that decision was "received with silence by people in high places," with a resulting disrespect for the high court ruling.

The Attorney General addressed the first meeting of the 400-member Citizens' Committee for Community Relations set up under the 1964 civil rights law. He cited the committee as one example of leadership "instead of a vacuum."

'Massive Compliance'

"Instead of massive resistance today we have massive compliance and cooperation," Kennedy said. Though headlines have emphasized "violent outbreaks" in scattered areas he said, the "much bigger story is that hundreds and thousands of communities are accepting the law."

The advisory committee will work with the community relations service, a conciliation agency set up under the new law and headed by LeRoy Collins, former Governor of Florida.

Collins told the group that the $1,100,000 request of Congress to operate the service for one year is a "fraction of the cost" of federal operations in Little Rock Ark., in 1957, or in Oxford, Miss., in 1962 "or that of civil riot and property losses in the East in recent weeks."

THE FOLLOWING 2 DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Heineman Vows Action on Rights

BY ROBERT GRUENBERG
[CHICAGO'S AMERICAN
Washington Correspondent]

WASHINGTON—Ben W. Heineman of Chicago promised today that the forthcoming White House-sponsored civil rights conference will be an "action" meeting rather than just a discussion.

Heineman, board chairman of the North Western railroad, was appointed by President Johnson earlier this year as chairman of the conference "To Fulfill These Rights." It will be held here June 1 and 2.

The conference is an outgrowth of a controversial planning session held here last November at which 250 civil rights experts gave their ideas on minority group problems in this country.

Named by L. B. J.

At a press conference today Heineman said a special 29-member council, appointed by the President, will submit recommendations which the conference will be asked to act upon.

These recommendations may form the basis for new legislation, but equally if not more important, Heineman said, they are expected to touch on all areas of American life.

Cites Problems

Expounding his own philosophy on problems facing the American Negro, Heineman said:

"I personally believe there are important gaps in the area of economic security for the Negro.

"It involves, among other things, inadequate participation by business and the labor community."

CHICAGO AMERICAN
THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1966.

[illegible] Sets Action Goal For Negro Equality [illegible]

[illegible]

WASHINGTON — This year's White House Conference on Negro Equality will be a how-to-do-it session, the time for "mere identification of problems" having passed.

Ben W. Heineman, the chairman, made that pledge Thursday as he discussed plans for the conference here June 1 and 2.

The Chicago railroad executive, who gained national attention by his feat of making commuter service pay on the Chicago and North Western Ry., emphasized that users will [illegible] but rather on how to "actually make the Negro an equal participant."

He said the conference will attempt to move beyond government programs and into the area of "necessary involvement by every segment of society."

Representation, Heineman promised, will range from the most militant Negro organizations to [illegible] leaders.

One of his vice chairmen, the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, said that the Black Muslims will be among the groups solicited for ideas in preparation for the meeting. The Rev. Mr. Fauntroy is director of the Washington bureau of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Heineman is creating a [illegible] chairman of a conference council that will attempt to draft sample proposals for later consideration by all the participants.

Neither these proposals nor [illegible] White House [illegible] chairman, [illegible] The [illegible] participants. The [illegible] submitted to the President in the [illegible]

CHICAGO SUN TIMES
FRIDAY, MARCH 11, 1966.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1966

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am happy to invite you to a reception following the March 26th Council meeting, to be held in the White House Mess at 5:30 P.M.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Cliff

Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.
Deputy Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

March 23, 1966

Mr. Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.
Deputy Special Counsel
to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Cliff:

Thanks a lot for your letter of March 21 inviting me to a reception, following the March 26 Council meeting, to be held in the White House Mess at 5:30 p.m.

I greatly regret that conditions will prevent my attending the meeting of the Council on March 26.

With cordial good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1966

Dear Mr. Randolph:

It was so kind of you to autograph the photograph for me.

May I again tell you what a distinct privilege it was to work with you during the White House Conference.

With warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

Cliff

Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.
Deputy Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York, 10027

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 19, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

At a prior Council meeting I indicated that the time would come when I would seek your advice about the names of possible invitees. We are now at that point.

It is our intention to maintain the integrity of the basic list of categories of invitees approved by the Council with certain modifications. We are now in the process of gathering and refining names of invitees in such a manner that we can assure all categories will be represented according to a proper geographic distribution.

What I need from you is a carefully evaluated list of individuals who, in your opinion, fall within the categories approved by the Council. It is indispensable that we have not only their names, but their proper current address and your indication of the category or interest of the person recommended.

There were many sighs over the limited number of invitees in the various categories. It is worth sighing once again before you submit the names you have in mind. I know you understand that even at this moment we have more names than could ever be invited. At the same time I am sure we have overlooked many significant individuals.

Will you please submit the names of such individuals to us? There is an urgency in this matter, as we are just short of three weeks to agree upon a final invitation list, and to properly consider your submissions we must have them no later than April 26.

I am enclosing a list of categories and allocations as approved by the Council.

All best wishes and I hope to hear from you before April 26.

Sincerely,

Berl

Berl I. Bernhard
Special Counsel

Enclosure

RECEIVED
APR 20 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

LAW OFFICES
VERNER, LIIPFERT AND BERNHARD
SUITE 1035
UNIVERSAL BUILDING NORTH
1875 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20009

JAMES M. VERNER
EUGENE T. LIIPFERT
BERL I. BERNHARD

RONALD B. NATALIE
WILLIAM C. EVANS

CABLE ADDRESS
VERLIP

TELEPHONE 265-1070

June 8, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Just a word of thanks for your remarkable support and for your personal contribution in making the White House Conference the success I believe it was. You not only helped set the right tone for the Conference and the many Council meetings, but assured through your presence and words that you stood ready to see that many of the recommendations would and could be fulfilled.

In the abstract, you have always been one of my heroes, but it was not until this past year that I really came to appreciate your greatness. Working with you has been one of the true satisfactions of my life and I will always stand ready to assist you in any way you deem appropriate.

With warmest regards and great respect,

Sincerely,

Berl I. Bernhard

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 12, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : Staff Directors

FROM : James E. Booker jeb om
Director of Information

SUBJECT: Lead Story in the April 21st Edition of Jet

The lead story in the April 21, 1966, edition of Jet Magazine is as follows:

"HEADLINE: MILITANTS MAY PICKET WHITE HOUSE RIGHTS CONFERENCE

> Representatives of organizations of militants and residents of ghettos threatened to form a 1,000 person picket line outside of the forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights in Washington.
>
> Washington Chairman of ACT, Julius Hobson said, a national committee which included Mississippi Leader, Mrs. Fanny Hamer; New York City Rent Strike Leader, Jesse Gray; and Deacons for Defense and Justice Chairman, Ernest Thomas planned a "Black March on Washington," to coincide with the Conference.
>
> Hobson accused the Conference of failing to recognize leaders of militant and ghetto organizations on Planning Sessions. He warned, that all of the meetings would be picketed and some 2,000 participants from around the country would be urged not to attend the Sessions."

File

July 25, 1966

Dear Mr. Butler:

I want to express my personal congratulations and appreciation to you for the dedicated, competent, and impressive job you did in helping to mold the epoch-making and tremendously significant White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," called by our great President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Let me assure you that it was a great pleasure and honor to have been associated with you in this enriching and rewarding experience, the effect of which was to achieve for the dignity of the personality of colored Americans in particular and all Americans in general.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
Honorary Chairman

Mr. Hollis Butler
Central YMCA
Room 504
1736 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

ColMcKenzie/mb - same letter sent to each individual on attached list

Mr. Earl I. Bernhard
5405 Blackistone Road
Bethesda, Maryland

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy
4105 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20011

Mr. Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
769 Delaware Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. James E. Booker
10 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10037

Lt. Col. Norman J. McKenzie
3854 Columbia Pike
Arlington, Virginia

Mr. David Apter
1429 Iris Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Miss Julia T. Cellini
8144 Eastern Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. John N. Christman
100 12th Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Evelyn Idelson
1610 45th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Mr. Ronald B. Natalie
12135 Long Ridge Lane
Bowie, Maryland 20715

Mrs. Joan T. Thornell
124 12th Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Elizabeth Reeves
7760 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ray E. Tucker
7521 Cornish Drive
Alexandria, Virginia 22306

Mr. Hal Tufty
3812 Livingston Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ofield Dukes
800 Fourth Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Earl Hunigan
702 Denmead Avenue
Oxon Hill, Maryland

Mr. Arthur B. McCaw
101 G Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Azie T. Morton
1250 Fourth Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Edith M. Allen
Glebe House, Apt. A7
25 West Glebe Road
Alexandria, Virginia

Miss Winnie Balmer Apartment C-307
1600 South Joyce Street
Arlington, Virginia

Mrs. Mary Beebe
510 21st Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Joyce Bierman
4126 Wadsworth Court
Apartment 203
Annandale, Virginia

Mrs. Marilyn Blackburne
1830 Columbia Pike
Apartment 40
Arlington, Virginia

Mr. Hollis Butler
Central YMCA, Room 504
1736 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Mary Crampton
1830 K Street, N.W.
Apartment 506
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mrs. Carrie E. Craven
710 Emerson Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20011

Miss Deanna Dettmann
Apartment 201
6280 Marlboro Pike
Silver Hill, Maryland

Miss Shirley Foster ✓
5602 Chillum Place, N.E.
Apartment G1
Washington, D. C.

Miss Hazel Fry ✓
1845 Harvard Street, N. W.
Apartment 704
Washington, D. C.

Miss Marilyn C. Galvin ✓
5505 Glenallen Street
Springfield, Virginia 22151

Mrs. Helen M. Gearin ✓
13010 Valleywood Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland 20906

Mr. Morris Harris ✓
225 N. Carrollton Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

Miss Charlene Heidler ✓
1223 34th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Miss Joan Holliday ✓
5201 Eighth Road, South
Apartment 531E
Arlington, Virginia

Mr. David Kastner ✓
602 22nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Miss Donna Jean Kelly ✓
1733 N Street, N.W.
Apartment 905
Washington, D. C.

Miss Christine Kushner ✓
9902 Dallas Avenue
Silver Spring, Maryland

Miss Janet Mays
598 Quincy Street
Brooklyn, New York

Mrs. Jean Oliver ✓
3604 Tyrol Drive
Landover, Maryland

Miss Sharon M. Roddy ✓
4231 Blaine Street, N.E.
Apartment 2
Washington, D. C.

Miss Estella L. Sachs ✓
1330 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Celeste Smallwood ✓
117 56th Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Elizabeth Spencer ✓
3611 Tyrol Drive
Landover, Maryland 20785

Miss Grace V. Teti ✓
2700 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20008

Miss Constance Thomas ✓
1860 Wyoming Avenue, N.W.
Apartment 7
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Cleveland M. Thompson ✓
Central YMCA
1736 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. George H. Upshaw ✓
801 Gallatin Street, N.E.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Effie L. Watters ✓
3435 Holmead Place, N.W.
Apartment 312
Washington, D. C.

Marshall Bragdon ✓
1384 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019
JUDSON 6-8397

March 9, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am respectfully asking you to see that my name will be added to the list of persons to be invited to attend the White House Conference on Civil Rights which will be called by President Johnson during the coming Spring. I am anxious to be included in the conference inasmuch as I will be called upon to help implement the findings of the conference.

I am submitting my name to you for inclusion in the conference before the roster for conference membership is closed.

I will appreciate your assistance in this connection.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Davis
Special Director
Teacher Information and Security

JWD:dl

RECE
MAR 10 1966
OFFICE OF THE

Contributions are deductible for U. S. income tax purposes

National Officers

President
HON. FRANCIS E. RIVERS

Secretary
DR. GEORGE D. CANNON

Executive Officers

Director-Counsel
JACK GREENBERG

Acting Associate Counsel
JAMES M. NABRIT III

National Officers

Vice President
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.

Treasurer
MRS. THORNBURG COWLES

Board of Directors

MRS. FARROW R. ALLEN
Riverdale, N. Y.

JESSE B. BLAYTON, SR.
Atlanta, Ga.

HON. HOMER BROWN
Pittsburgh, Pa.

CHARLES BUCHANAN
New York, N. Y.

PETER L. BUTTENWIESER
New York, N. Y.

DR. GEORGE D. CANNON
New York, N. Y.

REV. WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN, JR.
New Haven, Conn.

WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.
Philadelphia, Pa.

MRS. THORNBURG COWLES
New York, N. Y.

DR. JOHN A. DAVIS
New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH DAVIS
New York, N. Y.

ADRIAN DeWIND
New York, N. Y.

W. J. DURHAM
Dallas, Texas

THOMAS B. DYETT
New York, N. Y.

DAVID E. FELLER
Washington, D. C.

CLARENCE C. FERGUSON
Washington, D. C.

DR. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
Bronxville, N. Y.

DR. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN
Brooklyn, N. Y.

A. G. GASTON
Birmingham, Ala.

WALTER GELLHORN
New York, N. Y.

DICK GREGORY
Chicago, Ill.

AMOS T. HALL
Tulsa, Okla.

HON. WILLIAM H. HASTIE
Philadelphia, Pa.

GEORGE E. C. HAYES
Washington, D. C.

HON. A. LEON HIGGINBOTHAM
Washington, D. C.

HANS W. HUBER
Red Bank, N. J.

BENJAMIN KAPLAN
Boston, Mass.

DAMON J. KEITH
Detroit, Mich.

MRS. ELIZABETH KRUIDENIER
Des Moines, Iowa

JOHN G. LEWIS, JR.
Baton Rouge, La.

MRS. ALFRED M. LINDAU
New York, N. Y.

DR. ARTHUR C. LOGAN
New York, N. Y

CURTIS F. McCLANE
New York, N. Y.

BURKE MARSHALL
Bedford, N. Y.

L. D. MILTON
Atlanta, Ga.

THE RIGHT REV. PAUL MOORE, JR.
Washington, D. C.

JAMES M. NABRIT, JR.
Washington, D. C.

MRS. ESTELLE OSBORNE
New York, N. Y.

SHAD POLIER
New York, N. Y.

LOUIS H. POLLAK
New Haven, Conn.

DR. C. B. POWELL
New York, N. Y.

HON. FRANCIS E. RIVERS
New York, N. Y.

MRS. SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN
New York, N. Y.

DR. DAVID G. SALTEN
New Rochelle, N. Y.

WILLIAM H. SCHEIDE
Princeton, N. J.

ASA T. SPAULDING
Durham, N. C.

DR. CHARLES H. THOMPSON
Washington, D. C.

ANDREW R. TYLER
New York, N. Y.

HARRY H. WACHTEL
New York, N. Y.

CHAUNCEY L. WADDELL
New York, N. Y.

REV. M. MORAN WESTON
New York, N. Y.

"COMMITTEE OF 100"

Roger N. Baldwin
Viola W. Bernard
Leonard Bernstein
Barry Bingham
Eugéne Carson Blake
Sarah Gibson Blanding
Justice Jane M. Bolin
Ralph J. Bunche
Charles Bunn
Muriel M. Buttinger
Mrs. Samuel McCrae Cavert
Grenville Clark
Rufus E. Clement
Fanny Travis Cochran
James Bryant Conant
Albert Sprague Coolidge
George S. Counts
Henry Hitt Crane
Albert Edward Day
Albert C. Dieffenbach
Caxton Doggett
Ralph Ellison
Morris L. Ernst
H. William Fitelson
Harry Emerson Fosdick
John Hope Franklin
Buell G. Gallagher
Mrs. A. G. Gaston
Harry D. Gideonse
Mary Barnett Gilson
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Frank P. Graham
Morton S. Grossman
John Gunther
Herman Hailperin
S. Ralph Harlow
Hornell Hart
James G. Heller
Harrison Hires
Bishop Henry W. Hobson
John Haynes Holmes
Sidney Hook
George K. Hunton
Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll
Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham
Mordecai W. Johnson
Mrs. Percy Julian
Horace M. Kallen
Kivie Kaplan
Frank Kingdon
Freda Kirchwey
John Howland Lathrop
Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence
Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman
Henry Smith Leiper
Max Lerner
Alfred Baker Lewis
Archibald MacLeish
Leopold Mannes
Benjamin E. Mays
Robert J. McCracken
Karl Menninger
Charles Merrill
Paul Moore, Jr.
Carl Murphy
Reinhold Niebuhr
George L. Paine
Palfrey Perkins
Irving Pflaum
Bishop James A. Pike
A. Philip Randolph
Mrs. Ira De Reid
Frederick E. Reissig
Carl T. Rowan
John L. Saltonstall, Jr.
William H. Scheide
Guy Emery Shipler
George N. Shuster
Mrs. Harper Sibley
Lillian Smith
Arthur B. Spingarn
Telford Taylor
Norman Thomas
Charles J. Turck
Harold C. Urey
William H. Vanderbilt
Bradford Young

The "Committee of 100", a voluntary cooperative group of individuals, headed by Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.

March 16, 1966

Mr. John W. Davis, Special Director
Teacher Information and Security
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Davis:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 9 requesting me to list you as one of the invited participants in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

I will be glad to submit your name to receive an invitation.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019
JUDSON 6-8397

March 22, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York, N.Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am indebted to you for your good letter of March 16. I hope to attend the White House Conference on -- "To Fulfill These Rights."

Sincerely yours,

John W. Davis
Special Director
Teacher Information and Security

JWD:dl

RECEIVED
MAR 23 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Contributions are deductible for U. S. income tax purposes

National Officers

President
HON. FRANCIS E. RIVERS

Secretary
DR. GEORGE D. CANNON

Executive Officers

Director-Counsel
JACK GREENBERG

Acting Associate Counsel
JAMES M. NABRIT III

National Officers

Vice President
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.

Treasurer
MRS. THORNBURG COWLES

Board of Directors

MRS. FARROW R. ALLEN
Riverdale, N. Y.

JESSE B. BLAYTON, SR.
Atlanta, Ga.

HON. HOMER BROWN
Pittsburgh, Pa.

CHARLES BUCHANAN
New York, N. Y.

PETER L. BUTTENWIESER
New York, N. Y.

DR. GEORGE D. CANNON
New York, N. Y.

REV. WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN, JR.
New Haven, Conn.

WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.
Philadelphia, Pa.

MRS. THORNBURG COWLES
New York, N. Y.

DR. JOHN A. DAVIS
New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH DAVIS
New York, N. Y.

ADRIAN DeWIND
New York, N. Y.

W. J. DURHAM
Dallas, Texas

THOMAS B. DYETT
New York, N. Y.

DAVID E. FELLER
Washington, D. C.

CLARENCE C. FERGUSON
Washington, D. C.

DR. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
Bronxville, N. Y.

DR. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN
Brooklyn, N. Y.

A. G. GASTON
Birmingham, Ala.

WALTER GELLHORN
New York, N. Y.

DICK GREGORY
Chicago, Ill.

AMOS T. HALL
Tulsa, Okla.

HON. WILLIAM H. HASTIE
Philadelphia, Pa.

GEORGE E. C. HAYES
Washington, D. C.

HON. A. LEON HIGGINBOTHAM
Washington, D. C.

HANS W. HUBER
Red Bank, N. J.

BENJAMIN KAPLAN
Boston, Mass.

DAMON J. KEITH
Detroit, Mich.

MRS. ELIZABETH KRUIDENIER
Des Moines, Iowa

JOHN G. LEWIS, JR.
Baton Rouge, La.

MRS. ALFRED M. LINDAU
New York, N. Y.

DR. ARTHUR C. LOGAN
New York, N. Y

CURTIS F. McCLANE
New York, N. Y.

BURKE MARSHALL
Bedford, N. Y.

L. D. MILTON
Atlanta, Ga.

THE RIGHT REV. PAUL MOORE, JR.
Washington, D. C.

JAMES M. NABRIT, JR.
Washington, D. C.

MRS. ESTELLE OSBORNE
New York, N. Y.

SHAD POLIER
New York, N. Y.

LOUIS H. POLLAK
New Haven, Conn.

DR. C. B. POWELL
New York, N. Y.

HON. FRANCIS E. RIVERS
New York, N. Y.

MRS. SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN
New York, N. Y.

DR. DAVID G. SALTEN
New Rochelle, N. Y.

WILLIAM H. SCHEIDE
Princeton, N. J.

ASA T. SPAULDING
Durham, N. C.

DR. CHARLES H. THOMPSON
Washington, D. C.

ANDREW R. TYLER
New York, N. Y.

HARRY H. WACHTEL
New York, N. Y.

CHAUNCEY L. WADDELL
New York, N. Y.

REV. M. MORAN WESTON
New York, N. Y.

"COMMITTEE OF 100"

Roger N. Baldwin
Viola W. Bernard
Leonard Bernstein
Barry Bingham
Eugene Carson Blake
Sarah Gibson Blanding
Justice Jane M. Bolin
Ralph J. Bunche
Charles Bunn
Muriel M. Buttinger
Mrs. Samuel McCrae Cavert
Grenville Clark
Rufus E. Clement
Fanny Travis Cochran
James Bryant Conant
Albert Sprague Coolidge
George S. Counts
Henry Hitt Crane
Albert Edward Day
Albert C. Dieffenbach
Caxton Doggett
Ralph Ellison
Morris L. Ernst
H. William Fitelson
Harry Emerson Fosdick
John Hope Franklin
Buell G. Gallagher
Mrs. A. G. Gaston
Harry D. Gideonse
Mary Barnett Gilson
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Frank P. Graham
Morton S. Grossman
John Gunther
Herman Hailperin
S. Ralph Harlow
Hornell Hart
James G. Heller
Harrison Hires
Bishop Henry W. Hobson
John Haynes Holmes
Sidney Hook
George K. Hunton
Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll
Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham
Mordecai W. Johnson
Mrs. Percy Julian
Horace M. Kallen
Kivie Kaplan
Frank Kingdon
Freda Kirchwey
John Howland Lathrop
Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence
Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman
Henry Smith Leiper
Max Lerner
Alfred Baker Lewis
Archibald MacLeish
Leopold Mannes
Benjamin E. Mays
Robert J. McCracken
Karl Menninger
Charles Merrill
Paul Moore, Jr.
Carl Murphy
Reinhold Niebuhr
George L. Paine
Palfrey Perkins
Irving Pflaum
Bishop James A. Pike
A. Philip Randolph
Mrs. Ira De Reid
Frederick E. Reissig
Carl T. Rowan
John L. Saltonstall, Jr.
William H. Scheide
Guy Emery Shipler
George N. Shuster
Mrs. Harper Sibley
Lillian Smith
Arthur B. Spingarn
Telford Taylor
Norman Thomas
Charles J. Turck
Harold C. Urey
William H. Vanderbilt
Bradford Young

The "Committee of 100", a voluntary cooperative group of individuals, headed by Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 14, 1966

MEMORANDUM TO ALL STAFF MEMBERS

FROM: The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy
Vice Chairman

Mr. David Apter is now serving as my first assistant and as such will function as my back up man on all matters relating to liaison with groups.

Any telephone calls, correspondence, inquiries or responses to our liaison work should be channeled through Mr. Apter to me. It is particularly important that this be done since I shall be traveling throughout the country during much of the remaining time until the Conference date.

Our telephone intercom number is 51.

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 15, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Council Members
Staff Directors
Task Force Chairmen

FROM: The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy
Vice Chairman W.E.F.

SUBJECT: Field Trips

I plan to step up our liaison activity next week and will be in the field almost full time from now until the Conference.

A. The purpose of these trips is:

1. To inform a wide range of people across the country about the Conference.

2. To determine the reaction of community leaders to some of the proposals to the Conference and to elicit new ideas.

3. To identify individuals who could make a contribution by being invited to participate.

4. To lay the groundwork for community follow-up.

B. In each city visited, we will want to do the following:

1. Involve Council members.

2. Meet with local civil rights and religious leaders.

3. Meet with the Mayor and members of his official family.

4. Meet with business leaders.

5. Meet with labor leaders.

6. Meet with the Governor or his representative.

7. Hold individual conferences with people who should be seen separately.

C. Traveling with me will be several of our consultants knowledgeable in the fields of business, labor, state and local government and community relations. After I have completed the visits scheduled for April, I may want some of these experts to go for me to other cities which are not now on my schedule.

D. My tentative itinerary is as follows:

April 21 - 22 ------- Mississippi
April 26 - 26 ------- New Orleans
April 27 - 28 ------- Houston
April 29 - 30 ------- St. Louis
May 2 - 3 ------- Chicago
May 4 - 5 ------- New York
May 11 - 12 ------- Cleveland
May 13 - 14 ------- Detroit
May 16 - 17 ------- Los Angeles
May 18 - 19 ------- Miami
May 20 - 21 ------- Atlanta
May 23 ------- Newark
May 24 - 25 ------- Philadelphia
May 26 ------- Baltimore
May 27 ------- Washington, D. C.

WESTERN UI TELEGRA
WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM
WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM
WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM
ERN UNION ELEGRAM

TGA WUF
OPR PLEASE PUNCTUATE THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE EXACTLY AS
SHOWN. THABK YOU

HBP
/

HBP001 D L BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK MARCH 3 66
BEN W HEINEMAN CHAIRMAN
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
1800 G STREET N W
WASHINGTON D C

GREATLY REGRET UNFORSEEN DEVELOPMENTS PREVENT MY ATTENDING FIRST MEETING OF COUNCIL ON CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS." CONCERNING SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF CONFERENCE, I THINK 1,000 OR 1,500 PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE ADEQUATE, BUT IF JUDGEMENT OF COUNCIL CALL FOR SEVERAL THOUSANDS, EFFECTIVE CONTROL, IN INTEREST OF ACHIEVEMENT OF RESULTS AS INDICATED IN GREAT SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WILL REQUIRE CAREFUL MANAGERIAL PLANNING. AS TO COMPOSITION, I WOULD STRESS IMPORTANCE OF PRESENCE OF A NUMBER OF INDIGENOUS LEADERS FROM AREAS SUCH AS MIGRANT FARM LABORERS, LONGSHOREMEN, SHARECROPPERS, SOME TEENAGERS, REPRESENTATIVES FROM APPALACHIA OR WHITE WORKING POOR, SKILLED AND UNSKILLED WORKERS, TOGETHER WITH VARIED PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS GROUPS. WOULD RECOMMEND THAT GOALS BE KEPT DOWN TO THREE OR FOUR, INCLUDING JOBS, EDUCATION, HOUSING, AND IMPLEMENTATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION, WITH NEW LEGISLATION FOR PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS IN THE SOUTH AND SERVICE OF NEGROES ON JURIES. I PRESUME WE WILL EMPLOY THE PANEL SYSTEM FOR DISCUSSION, WITH ONE SESSION FOR SUMMARIZATION OF DISCUSSION IN PANELS BY CHAIRMAN. THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BEGIN, OF COURSE, WITH THE BLESSING OF THE PRESIDENT.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 9, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I regret that you were unable to attend the Council meeting of March 5, 1966. I hope that Bayard Rustin, who contributed substantially to our discussion, briefed you on our meeting. You will see from the enclosed summary that we achieved a great deal. Also enclosed are additional items of information which were furnished the Council members at this meeting.

Please note that Council meetings are planned for 10:30 A.M., Saturday, March 19 and 26, April 2 and 30, and possibly May 14. "Housing and Urban Affairs" will be the main agenda item for the next meeting. The Council will also meet on Friday, April 1 at 7:00 P.M.

Council members are requested to enter the White House grounds through the Southwest Gate and proceed to the Indian Treaty Room in the Executive Office Building. The enclosed identification badge is furnished for your convenience.

I look forward to seeing you at the March 19 Council meeting. The agenda and related information for the meeting will be furnished you at a later date.

If I can be of any assistance to you please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Ben W. Heineman

Ben W. Heineman
Chairman

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Enclosures

March 15, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference "To Fulfill
These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

Thank you for your letter of March 9 with material bearing upon The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." I also note the schedule for meetings.

I shall plan to be present at the meeting on Saturday, March 19.

Congratulations upon the splendid job you are doing on this important conference.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 17, 1966

Dear Mr. Randolph:

You should have received by now an invitation from the President to participate in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", to be held Wednesday and Thursday, June 1 and 2, at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D. C.

The President first proposed the Conference in June 1965 in his speech at Howard University. He announced that he would call the Conference "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure." The President closed his speech with the prediction that "Together...we can light the candle of understanding in the heart of all America. And, once lit, it will never again go out."

The Conference will bring together a cross section of our society to consider action proposals.

Enclosed, for your convenience, is information regarding the location of the headquarters of the Conference, hotel accommodations, meals and registration. All hotel reservations for participants in the Conference will be arranged by the Conference staff. Please complete and promptly return to this office the enclosed self-addressed hotel reservation card.

I look forward to seeing you at the Conference.

Sincerely,

Ben W. Heineman
Chairman

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR CONFEREES
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

After thoughtful consideration the Council concluded that the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" be conducted so that all participants will have ample opportunity to take part in the discussions of all agenda subjects. Listed below are the procedures set up to ensure maximum participation without losing time or moving around.

Each conferee will be assigned to a committee and should remain with that committee throughout the Conference. Each committee will discuss the full agenda and have a chance to bring up other matters. You are urged to attend all committee sessions.

In order to permit a full and free discussion, resolutions or votes will not be recorded. However, complete word-for-word records will be made of each discussion session.

There will be no formal events during the Conference and regular clothes will be suitable.

The enclosed Report and Recommendations of the Council to the Conference will be discussed.

You are reminded that only those actually invited will be able to attend the Conference activities. Conference registration begins at 10:00 a.m., May 31, 1966. An early registration is requested.

We look forward to a fruitful and constructive meeting.

Ben W. Heineman
Chairman

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

PROGRAM

Tuesday, May 31

6:30 p.m.	RECEPTION Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

Wednesday, June 1

9:00 a.m.	OPENING MEETING Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel
10:45 a.m.	FIRST COMMITTEE MEETING - First Half
12:15 p.m.	LUNCHEON
1:45 p.m.	FIRST COMMITTEE MEETING - Second Half
3:30 p.m.	SECOND COMMITTEE MEETING
8:00 p.m.	DINNER MEETING Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

Thursday, June 2

9:00 a.m.	THIRD COMMITTEE MEETING
12:00 Noon	LUNCHEON
2:00 p.m.	FOURTH COMMITTEE MEETING
7:30 p.m.	FINAL DINNER MEETING Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

March 23, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

Just a word to say that because of Organizational problems I will not be able to attend the March 26 Council meeting on The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

I shall plan to attend the following meeting.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

HBP 002 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK MAR 30 66

BEN HEINEMAN,CHAIRMAN
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
1800 G STREET N W
WASHINGTON D C

I PLAN TO ATTEND MEETINGS FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, APRIL 1 AND 2.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH

7/3

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 28, 1966

To : Members
Council to the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights"

From: Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare Vivian W. Henderson/jme

Enclosed is a working draft of some of the recommendations the Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare expects to place before the Council at its meeting on April 2. This is the draft in its original form. It is under revision. The essential elements of the document will be retained. There will be some additions as well.

The main purpose in sending this is to familiarize you with the format we shall use in presenting our recommendations and to give you as much advance information as possible regarding the work of the Task Force.

cc:
A. Philip Randolph
Ben W. Heineman
Morris B. Abram
Honorable Edward T. Breathitt, Jr.
Dr. Jerome Bruner
William T. Coleman, Jr.
Stephen Currier
Dr. Allison Davis
John S. Gleason, Jr.
Eli Goldston
Courtlandt S. Gross
Miss Dorothy I. Height
Father Theodore M. Hesburgh
Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.
Rafer Johnson
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Dr. Martin Luther King
John Lewis
James A. Linen, III
Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin
Floyd McKissick
Dr. James G. Maddox
Joseph P. Molony
Burke Marshall
George Meany
J. Irwin Miller
G. William Miller
Dr. Robert Spike
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young, Jr.
Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Berl I. Bernhard
James E. Booker
Craig W. Christensen
Lt. Col. Norman J. McKenzie

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 23, 1966

TO: Members of the Task Force on Employment, Training, and Welfare

Dr. Vivian Henderson asked me to forward this rough list of action possibilities in advance of the Task Force meeting of March 25, to stimulate your consideration of possible Task Force recommendations. The list was hastily compiled by the staff and is for preliminary discussion purposes only.

Sincerely,

Albert L. Shostack
ALBERT L. SHOSTACK
Staff Assistant

Enclosure

For discussion purposes only.

PRELIMINARY LIST OF ACTION POSSIBILITIES

For Consideration by the Task Force
on Employment, Training, and Welfare

March 23, 1966

NOTE: Items marked (c) were tentatively suggested by the November Planning Conference.

Recommendation	Action Needed
A. Attack Discrimination in Employment	
1. Improve administration of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by: (c) a. More adequate budget and personnel; b. Shift of orientation from individual complaints to attacking patterns of racial discrimination; c. Strengthening of sanctions; and d. Authorizing cease and desist orders and other affirmative action by the Commission	Legislative
2. Attack discrimination in State and local employment. (c)	Administrative
3. Establish performance criteria to strengthen compliance under Executive Order 11246 (Nondiscrimination on government contracts) (c)	Administrative
4. Intensify efforts to insure the employment of Negroes at higher skill and professional levels in privately operated organizations subsidized by Federal funds: e.g., Negro physicians in hospitals. (c)	Administrative
5. Amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to prohibit discrimination by employers and unions regardless of their number of employees or members.	Legislative
B. Create New Job Opportunities for Minority Groups	
1. Improve local transportation facilities to give minority groups easier access to jobs. (c)	Local and National Administrative and Legislative
2. Encourage Negro-owned business enterprises by increasing the availability of Federal loans, grants, and technical assistance. (c)	Legislative and Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
3. Establish a Federally financed work program to provide jobs for and to improve the employability of hard-core unemployed workers.	Legislative
4. Experiment with semi-public corporations providing useful last-resort employment to unskilled workers who are not capable of meeting regular job requirements or of profiting from occupational training. For example, the workers might assist in conservation or beautification programs such as removal or screening of automobile junkyards.	Legislative
5. Institute a program of Federal wage supplements as incentives to employers to hire marginal or relatively unproductive workers.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
C. Improve Federally Subsidized Programs for Equipping Unemployed and Underemployed Workers with Work Skills	
1. Conduct special programs to help graduates of smaller Negro colleges to qualify for job opportunities available in the health or other growing technical fields. (c)	Legislative and Administrative
2. Provide tax credits to stimulate in-plant education and training. (c)	Legislative
3. Use Federal Government contracting authority to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with work on government contracts. (c)	Administrative
4. Increase the effectiveness of the MDTA program, including:	
a. Positive efforts to include more Negro trainees; (c)	Administrative
b. Additional stress on on-the-job training; (c)	Administrative
c. Reducing paper work and time lags;	Administrative
d. Maintaining closer contact with employers regarding job requirements and encouraging direct contact between prospective employers and trainees throughout the instruction process;	Administrative
e. Expanding MDTA training in fields other than specific occupations to enhance the employability or trainability of disadvantaged workers; e.g., training in communication skills, work habits, attitudes, personal appearance and hygiene, etc.	Legislative and Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
f. Expanding training to upgrade employed workers by defraying the unusual costs incurred by employers in the course of preparing disadvantaged workers for better jobs;	Administrative and Legislative
g. Permitting additional training for a worker who has completed a previous course within the year but has not been able to find a job;	Legislative
5. Build-in greater flexibility in the provision of MDTA training allowances, including:	
a. Increase allowances to the level of public assistance payments where needed to induce public assistance ✓ recipients to accept occupational training;	Legislative
b. Reduce the requirement of two years of work experience to one year, thus allowing more youths and adult women to qualify for allowances;	Legislative
c. Pay partial allowances for part-time training;	Legislative
d. Raising training allowances in training courses of ✓ long duration.	Legislative
6. Encourage the use of MDTA training for Neighborhood Youth Corps graduates by removing the one-year restriction on the payment of MDTA training allowances to former recipients of other federal allowances, and by suspending the unemployment, work experience, and household status requirements for former NYC enrollees. Exempt NYC youth from the 25 percent limitation on young trainees in the MDTA.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
7. Amend the MDTA to institute a Federally financed program of vocational guidance and occupational training for inmates of Federal, State, and local penal institutions who require assistance in preparing for productive work at the completion of their prison terms. This program should not be subject to apportionment or state matching requirements.	Legislative
8. Expand the program of experimental and demonstration projects under MDTA to develop and test new ways of meeting the employment and training needs of disadvantaged workers.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
D. Programs to Meet the Special Needs of Negro Youths	
1. Sharply expand employment-oriented services for in-school youths, including efforts to motivate youths toward jobs in which opportunities are increasing, reduction of drop-outs, and vocational counseling by skilled counselors who are acquainted with emerging job opportunities and the requirements of industry.	Legislative and Administrative
2. Experiment with Job Corps Programs in urban settings, realistically geared to the employment and social environment that participants are likely to face upon graduation from the Job Corps.	Administrative
3. Expand the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program, including:	
(a) Providing additional resources;	Legislative
(b) Reducing the minimum eligibility age from 16 to 14;	Legislative
(c) Admitting young people between the ages of 22 and 24 to the out-of-school work experience program in order to improve the employability of those with severe unemployment problems.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
E. Fill the Gaps in a Comprehensive Program of Income Security	
1. Enact negative income tax or guaranteed minimum income law. (c)	Legislative
2. Provide family allowances. (c)	Legislative
3. Extend coverage and raise benefits under unemployment insurance. (c)	Legislative
4. Establish a federally financed work program to provide last-resort employment to workers who can neither find nor be trained for other jobs.	Legislative
5. Require that Aid to Families with Dependent Children be granted to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an employable male present in the household, provided that he is unemployed through no fault of his own and is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
F. Efforts by Non-Government Organizations to Improve the Employment Status of Negroes	
1. Positive efforts by employers to locate new business establishments in areas accessible to Negro workers. (c)	Private Employers and possible Legislative incentives
2. Positive efforts by private employers to provide job opportunities for Negro workers.	
a. Modification of job duties to permit the employment of low-skilled workers. (c)	Private Employers
b. Review of job requirements to eliminate unrealistic educational and test specifications.	Private Employers
c. Positive recruitment of minority groups in cooperation with Government agencies and minority group organizations.	Employers, Government Agencies, and Minority Group Organizations
3. Elimination of discrimination in apprenticeship programs and development of pre-apprenticeship training programs to prepare nonwhites for apprenticeship. (c)	Private Employers and Labor Organizations
4. Systematic efforts by employers to review the work potential of nonwhites on their present staffs to insure full use of this potential and to encourage upgrading.	Employers
5. Emphasis on insuring equal employment opportunity in non-profit activities, including the promotion of nondiscriminatory policies in local and State affiliates of national medical, hospital, and other non-profit associations. (c)	Private Non-Profit Organizations

Recommendation	Action Needed
6. Establishment of local and State equal employment opportunity councils. (c)	Administrative, Business, Non-Profit Organizations, Labor Unions, Etc.
7. Assistance from non-Government sources for Negroes who are starting or operating business enterprises, including the extension of franchises to nonwhites and the encouragement of joint ventures by white and nonwhite businessmen. (c)	Businessmen

Recommendation	Action Needed
G. Strengthen Recruitment and Job Development Programs for Minority Groups, Including the Federal-State Employment Service System	
1. Strengthen the Federal-State employment service system by stronger national standards, better staffing, prevention of discrimination, intensified work with minority groups in rural areas, insuring that State personnel are covered by merit systems, and providing additional funds to improve services for minority group members. (c)	Legislative and Administrative, including inplementation of recent Task Force report.
2. Undertake Human Resources Development Programs in major urban areas, taking an individualized approach to the needs of disadvantaged workers. This should include experimental centers in several cities where workers with especially severe unemployment problems can receive intensive and individualized assistance. This might include diagnosis of needs, individual counseling, referral to health, welfare, or other services, referral to training, and specialized job development and placement under continuing supervision. These centers would be somewhat similar to Youth Opportunity Centers but they would deal with adults.	Administrative and Legislative
3. Conduct a comprehensive Government information and technical assistance program to encourage employers and unions to provide equal employment opportunities, to exchange information on the experience of employers who have recently reversed discriminatory policies, and to provide realistic guidance to employers and unions facing severe problems in complying with nondiscrimination policies.	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
H. Improve Public Assistance and Welfare Services	
1. Expand non-cash welfare services to solve the basic causes of poverty among needy people:	
(a) Establish a network of service centers in all areas of need to provide a range of services including consumer education; legal assistance; vocational and personal counseling; training in hygiene, home economics, and citizenship; and related activities. (c)	Legislative
(b) Extend free family planning services and materials on a voluntary basis to both married and unmarried public assistance recipients. (c)	Legislative and Administrative
(c) Separate the administration of welfare services from the more mechanical extension of cash assistance. (c)	Administrative
(d) Expand rehabilitative services such as: facilities for day care of children, occupational training and basic education for welfare recipients, counseling, highly selective and supervised job placement of marginal workers, and work experience programs. (c)	Legislative and Administrative
2. Solve the staffing crisis in public assistance agencies:	
(a) Employ non-professional "expediters" to inform poor people about available programs and to help them utilize services. (c)	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
(b) Develop case work and related activities which can be conducted by supplemental subprofessional personnel and develop large scale programs to recruit and train such aides in order to reduce the burden of the professional staff.	Legislative and Administrative
(c) Provide resources for a substantial expansion in the number of case workers and for a reduction of clients per case worker.	Legislative
(d) Improve and expand programs to recruit and train professional case workers.	Legislative
(e) Provide higher salaries for case workers, to make them comparable with other skilled and arduous professions.	Legislative and Administrative
3. Reduce or eliminate residence requirements for public assistance or reimburse the States for payments to nonresidents. (c)	Legislative
4. Adjust public assistance programs to encourage recipients to take seasonal farm jobs without endangering their subsequent access to cash benefits and non-monetary services required to help them make long-range adjustments.	Administrative and State Legislative
5. Establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the States.	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
I. Programs for Rural Negroes	
1. Provide Federally financed employment opportunities to help seasonally employed rural Negroes in the South to supplement low farm incomes. (c)	Legislative
2. Develop a program to facilitate the economic and social assimilation of rural Negroes migrating to the city. (c)	Legislative
a. Centers in rural labor surplus areas to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for jobs and housing and to provide vocational and personal counseling;	
b. Reception centers in urban labor demand areas equipped to help the in-migrants solve employment and housing problems and to make available to them the range of health, welfare, and other urban services;	
c. Residential centers in urban areas--Halfway Houses and Youth Hostels--to provide temporary quarters and health, welfare, and recreation services for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period;	
d. Provision of relocation allowances to help migrants meet moving and subsistence costs without imposing burdens on their target community.	
3. Expand the labor mobility demonstration program under MDTA and make it a permanent part of the law.	Legislative
4. Experiment with measures to structure the job market for migratory and other seasonal farm workers so as to provide year-round employment and build a skilled and stable farm work force.	Legislative, Administrative, and action by Farm Employers

Recommendation	Action Needed
5. Improve agricultural labor standards, including: a. Extension of Workmen's Compensation, b. Extension of unemployment insurance, c. Prohibition of child labor outside of school hours.	Legislative
6. Sharply expand the availability of vocational counseling and training in rural areas, geared realistically to the demands of the increasingly technical nonagricultural occupations in which the great majority of rural youth must seek employment, and to potential movement to urban areas.	Legislative and Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
J. Improve Labor Standards	
1. Expand coverage of Fair Labor Standards Act to industries and occupations currently excluded. (c)	Legislative
2. Raise the minimum wage under FLSA. (c)	Legislative
3. Extend the protection of the Labor Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries. (c)	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
K. Insure Minority Group Representation in Decision-Making and Staffing of Government Agencies	
1. "Integrate" the staffs of national agencies concerned with employment and welfare. (c)	Administrative
2. Insure minority group representation on State and local advisory, planning, and action committees under the MDTA, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and related programs.	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
L. Research and Analyses	
1. Conduct a study of the advantages and disadvantages of converting the Federal-State Public Assistance Program to a Federally operated program which would include: (c) (a) Planning at the national level; (b) A Federalized welfare system with States and local agencies providing only emergency or temporary personal assistance; (c) Abolition of the present public assistance categories and the substitution of a single category based on need; (d) A Federal scale of welfare benefit levels: (e) Federal standards of eligibility.	Administrative
2. Conduct an intensive study of the use of nonprofessionals in the welfare program, including ways in which nonprofessionals can assist professional case workers, the training of nonprofessional aides (including use of Negro colleges and the Job Corps), and examination of ways to gain acceptance of subprofessionals by professional case workers. (c)	Administrative
3. Conduct an intensive study of a panel of migrants from rural to urban areas, tracing their experience, problems, motivations, and adjustments over a substantial time period.	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
4. Encourage identification by race in relevant records of employers, labor unions, the Employment Service, and other agencies in order to provide a basis for evaluating the employment and training status of nonwhites.	Administrative

Add the following item to the March 23 preliminary list of action possibilities:

Recommendation	Action Needed
Preparation of a Comprehensive, Structured Program to Meet Overall Needs for Manpower Services	
Develop a comprehensive, structured program to survey and meet the employment, training, and related manpower needs of minority groups. This program should include:	Legislative and Administrative
1. Preparation of a "Human Resources Budget" to systematically: a.	
a. Estimate the number, characteristics, and manpower problems of the specific groups in the nonwhite population who require assistance in meeting their job and training needs. This assessment should not only be national in scope but should focus on the 70-odd cities and five or six Southern States in which Negroes are concentrated. Both urban and rural areas of Negro concentration should be included. Data on unemployment, underemployment, and skill attainment should be collected in predominantly Negro neighborhoods on a block-by-block basis if necessary. The assessment should include estimates of future needs based on population, labor force and socio-economic projections.	
b. Identification of the types of manpower services needed by the specific population groups involved; e.g., by in-school youths, out-of-school jobless youths, workers of low skill and educational attainment, older workers, female workers, etc.	
c. Establishment of specific program goals and a time schedule for meeting the goals. These goals should include the number and types of services to be provided, the specific number and types of minority group people to be served, specific locations, and a definite time schedule.	
d. Appraisal of existing Government and non-Government programs to determine the extent to which they can help meet the established goals, and to assign definite priorities and targets to specific agencies.	

Recommendation	Action Needed
e. Identification of the additional programs, services, and resources needed to fill program gaps and to meet the goals. This would include determination of the nature, size, timing, and location of the additional programs.	
2. Coordinated efforts to develop, propose, and support specific programs and increased resources for which the Human Resources Budget has indicated a need.	Administrative and Legislative
3. A systematic program to evaluate the progress of minority groups in the job market, by area, industry, occupation, and type of worker; and to assess the effectiveness of the Government services involved.	Administrative and Legislative

Add the following item to the March 23 preliminary list of action possibilities:

Recommendation	Action Needed
Coordination of Programs	
Improve the coordination of existing programs concerned with human resource development and utilization: e.g., the OEO program, the MDTA program, programs of DHEW and the Department of Commerce. (The President's Committee on Manpower has established teams to coordinate services in 30 selected cities. It has been given responsibility for coordination of key OEO, Department of Labor, and Department of Health, Education and Welfare programs by Executive Order.)	Administrative

THE FOLLOWING 3 DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1966

Dear Phil:

I was indeed pleased that you will again be able to assume the duties of Honorary Chairman of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

Your experience and leadership in these vital issues will be most valuable in organizing the full resources of America to achieve equality in fact and not just in theory. Your willingness to find time in your busy schedule for this important work is indeed appreciated.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H Humphrey

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 16, 1966

The Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey
The Vice President of the United States
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of March 4, 1966 expressing your interest in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

May I say that the conference you addressed in November was greatly uplifted by your inspirational talk and I hope that you will participate in the coming conference.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 13, 1966

Dear Phil:

Once again, you provided magnificent leadership at the White House Conference "To Fulfill these Rights." Your speech truly put the entire matter in vivid and accurate perspective, and I know provided great and lasting insights into the inter-connected and interrelated problems of the ghetto.

The entire nation is surely in your debt for your great statesmanship and leadership at the Conference, as on so many other occasions.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H Humphrey
Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Room 301
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

RECEIVED
JUN 15 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE FOLLOWING 14 DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Ben W. Heineman
Craig Christensen
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy
Clifford L. Alexander
Berl I. Bernhard
Colonel McKenzie

✓ A. Philip Randolph
Harry McPherson
Louis Martin
John Stewart
M. Carl Holman
Harold Fleming
George Reedy

N.Y. AMSTERDAM NEWS. Sat., April 16, 1966

Uptown Lowdown

Puzzler For NAACP Branch

By JAMES BOOKER

Pertinent Questions:

Hasn't the HARYOU - ACT Board of Directors, for all intents and purposes, reinstated Livingston L. Wingate back to his former powers as executive director of the anti - poverty agency? . . . Will Senator Robert F. Kennedy take a Negro with him in his entourage when he goes to South Africa in June? It could be a real test . . Doesn't the New York Branch NAACP have a real puzzler in trying to find out what is the real story surrounding their relationship of their construction worker project and the branch? Will the branch benefit from the worker's affair, and what's this about joining fees? . . . Did a top official in a Brooklyn group quit recently after staffers found out that he was considered the real roadblock to their overall agency progress? . . .

BOOKER

It's 221 Come April 23

Isn't the city waiting rather late to come up with a real program to combat summer tensions? It could erupt in the spring, Mr. Mayor, unless you hurry . . . Didn't Governor Nelson Rockefeller show his concern for the minority vote in New York City by coming to the offices of the Amsterdam News to announce his reelection campaign?

Clubhouse Row:

Mayor Lindsay continued his non-partisan ways in naming Queens' popular Mrs. Marie Brown Brewer to the city-wide anti - poverty board and Bronx's pretty Attorney Mary Johnson Lowe, to the Youth Board. Both are Democrats . . . Former Democratic leader and Assemblyman Lloyd Dickens discussing a possible comeback try for the Legislative seat he formerly held . . . Civil Service Commissioner George Gregory, Jr., who resigned as head of the District 10 Planning Board last winter, slated to be honored at a testimonial on Monday, April 18 by officials of the planning group . . .

It's 221 Come April 23

Democratic County Leader J. Raymond Jones' right hand man, Sidney Crichlow, now on staff of the City Council . . . SCHR Chairman George Fowler and top Negro GOPers particpated in a conference phone call between several cities last week and recommended Richmond's Clarence Townes to be the new top aide to the Republican National Chairman . . . Assemblyman Percy Sutton, who looms as the next Borough President, holds his club dance Saturday, April 16, at the Renny.

Late Ticker:

Gov. Rockefeller picked Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker to represent him at the Senegal festival. He flew over last weekend . . . Attorneys Tom Weaver and Archibald Murray have formed a law partnership . . . Ex-Palm Cafe owner Ralph Bastone opening a small nightspot in Miami. He'll be missed in Harlem . . . Attorney James R. Rhone slated for a key GOP appointment shortly . . .

The White House Conference on Civil Rights, now scheduled for June 1-2, has decided to concentrate on Jobs, Housing and Education — the real bread and butter issues rather than go out on a wide range of subjects . . . Look for a scramble among labor biggies for the NALC post which A. Philip Randolph vacates next month . . . All of which brings us around to saying, that's 30, Princess and Prince.

JET MAGAZINE   APRIL 21, 1966

NATIONAL REPORT

Militants May Picket White House Rights Confab

Representatives of organizations of militants and residents of ghettos threatened to form a 1,000-person picket line outside of the forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights in Washington.

ACT Washington Chairman Julius Hobson said a national committee which included Mississippi leader Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, New York City rent strike leader Jesse Gray, and Deacons for Defense and Justice Chairman Ernest Thomas planned a "Black March on Washington" to coincide with the conference.

Hobson accused the conference of failing to recognize leaders of militant and ghetto organizations on planning sessions. He warned that all of the meeting would be picketed and some 2,000 participants from around the country would be urged not to attend the sessions.

N.Y. AMSTERDAM NEWS, Sat., Apri 16, 1966
It's 221 Come April 23

White House Confab Eyes Economic Security, Welfare And Education

WASHINGTON — The 29-member Council to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" has agreed to concentrate major work sessions at the forthcoming June 1-2 Conference on three problem areas — Jobs and Economic Security and Welfare, Education, and Housing.

"While recognizing the importance of many other areas in fulfilling the rights of the American Negro, the Council was of the opinion that these three areas are of the utmost urgency and magnitude as to require the closest attention," Ben W. Heineman, Council Chairman, declared.

Mr. Heineman said the decision had been reached in a series of weekend work sessions of the past month. The Council has held meetings on March 5, 19, 26, and April 1 and 2. Mr. Heineman added that staff papers are also being prepared on the Administration of Justice and Health for possible inclusion on the Conference agenda.

In Howard Speech

The Conference was first proposed by President Johnson last June in a speech at Howard University, when he said its object would be "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

About 2,000 persons will participate in the two - day session which will be held at the Sheraton Park Hotel. A. Philip Randolph, dean of the nation's civil rights leaders, is the honorary chairman of the Conference.

Mr. Heineman, who is chairman of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company, explained that task forces, under the supervision of Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., vice chairman of the Conference, have been assisting the Council in developing action-oriented programs in Housing, Education, and Jobs and Economic Security and Welfare.

"Without in any way minimizing the vital role of the Federal Government, the major purpose of this Conference is to attempt to bring other segments of society — business, labor, and state and local governments — into the cause of helping to make the American Negro an equal partner in the society," Mr. Heineman said.

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, also a Conference vice chairman, who is Washington director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has been meeting with leaders of a cross section of groups and organizations throughout the country to further explain the Conference goals and to solicit their ideas and suggestions in the major problem areas.

Currently staff members, under the direction of Berl I. Bernhard, Special Counsel to Mr. Heineman and the Conference, are seeking to develop the widest possible participation.

Mr. Heineman has emphasized that "it is the Council's desire that this will be a how-to-do-it Conference, rather than a mere re-identification of the problems.

"I have been greatly encouraged by the devoted work and energy of the Council, composed of a cross section of the nation's leadership in civil rights, business, labor, and local and state governments, in going over the wide range of concepts, proposals, and programs outlined during the 1965 Planning Session, and in developing new thoughts and programs based on their own knowledge an dexperience," Mr. Heineman said.

Members of the Council are: Morris B. Abram, co - chairman, Planning Session; William T. Coleman Jr., co - chairman, Planning Session; Gov. Edward T. Breathitt Jr., of Kentucky; Dr. Jerome Bruner, director, Center of Cognitive Studies, Harvard University; Stephen Currier, president,, Taconic Foundation, Inc.; Dr. Allison Davis, School of Education, University of Chicago; John S. Gleason Jr., vice president, First National Bank of Chicago; Eli Goldston, president, Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates; Courtlandt S. Gross, chairman, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; Miss Dorothy I. Height, president National Council of Negro Women.

Also, Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president, Notre Dame University; Judge A. Leon Higginbotham Jr., U.S. District Court, Philadelphia; Rafer Johnson, former Olympic Decathlon Champion; Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., direntor, Voter Education Project, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, chairman, Student Non - Violent Coordinating Committee; James A. Linen, III, president, Time Inc.; Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin of Baltimore; Floyd McKissick, national director, Congress of Racial Equality.

JET

Vol. XXX No. 2
April 21, 1966
A Johnson Publication

. . . **Jimmy Booker** of the New York Amsterdam News and **Ofield Dukes**, former newsman, are handling public relations for the White House Conference on Civil Rights. Both worked on the planning conference held last fall . . .

New White House Rights Confab To Be Biggest

The forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights scheduled for June 1 and 2 in Washington promises to become the most important session in human relations ever organized by the federal government.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1966

SCIENCE MONITOR

THE CHRISTIAN

FOCUS on Washington

What's ahead . . .

Two Johnson civil-rights moves now brewing on Washington's back burners will be served up to the public more hard boiled than expected.

One of these is the President's civil-rights message to Congress. It deals, among other things, with segregated juries. A group of civil-rights leaders previewed it and found it far too weak.

So the Justice Department now is making changes.

The big White House conference on civil rights now ticketed for early June, is likewise under pressure. Many Negro leaders were acutely unhappy with the planning conference last November. They are pushing to make the main show in June more to their liking.

So changes are being made in it too. The President can't risk a civil-rights fiasco in an election year.

THE WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN, APRIL 16, 1966

POW-POW ON WHITE HOUSE CONFAB — Roy Wilkins, executive director, NAACP, and John Lewis, chairman, Student Non - Violent Coordinating Committee; discuss plans for forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights with two Conference officials — the Rev. Walter Fauntroy (left), vice chairman, and Ben W. Heineman, chairman. Mr. Heineman is also chairman, Chicago and North Western Railway Company. The Conference will be held June 1 - 2 in Washington.

1,000 pickets promised when White House Conference opens

A group of "militants" will confer in Newark, N.J. Saturday on strategy for a demonstration against the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" which is set for June 1 - 2 in here in Washington.

Julius Hobson, chairman of Washington ACT asserted militant groups were secluded from the planning of the conference and decided to "ring it with picket lines." He said representatives of the ghetto should have been included at the policy - making level of the conference.

Hobson said his views were solicited in a letter by the Rev. Walter Fauntroy, a Conference vice - chairman, but he (Hobson) decided not to advise Fauntroy on conference participation.

* * *

THE ACT chairman stated he expects approximately 1,000 persons to picket the conference. In addition to himself, Hobson said militants who have been excluded from the conference include Mrs. Fannie Lou Hammer, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; William Davis of Philadelphia and Jesse Gray, Harlem.

Hobson said Mrs. Hammer will bring a contingent from Mississippi to picket the conference and other demonstrators are expected from other parts of the country.

Meanwhile, the 29 - menber Council to the White House Conference announced it wil concentrate on jobs, economic security, welfare, education and housing.

The Conference was first proposed by President Johnson last June on a speech at Howard University when he said its object would be "to help the American non-white fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

About 2,000 persons will participate in the two - day session which will be held at Sheraton Park Hotel. A. Philip Randolph is the honorary chairman of the conference.

Washington Afro-American

APRIL 16, 1966 THE AFRO-AMERICAN

Right To Be Wrong

With all due respect for his brilliance, his devotion, and his service to the cause of freedom, Julius Hobson is walking down the wrong street this time in planning to throw 1,000 pickets — his figures — around the White House Conference on Civil Rights in June.

Mr. Hobson's complaint is that the conference is ignoring the militants in the civil rights movement. If this were true, there would be cause for concern, but it is not true.

What is true is that at the planning session for the conference last fall, the militants were generally ignored. At that time, this newspaper took strong editorial exception to this omission, and noted that the conference bore too much of a resemblance to a pink tea party, instead of a session where all different viewpoints could be heard.

Planning for the full dress conference has been placed in the hands of the Rev. Walter Fauntroy of SCLC and Edward Sylvester of the Labor Department. Both men are realists who know that a conference that omits any shade of opinion is worthless.

Under their guidance, the conference is shaping up as representative of the entire community, with the entire spectrum of opinions represented.

When Mr. Hobson talks about militants, the question arises as to "what militants?" Are they militants Mr. Hobson has designated as militants, since they please him. What Mr. Hobson might not consider a militant, might be a militant to others.

Short of turning control of the conference over to Mr. Hobson, there seems to be no other way of answering his complaints. Most of the militants we've talked to seem rather well satisfied with the conference, but then Mr. Hobson has a right to his opinion.

He also has a right to be wrong.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN, APRIL 16, 1966

Target areas set-up for White House confab

WASHINGTON — The 29-member Council to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" has agreed to concentrate major work sessions at the forthcoming June 1-2 Conference on three problem areas—jobs and economic security and welfare, education, and housing.

"While recognizing the importance of many other areas in fulfilling the rights of the colored American the Council was of the opinion that these three areas are of the utmost urgency and magnitude as to require the closest attention," Ben W. Heineman, council chairman, declared.

Mr. Heineman said the decision had been reached in a series of weekend work sessions of the past month. The council has held meetings on March 5, 26, and April 1 and 2. Mr. Heineman added that staff papers are also being prepared on the administration of justice and health for possible inclusion on the conference agenda.

• • •

THE CONFERENCE was first proposed by President Johnson last June in a speech at Howard University, when he said its object would be "to help the colored American fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

About 2,000 persons will participate in the two-day session which will be held at the Sheraton Park Hotel. A. Philip Randolph, dean of the nation's civil rights leaders, is the honorary chairman of the Conference.

• • •

MR. HEINEMAN, who is chairman of the Chicago and North Western Railway Company, explained that task forces under the supervision of Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., vice chairman of the Conference, have been assisting the Council in developing action-oriented programs in housing, education, and jobs and economic security and welfare.

"Without in any way minimizing the vital role of the Federal Government, the major purpose of this Conference is to attempt to bring other segments of society—business, labor, and state and local governments—into the cause of helping to make the colored American an equal partner in the society," Mr. Heineman said.

The Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, also a conference vice chairman, who is Washington Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has been meeting with leaders of a cross section of groups and organizations throughout the country to further explain the Conference goals and to solicit their ideas and suggestions in the major problem areas.

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 2, 1966

Meany, Molony On Rights Unit

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and Vice Pres. Joseph Molony of the Steelworkers have been named by Pres. Johnson to the special leadership council which will plan the White House Conference on Civil Rights.

AFL-CIO Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters, is honorary chairman of the conference, which will be held in Washington June 1-2. Ben W. Heineman, board chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway, is conference chairman.

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD ☆ Saturday, April 16, 1966

To Fulfill These Rights' Meet To Push Housing, Welfare, Jobs

WASHINGTON — The 29-member Council to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" has agreed to concentrate major work sessions at the forthcoming June 1-2 Conference on three problem areas -- Jobs and Economic Security and Welfare, Education and Housing.

"While recognizing the importance of many other areas in fulfilling the rights of the American Negro, the Council was of the opnion that these three areas are of the utmost urgency and magnitude as to require the closest attention," Ben W. Heineman, Council Chairman, declared.

Mr. Heineman said the decision had been reached in a series of weekend work sessions of the past month. The Council has held meetings on March 5, 19, 26, and April 1 and 2. Mr. Heineman added that staff papers are also being prepared on the Administration of Justice and Health for possible inclusion on the Conference agenda.

The Conference was first proposed by President Johnson last June in a speech at Howard University, when he said its object would be "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

About 2,000 persons will participate in the two-day session which will be held at the Sheraton Park Hotel. A. Philip Randolph, dean of the nation's civil rights leaders, is the Honorary Chairman of the Conference.

Mr. Heineman, who is Chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway Company, explained that task forces, under the supervision of Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., Vice Chairman of the Conference, have been assisting the Council in developing action-oriented programs in Housing, Education, and Jobs and Economic Security and Welfare.

"Without in any way minizing the vital role of the Federal Government, the major purpose of this Conference is to attempt to bring other segments of society — business, labor, and state and local governments -- into the cause of helping to make the American Negro an equal partner in the society," Mr. Heineman said.

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, also a Conference Vice Chairman, who is Washington Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has been meeting with leaders of a cross section of groups and organizations throughout the country to further explain the Conference goals to solicit their ideas and suggestions in the major problem areas.

Currently staff members, under the direction of Berl I. Bernhard, Special Counsel to Mr. Heineman and the Conference, are seeking to develop the widest possible participation.

Mr. Heineman has emphasized that "it is the Council's desire that this will be a how-to-do-it Conference rather than a mere reidentification of the problems.

"I have been greatly encouraged by the devoted work and energy of the Council, composed of a cross section of the nation's leadership in civil rights, business, labor, and state governments, in going over the wide range of concepts, proposals, and program outlined during the 1965 Planning Session, and in developing new thoughts and programs based on their own knowledge and experience," Mr. Heineman said.

Members of the Council are Morris B. Abram, Co-Chairman, Planning Session; William T. Coleman, Jr., Co-Chairman, Planning Session; Honorable Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., Governor of Kentucky; Dr. Jerome Bruner, Director, Center of Cognitize Studies, Harvard University; Stephen Currier, President, Taconic Foundation, Inc.; Dr. Allison Davis, School of Education, University of Chicago; John S. Gleason, Jr., Vice President, First National Bank of Chicago; Eli Goldston, President, Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates; Courtland S. Cross, Chairman, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; Miss Dorothy I. Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Father Theodore M. Hesburgh President, Notre Dame University; Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., U. S. District Court, Philadelphia; Rafer Johnson, Former Olympic Decathlon Champion; Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director, Voter Education Project, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, Chairman Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; James A. Linen, III, President, Time Inc., Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, Mayor, City of Baltimore; Floyd McKissick, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality.

Still other are Dr. James G. Maddox, School of Agriculture & Life Sciences, North Carolina State; Burke Marshall, General Counsel, IBM Corporation; J. Irwin Miller, Chairman, Cummns Engine Company, Inc.; G. William Miller, President, Textron Inc.; Dr. Robt. Spike, Divinity School, University of Chicago; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director National Urban League.

THE NEW YORK TIMES APRIL 14, 1966

DR. KING'S GROUP SCORES KY JUNTA

Calls on Johnson to Weigh a Vietnam Withdrawal

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 13. — The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., called on the Johnson Administration today to abandon the ruling military junta of South Vietnam and consider withdrawing from the country altogether.

The executive board of the civil rights organization, which is based here, adopted the resolution at a meeting in Miami. Dr. King announced it at a news conference there.

Although Dr. King has spoken against American involvement in the war before, this was the first time that his organization has taken a formal stand on it. Always before, he had carefully emphasized that his views were personal and did not represent the organization.

Civil rights leaders have debated for months the wisdom of civil rights activists' participating in the peace movement.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has suffered financially since taking a

States involvement in Vietnam.

The Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of the leadership conference, said the organization had lost a few contributions because of Dr. King's previous utterances against the war.

The resolution adopted in Miami said, "We call on our Government to desist from aiding the military junta against the Buddhists, Catholics and students of Vietnam, whose efforts to democratize their Government are more in consonance with our traditions than the policy of the military oligarchy."

"If we are true to our own ideals we have no choice but to abandon the military junta under such manifestly vigorous popular opposition," it said.

"We believe the moment is now opportune and the need urgent to reassess our position and seriously examine the wisdom of prompt withdrawal."

Free Elections Sought

The resolution urged the Administration to seek free elections in Vietnam and to abide by the results. It was timed to support the demonstrations of various dissident elements threatening the Government of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky in Saigon.

Mr. Young said the board believed that the time was ripe for it to speak on Vietnam policy because the anti-Ky demonstrators had shown that nonviolent protest could be effective, even in the midst of war.

Dr. King, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, is committed to nonviolence as a solution to international problems as well as to American civil rights disputes.

Mr. Young said the resolution did not mean that the leadership conference would participate in peace demonstrations or support them financially.

The Georgia House of Representatives voted earlier this year not to seat Julian Bond, public relations director of the student committee, after he endorsed an antiwar statement that was much more militant than the one adopted by the leadership conference today.

The leadership conference resolution was criticized by Paul Anthony, director of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta.

"Everyone is seriously concerned about our foreign policy and it leads to honest differences of opinion," Mr. Anthony said, "but it is the greatest of mistakes to mix domestic civil rights and foreign policy."

On the other hand, he said, adoption of the resolution indicates "the growing boldness of those who are dissatisfied with the Vietnam policy."

Concern on Congress

Some civil rights leaders have worried over the possibility that antiwar statements by civil rights groups might alienate Congressmen and members of the Johnson Administration and damage the chances of passing further civil rights legislation.

Illustrating the intricacy of political relationships in the civil rights movement, Walter Fauntroy, Dr. King's chief representative in Washington, is vice chairman of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, to be held June 1 and 2.

A recent poll by Louis Harris showed that 4 out of 10 Americans were unfavorably disposed toward civil rights groups opposing the Vietnam war. Forty-one per cent of those polled said that when a civil rights group came out against the war, it made them less in favor of civil rights for Negroes.

Dr. King announced Aug. 12, 1965 at Birmingham that he would ask the leaders of the United States, Communist China, the Soviet Union, North Vietnam and South Vietnam to halt the war.

The next day, 400 delegates to the annual meeting of the leadership conference approved a resolution authorizing Dr. King to "throw the resources" of the organization behind the effort to end the war.

Dr. King apparently dropped his plan to approach the heads of state when it was pointed out that the Logan Act prohibits a private citizen from dealing with a foreign government.

Some civil rights leaders have opposed involving civil rights organizations in the peace movement. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said in January that he could not go along with the student committee's strong statement against the war. The statement called the United States participation in the Vietnam conflict murderous aggression.

The resolution said in part:

"What has aptly been called 'the gangrene of Vietnam' has in recent weeks made a conflict of confused direction a tragic spectacle. American policy has become imprisoned in the destiny of the military oligarchy.

'Despised by People'

"Our men and equipment are revealed to be serving a regime so despised by its own people that, in the midst of conflict, they are seeking its overthrow. Not only the Vietcong but basic institutions of the South Vietnam society, Buddhists, Catholics and students, are expressing contempt for the bankrupt government we have blindly supported and even exalted.

"The immorality and tragic absurdity of our position is revealed by the necessity to protect our nationals from the population and army we were told were our cherished allies and toward whom we were benefactors.

"Beyond this, the confused war has played havoc with our domestic destinies. Despite feeble protestation to the contrary, the promises of the Great Society top the casualty list of the conflict. The pursuit of widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens, both at the front and at home.

"Another casualty in this war is the principle of dissent. We deplore efforts to characterize opposition to the war as disloyal or traitorous, because such attacks on dissent are themselves destructive of our most fundamental democratic traditions.

"More important, S.C.L.C., as an organization committed to nonviolence, must condemn this war on the grounds that war is not the way to solve social problems. Mass murder can never lead to constructive and creative government or to the creation of a democratic society in Vietnam."

Sordid Adventure Seen

MIAMI, April 13 (AP)—Dr. King said today the United States war effort was "rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure."

"It is imperative to end a war that has played havoc with our domestic destinies," Dr. King said.

Referring to the Buddhists, Catholics and students of Vietnam, Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference said in a resolution adopted aoday:

"They are perhaps the first people in history to attempt to secure representative government in the midst of war by peaceful means. If we are true to our own ideals we have no choice but to abandon the military junta."

The resolution said further "the intense expetcation and hope of the neglected poor in the United States must be regarded as a priority more urgent than pursuit of a conflict so rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure."

Dr. King said his organization planned no immediate demonstration for Vietnam peace.

"Our first consideration is still civil rights," he said.

Dr. King added "if the war continues and nothing is done to de-escalate it, some elements of our civil rights movement may have to demonstrate to preserve our program of domestic progress."

THE TUESDAY HOUSTON INFORMER -- Houston, Texas, April 12, 1966

Rights Council To Concentrate On Jobs, Education

WASHINGTON -- The 29-member Council to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" has agreed to concentrate major work sessions at the forthcoming June 1 - 2 Conference on three problem areas -- Jobs and Economic Security and Welfare, Education, and Housing.

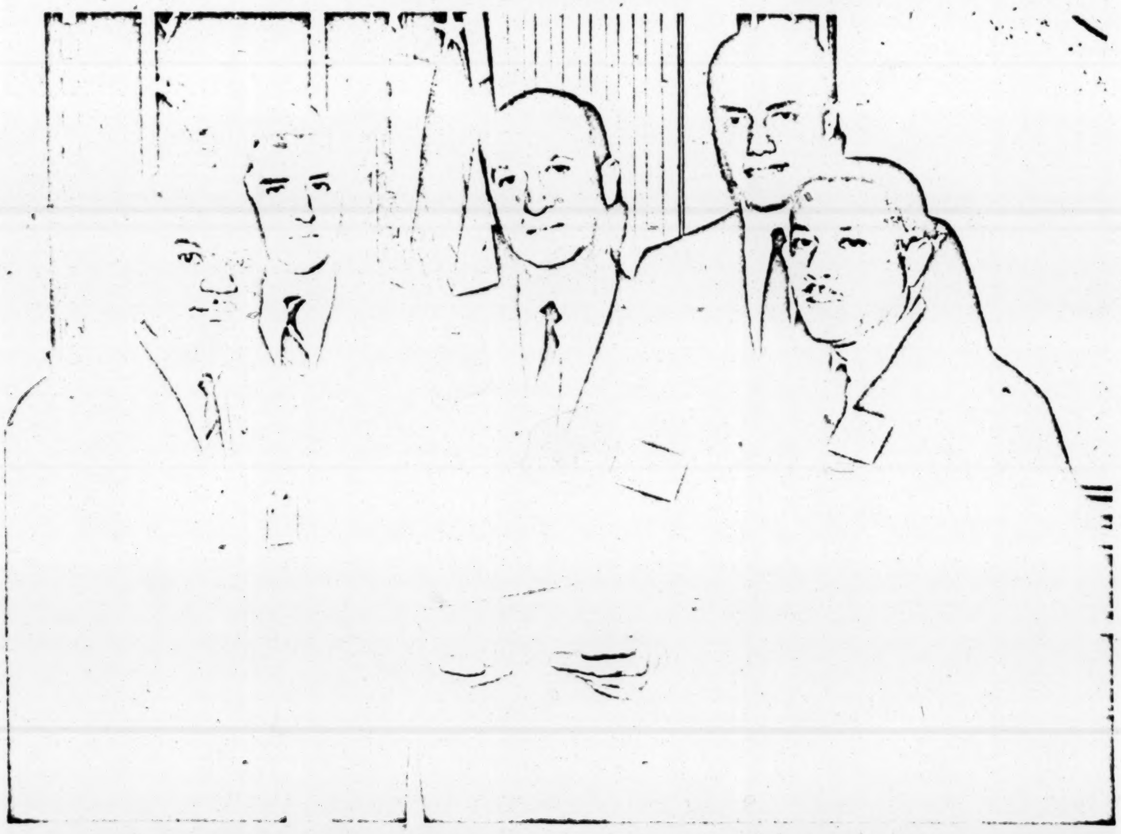
"While recognizing the importance of many other areas in fulfilling the rights of the American Negro, the Council was of the opinion that these three areas are of the utmost urgency and magnitude as to require the closest attention," Ben W. Heineman, Council Chairman, declared.

Mr. Heineman said the decision had been reached in a series of weekend work sessions of the past month. The Council has held meetings on March 5, 19, 26, and April 1 and 2. Mr. Heineman added that staff papers are also being prepared on the Administration of Justice and Health for possible inclusion on the Conference agenda.

The Conference was first proposed by President Johnson last June in a speech at Howard University, where he said its object would be "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

About 2,000 persons will participate in the two-day session which will be held at the Sheraton Park Hotel. A. Philip Randolph, dean of the nation's civil rights leaders, is the Honorary Chairman of the Conference.

See RIGHTS COUNCIL P. 8

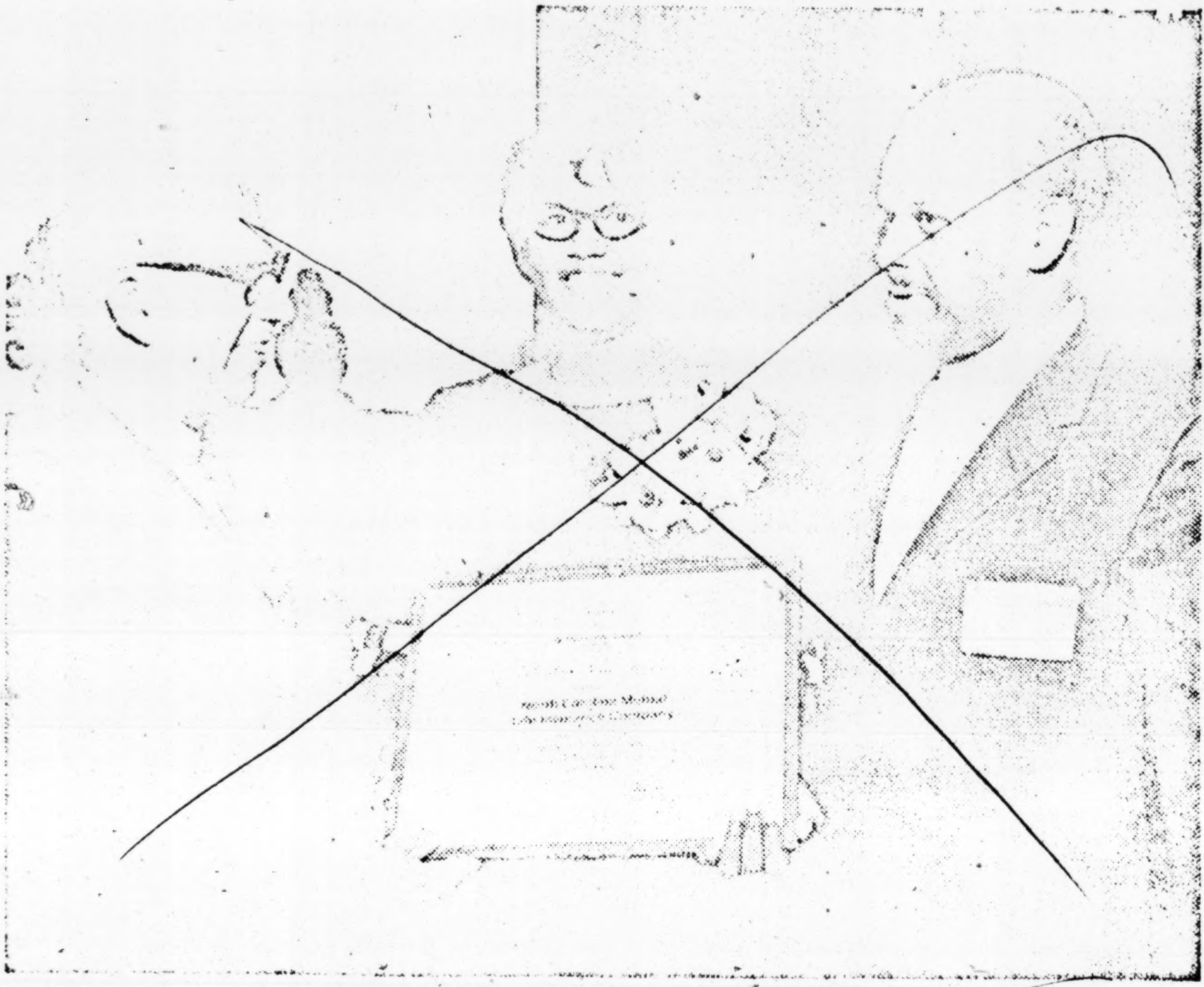


PLANNING WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE -- Having major responsibility in preparing for the forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights are: (from left) Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, a Conference Vice Chairman, who is also Washington Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Berl I. Bernhard, Special Counsel to Conference Chairman, Ben W. Heineman (center), who is Chairman of the Chicago and North Western Railway Company; Clifford Alexander, Jr., Deputy Special Counsel to the President; and Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., a Conference Vice Chairman. The Conference is scheduled for June 1 - 2.

To Aid Civil Rights

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD -- April 9, 1966

YWCA's Urged To Organize Pre-White House Meetings



MALLORY JANE LEWIS 17, of Camden, N. J., was presented a $1,000 Pepsi Cola Scholarship during dedication ceremonies of the new home office of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N.C. The scholarship, honoring the largest Negro business in the world, was presented April 1, in Durham. Miss Lewis is a senior at Camden High School and plans to use her Pepsi-Cola scholarship at Northeastern University, Boston, Mass., where she will study mathematics and secondary education. Shown (left to right) are A. T. Spaulding, president, North Carolina Mutual, Miss Lewis, and H. Naylor Fitzhugh, vice-president, Pepsi-Cola Company, New York, who made the presentation.

NEW YORK — YWCAs throughout the United States have been urged by their National President, Mrs. Lloyd J. Marti of Lincoln, Nebraska, to organize locally 'pre-White House" conferences to gather material for and support the White House conference on implementing civil rights called by President Johnson for June 1-2, 1966, it was announced Monday.

Local YWCAs have been asked to convene representatives of women's organizations in their areas, including college and university groups, cultural and religious organizations, women's civic, youth, educational and coordinating groups.

In her letter to Associations Mrs. Marti included a plan for a one-day pre-White House Conference (attached). Summaries from these sessions will be incorporated in a report from the National Board of the YWCA to the White House Conference.

The National YWCA which has had an interracial charter since 1946 and had its first Negro National Board member in 1908 is represented on the Council for the White House Conference by Miss Dorothy I. Height, who is director of the National Board's Office of Racial Integration and president of the National Council of Negro Women.

The emphasis in the one-day conference would be on education, jobs and economic security, housing and administration of justice. The group would be considering how the existing laws can be fully implemented and what may need to be achieved. Information would be gathered on the nature and extent of employment for Negroes in the community, the degree to which schools are integrated, to what extent housing is open ,how justice is being administered in the community.

At its last national convention in Cleveland in 1964 the YWCA of the U. S. A. voted for the Association a goal of "Conscious and deliberate effort to assure complete racial integration in all aspects of YWCA membership, leadership, and program, in the use of facilities, and in administrative and employment practices, and also to work for reconciliation and full integration immediately in all areas of the communities' life including education, employment, housing, public facilities, and religious and social institutions."

In her letter to Associations Mrs. Marti said in part:

"We in the YWCA are convinced that when people of goodwill come together close to home to share facts, their hopes and experiences in the light of the nation's goal and our YWCA program priority in racial integration they can make a difference on the side of greater justice, equality and goodwill. This is especially important now when many people seem to think the job has been finished with the pasage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Apathy abounds in the face of potentially explosive situations in many of our communities. YWCA leaders dare not observe in silence lest we forfeit hard-won gains.

"Every community and student Association can make a positive contribution by serving as the initiator by calling together women's organizations from all segments of the community for a one-day conference. This is a significant opportunity to express our YWCA commitment to the fulfillment of Constitutional rights and to the achievement of full equality."

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

FURNISH CFN

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.
CONFIRMATION OF MESSAGE FILED JULY 27 ONE

ADN 63 NL PD

23

N NZ

CONGRESSMAN CELLERS POSITION ON SECTION FOUR 1966 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL " THAT IT IS BETTER TO BEND THAN BREAK, " SHOULD BE REJECTED. BETTER TO BREAK THAN BEND ON BASIC PRINCIPLE OF OPEN OCCUPANCY FOR NEGRO CITIZENS TO RENT AND PURCHASE PROPERTY OF THEIR CHOICE WITHOUT RESERVATION. PROPOSE WE ALL STAND FIRM WITH MR . WILKINS AND LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON THIS MATTER AND REJECT ANY EXEMPTION.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH
406P EDT

666 9512
BD A PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE 217 WEST 125 ST NYC
CFN FURN 162

10

---

001 ANDREW B MILLER A F OF L-CIO 815 16TH ST NORTHWEST WASHDC

-A 002 MR STOAKLEY CARMICHAEL S N C C 8-1/2 RAYMOND ST ATLA

-N 003 MR WHITNEY YOUNG NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE 14 EAST 48 ST NYC

-N 004 MR ROY WILKINS NAACP 20 WEST 40TH ST NYC

-A 005 DR MARTIN L KING 407 AUBURN AVE ATLA

-N 006 MR ARNOLD ARONSON LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE 20 WEST 40TH ST NYC

-N 007 FLOYD B MCKISSICK CORE 38 PARK ROW NYC

-N 008 DOROTHY I HEIGHT NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN 200 WEST 57 ST NYC

-W 009 MR CLARENCE MITCHELL NAACP 422 1ST ST SOUTHEAST WASHDC

-W 010 JOSEPH L RAUH 1625 K ST NORTHWEST WASHDC

666 9512 162

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 16, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Please be reminded that the Council will meet in the Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building, at 10:30 a.m., Saturday, March 19, 1966.

The agenda (provisional) will include:

1. Housing and Urban Affairs
    - (A) Existing programs and current legislative proposals.
    - (B) Planning session and other proposals.
2. Preliminary proposals on criteria for Conference invitees.

We look forward to seeing you at the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Edward C. Sylvester Jr

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 22, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Please be reminded that the Council will meet in the Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building on Friday, May 6, 7:00 p.m.; Saturday, May 7, 10:00 a.m.; and on Sunday, May 8.

We are enclosing a copy of the Summary of Minutes of the April 1-2 Council meeting, and will forward to you the compilation of the task force papers for your information.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Enclosure

RECEIVED
APR 25 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Tel: 737-9010

May 2, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Reference is made to our letter of April 22, 1966 which reminded you that the Council will meet in the Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building on Friday, May 6, 7:00 p.m.; on Saturday, May 7, 10:00 a.m.; and on Sunday, May 8, if necessary.

We are enclosing a draft copy of the Council's recommendations to the Conference for your review. Additional "how to do it" recommendations will be presented at the Council meeting.

We are looking forward to seeing you at the Council meeting. Please let us know if you are unable to attend.

Sincerely,

Edward C Sylvester Jr

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

June 7, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

As you recall, it was agreed by the Council at its last meeting that we would meet again following the White House Conference on June 1 and 2. The meeting has been set for Thursday, June 23, 1966, 7:00 p.m., Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building.

Please inform us if you are unable to attend.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Fi Cc

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

June 18, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Enclosed is a copy of the Council's Report and Recommendations to the Conference and the Draft Report of the Conference. In the final form of the Report each of the four discussion sections will be preceded by the actual text of the pertinent section of the Council's Report and Recommendations. As an expediency we have not reproduced the Council sections in this draft.

The introduction to this draft, which includes an overview and summary of the Conference, was not finished in time for this mailing and is therefore not included. It was decided, however, to send the incomplete draft to permit as much time as possible for your reading and study before the Council Meeting of Thursday, June 23rd.

We look forward to seeing you at the meeting.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Enclosures

RECEIVED
JUN 20 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

(4)

What is to be done?

- o -

I propose the convening of a State of the Race Conference ~~at an~~ ~~Con~~ of Civil Rights leaders in particular and Negro leaders in general which shall be closed to the communications media at a convenient place to provide the climate for frank, hard, analytical reevaluation of the various factors affecting the Revolution.

This is to be a conference of discussion. No blue-print to solve all of the problems of civil rights is suggested.

We shall seek to determine where the Civil Rights Revolution is and whither it is tending.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

July 11, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters, AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

Enclosed are pictures taken of you during the recent White House Conference on Civil Rights. We thought you would enjoy having these pictures to recall a historic moment in the struggle "to fulfill these rights" for all Americans.

Sincerely yours,

Ed

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Enclosures 11

July 21, 1966

Mr. Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice-Chairman, The White House
Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ed:

Thanks a lot for the pictures of myself taken during the White House Conference on Civil Rights.

Let me congratulate you upon the great job you did to make the Conference the great success it was.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Statement by A. Philip Randolph

WHITE HOUSE RACE CONFERENCE TO BE EPOCH-MAKING

Probably the most significant and prophetic statement made on the race problem by a public official was made by President Johnson at Howard University, June 4, 1965, when he stated: "It is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates."

Thus, the purpose of the Conference to Fulfill These Rights, June 1-2, is reflected in this practical and far-reaching proposal in that address: "This is the next and more profound state of the battle for civil rights. We seek not freedom, but opportunity - not just legal equity but human ability - not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."

Such a task makes this June Conference one of the most important held to seek a solution of the Negro problem since the Civil War.

In order to give practical implementation to the comprehensive and basic proposals the Conference will consider, every important segment of our American society has been involved in the building of the Conference, including Negro and white, the religious faiths, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant, labor and business, educators and government specialists.

Since black and white America has a major stake in the success of this conference, citizens in all areas in the nation should rally to support the conference for the achievement of racial and social justice today should have top priority on the national agenda with a profound sense of urgency.

Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W
Washington, D. C.

Greatly regret unforseen developments prevent my attending first meeting of council on conference"To Fulfill These Rights". Concerning size and composition of conference, I think ~~of~~ 1,000 or 1,500 ~~participants~~ participants would be adequate,but if judgement of Council call for several thousands, effective control, in interest of achievement of results as indicated in great speech of the President at Howard University, will require careful managerial planning. As to composition, I would stress importance of presence of a number of indigenous leaders from areas such as migrant farm laborers, longshoremen, sharecroppers, some teenagers, representatives from Appalachia or white working poor, skilled and unskilled workers, together with varied professional and business groups. Would recommend that goals be kept down to three or four, indluding jobs, education, housing, and implementation of civil rights legislation, with new legislation for protection of civil rights workers in the South and service of Negroes on juries. I presume we will employ the panel system for discussion, with one session for summarization of discussion in panels by chairman. The conference should begin, of course, with the blessing of the President.

A. Philip Randolph

(1) Hon. Lyndon Baines Johnson
President of the United States
The White House
Washington - D.C.

My dear Mr. President,

Let me take this opportunity to assure you of my appreciation of the honor and privilege of having been entrusted by you ~~of~~ with the great responsibility of serving as the honorary chairman of the White House Conference to Fulfill These Rights supplemented with a larger ~~Spring~~ Conference in the spring.

Your conceptually structuring the conference in the pattern of a spectrum with ~~a~~ luminous and thermal rays, to provide the light of direction ~~and the fire of action~~ followed by the animation of action, was excitingly challenging and provocatively creative.

None can gainsay the fact that there was extensive and provocative debate and discussion on the identification of ~~various~~ problems with various and varied proposals for solutions, without any semblance of finalization, realizing that they await your study, interpretation and evaluation and utilization as you may deem advisable.

Certainly, your wisdom and vision in calling this conference in terms of the high qualitative standards of discussion by the participants in the conference and the nation-wide expression of concern about final policy and program by white and Negro citizens, national and local indigenous leaders, have been fully justified.

In fact, your action, stemming as it were, from your historic and unforgettable speech at Howard University, June 4, 1965, was a high order of statesmanship on, ~~[illegible]~~ perhaps, the most important, ~~and~~ urgent and dangerously ~~[illegible]~~ explosive socio-ethnic problem of this century of our country, the reason for which you have ~~pointedly~~ logically pin-pointed.

Undoubtedly, the country is looking forward to the Spring Conference ~~to~~ hopefully with much anticipation interest.

Now, may I report to you upon

3 the ~~pleasure with which~~ in a cooperative ~~manner~~ distinguished Co-Chairmen: Morris Abrams and W. T. Coleman and myself received from Mr. Lee White who represented your views impressively and a distinctively friendly manner.

By the same token, may I say that your professional White House staff — — — — — — — — were dedicated and hard-working arriously because they were aware of the fact that they were carrying out an assignment of promise and prophecy to help build the Great Society under the leadership of a Great President for a Great Country.

Assurance. These troubled times of trial by fire may God ~~give you~~ ever sustain and keep you and give you peace.

Very Sincerely Yours

A Philip Randolph

List for White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"

Robert Battle, III
Negro American Labor Council
16125 Linwood
Detroit, Michigan 48221

Troy Brailey
Negro American Labor Council
2405 Baker Street
Baltimore, Md.

Richard Parrish
Negro American Labor Council
10 West 135 Street
New York, N. Y. 10037

L. Joseph Overton
Negro American Labor Council
312 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Ernest Calloway
Negro American Labor Council
4441 Kennerly Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63113

U. C. Crowder
Negro American Labor Council
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Mitchell Ellis
Negro American Labor Council
333 Lafayette Avenue, #H-22
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11238

Frank Evans
Negro American Labor Council
13505 Kinsman Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Matthew Gregory
Negro American Labor Council
4006 Nassau Street
Tampa, Florida

Joseph T. Jackson
Negro American Labor Council
77 Coligni Avenue
New Rochelle, N. Y.

B. F. McLaurin
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Cleveland Robinson
Negro American Labor Council
13 Astor Place
New York, N. Y. 10003

Horace Sheffield
Negro American Labor Council
3302 Collingwood Street
Detroit, Michigan 48206

Calvin Sherard
Negro American Labor Council
4417 Van Dyke
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Thomas J. Starks
Negro American Labor Council
108 Maher Street
St. Clairsville, Ohio

Charles F. Street
Negro American Labor Council
654 St. Louis Avenue
Youngstown, Ohio

L. B. Thompson
Negro American Labor Council
4006½ S. Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Miss Alice Turner
Negro American Labor Council
6203 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Agnes Willis
Negro American Labor Council
61 Harrison Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Boyd Wilson
Negro American Labor Council
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Morris Doswell
Negro American Labor Council
13 Astor Place
New York, N. Y. 10003

Mrs. Corrine Smith
Negro American Labor Council
32 Macombs Place
New York, N. Y.

T. D. McNeal
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3412 North Union Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63115

C. L. Dellums
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California 94620

Bennie Smith
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
1308 Broadway
Detroit, Michigan 48226

L. J. Shackelford, Jr.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Samuel Harper
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3704 Pierce Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Rutledge Pearson
Florida State Conference, NAACP
536 West 18th Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

Timuel Black
Negro American Labor Council
5059 So. Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Perry Harvey
Intl. Longshoremen's Association
711 Harrison Street
Tampa, Florida

List for White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"

Robert Battle, III
Negro American Labor Council
16125 Linwood
Detroit, Michigan 48221

Troy Brailey
Negro American Labor Council
2405 Baker Street
Baltimore, Md.

Richard Parrish
Negro American Labor Council
10 West 135 Street
New York, N. Y. 10037

L. Joseph Overton
Negro American Labor Council
312 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Ernest Calloway
Negro American Labor Council
4441 Kennerly Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63113

U. C. Crowder
Negro American Labor Council
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Mitchell Ellis
Negro American Labor Council
333 Lafayette Avenue, #H-22
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11238

Frank Evans
Negro American Labor Council
13505 Kinsman Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Matthew Gregory
Negro American Labor Council
4006 Nassau Street
Tampa, Florida

Joseph T. Jackson
Negro American Labor Council
77 Coligni Avenue
New Rochelle, N. Y.

B. F. McLaurin
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Cleveland Robinson
Negro American Labor Council
13 Astor Place
New York, N. Y. 10003

Horace Sheffield
Negro American Labor Council
3302 Collingwood Street
Detroit, Michigan 48206

Calvin Sherard
Negro American Labor Council
4417 Van Dyke
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Thomas J. Starks
Negro American Labor Council
108 Maher Street
St. Clairsville, Ohio

Charles F. Street
Negro American Labor Council
654 St. Louis Avenue
Youngstown, Ohio

L. B. Thompson
Negro American Labor Council
4006½ S. Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Miss Alice Turner
Negro American Labor Council
6203 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Agnes Willis
Negro American Labor Council
61 Harrison Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Boyd Wilson
Negro American Labor Council
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Norris Doswell
Negro American Labor Council
13 Astor Place
New York, N. Y. 10003

Mrs. Corrine Smith
Negro American Labor Council
32 Macombs Place
New York, N. Y.

T. D. McNeal
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3412 North Union Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63115

C. L. Dellums
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California 94620

Bennie Smith
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
1308 Broadway
Detroit, Michigan 48226

L. J. Shackelford, Jr.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Samuel Harper
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3704 Pierce Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Rutledge Pearson
Florida State Conference, NAACP
536 West 18th Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

Timuel Black
Negro American Labor Council
5059 So. Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Perry Harvey
Intl. Longshoremen's Association
711 Harrison Street
Tampa, Florida

[illegible]

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

217 WEST 125th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027 • MOnument 2-5080

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
President

L. JOSEPH OVERTON ✓
Secretary

RICHARD PARRISH ✓
Treasurer

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Robert Battle III, Detroit, Mich. ✓
Troy Brailey, Baltimore, Md. ✓
Ernest Calloway, St. Louis, Mo. ✓
U. C. Crowder, Chicago, Ill. ✓
Mitchell Ellis, New York, N. Y. ✓
Frank Evans, Cleveland, Ohio ✓
Matthew Gregory, Tampa, Fla. ✓
Joseph T. Jackson, New Rochelle, N. Y. ✓
B. F. McLaurin, New York, N. Y. ✓
Cleveland Robinson, New York, N. Y. ✓
Horace Sheffield, Detroit, Mich. ✓
Calvin Sherard, Detroit, Mich. ✓
Thomas J. Starks, St. Clairsville, Ohio ✓
Charles F. Street, Youngstown, Ohio ✓
L. B. Thompson, Los Angeles, Calif. ✓
Alice Turner, Chicago, Ill. ✓
Agnes Willis, New York, N. Y. ✓
Boyd Wilson, Pittsburgh, Pa. ✓

NEGRO AMERICAN NALC LABOR COUNCIL

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
A. Philip Randolph
L. Joseph Overton
Richard Parrish
Cleveland Robinson
Horace Sheffield
Frank Evans

440

[illegible], President, [illegible] Chapter, NALC

Mrs. Corinne [illegible], Chairman, International Fund Raising Committee, NALC

T. D. McNeal, International Vice-Pres.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

C. L. Dellums, International Vice-President,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Bennie Smith, International President,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

[illegible], International [illegible], Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary, National Sharecroppers Fund

Sam Harper, President, Jacksonville [illegible], Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Jacksonville, Fla.

Rutledge Pearson, President, Florida State Branches, Jacksonville, Florida
536 W. 18 Street

Steinemann

Greatly regret unforeseen developments prevent my attending first meeting in Council on final Conference to Fulfill These Rights — relation to our telephone conversation concerning size and composition of Conference — ~~may I say that if it be the judgment of the Council that~~ while I think a thousand or fifteen hundred participants would form adequately if the judgment of the Council call for ~~more~~ several thousands effective control in interest of achievement of results indicated in great speech of the President at Howard University will require careful managerial planning. As to composition I would stress importance of presence of ~~existing~~ indigenous leaders from such areas as migrant farm laborers, longshoremen — share croppers, ~~railroad — hotel~~ store — front preachers, some teenagers — skilled and unskilled workers together with ~~the~~ varied professional and business groups.

Suggest we keep goals down to three or four — Jobs Education employment Housing — Fulfillment of civil rights legislation with new legislation for protection of [illegible] etc.

~~Similar~~ I suppose we will be adopting the panel system for discussion with one session for summarization by chairmen of the panels or selected ~~person~~ delegates. The conference should begin of course with the blessing of the President —

Workers in South and Service Negroes may find Justice and Housing.

(1) The White House Race Conference" ~~Could Advance~~ To be Epoch-making ~~Adds New Dimension to Problem~~ —

A. Philip Randolph

~~When~~

~~Probably~~

Probably, the most significant and prophetic statement made on the race problem ~~in~~ by a public official was made by President Johnson at Howard University - June 4, 1965, when he stated that: "Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates."

Thus, the ~~dramatic~~ purpose of the Conference to Fulfill These Rights, June 1-2, is reflected in ~~a phase of~~ this ~~a~~ practical and far-reaching proposal in that address: "This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not freedom but opportunity — not just legal equity — but human ~~equality~~ ability — not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."

Such a task makes this ~~t~~ June ~~[illegible]~~ Conference one of the most important held ~~in a hundred years~~ to seek a solution of the Negro problem ~~in a hundred years~~ since the Civil War.

In order to give practical implementation to the comprehensive and basic proposals the Conference will consider, every important segment of our American society has been involved in the building of the Conference including Negro and white, the religious faiths, Jew, Catholic and Protestant, labor and business, educators and government specialists.

Since black and white America has a major stake

(over)

in the process of this Conference, citizens in all areas in the nation should rally to support the conference for ~~achieving~~ the achievement of racial and social justice today should take top priority on the national agenda with a profound sense of urgency.

CATEGORY	ALLOCATION
Arts, Sports, and Entertainment	30
Business and Industry	300
Civil Rights Organizations	200
Communications	80
Education	110
Federal Government Officials	200
Foundations	30
Fraternal, Service and Women's Groups	100
Human Relations and Public Interest Groups	100
Labor	100
Poor and Grassroots Organizations	150
Religion	100
State and Local Officials	400
Miscellaneous	100
	2000

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Council Meeting

1966

COUNCIL MEETING

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

March 19, 1966

SUMMARY

		Page
PART I. SPECIFIC CATEGORIES AND CRITERIA ...		2
STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS	400	2
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS	200	3
POOR AND GRASS ROOT ORGANIZATIONS	150	3
CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS	200	4
HUMAN RELATIONS AND PUBLIC INTEREST ORGANIZATIONS........................	100	4
FRATERNAL, SERVICE AND WOMEN'S GROUPS ...	100	5
FOUNDATIONS	30	6
LABOR	100	6
INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS	300	6
RELIGION	100	7
EDUCATION	10	8
COMMUNICATIONS	80	8
ARTS, SPORTS, AND ENTERTAINMENT	30	9
MISCELLANEOUS	100	9
Total	1,900	
PART II. GENERAL PRINCIPLES		9
LEADERS OR STAFF		9
CONGRESSIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS		10

MEMORANDUM

March 19, 1966

To: The Council

From: Berl I. Bernhard, Special Counsel
and
Ronald B. Natalie, Consultant

Subject: Criteria for Selection of Participants

The guidelines set forth in this memorandum expressly avoid any attempt to identify individuals. That task will be difficult and time-consuming. It will require the exclusive attention of at least one full-time staff person from now until the invitations are mailed out. The purpose of this memorandum is to pose to the Council suggested criteria that might be followed in arriving at the invitation list. Unless the Council approves some hard and fast guidelines, the staff person assigned responsibility for preparing the list of invitees will have an impossible task. With comprehensive guidelines accepted he can state with some assurance that the interests of those seeking, or recommended for, invitations are represented by other invitees.

The method for selecting invitees might be as follows:

1. The Council should determine the categories and regional representation of invitees desirable for the Conference.

2. The Council should delegate to the Staff the responsibility for determining the names of the invitees within the agreed criteria.

3. The Staff will respond to suggestions from the Council on the names of invitees.

PART I. SPECIFIC CATEGORIES AND CRITERIA

A. State and Local Officials (400)

1. The Governors of the 50 states.

2. The Mayors of the 50 cities with populations over 100,000 that have the highest percentage of Negro population to total population.

(Two cautionary notes are in order. First, at least five of the 21 cities with populations over 500,000 -- Boston, Milwaukee, San Antonio, San Diego, and Seattle -- would not meet this standard. To prevent any further losses, the Council might desire to lay down a sliding scale, as follows:

Cities over: 500,000 = 10% or more Negro population
300,000 - 500,000 = 15% or more Negro population
100,000 - 300,000 = 20% or more Negro population

Appendix I is a list of the 51 cities falling within this criterion (the list was compiled from the Statistical Abstract of the United States and is not official; the U.S. Conference of Mayors has agreed to supply an official version)).

The second point to observe is that over half are Southern cities. But this reflects the realities of Negro population in this country. Over half of the Negroes in the country live in the 11 states of the former Confederacy; less than one-half in the other 39. If the seven border states and the District of Columbia are added, this block of states accounts for almost two-thirds of the Negro population, with only one-third in the remaining 32 states. With that reality in mind, we have developed Appendix II, a regional breakdown. It could serve as a guideline. It de-emphasizes the South to a considerable extent. The Council could easily apply it to the city category requiring a maximum of eight cities from each category. This would eliminate the bottom city in Region II (Newport News), and Region IV (Jackson). These two slots could accommodate Boston and Seattle. A regional breakdown of cities is shown in Appendix III.

3. There are approximately 300 Negroes holding state office or elected office in major cities or counties. These are the people who can press to implement the policies of the Conference and they should be entitled on the merits to about 225-250 slots in a conference of this size. Criteria for selection where 80% of a category will be invited, are impossible. Therefore, we recommend that all be invited.

B. Federal Government Officials (200)

1. The Cabinet (10).

2. Heads of all significant agencies (25).

3. Sub-cabinet and high level officers with a major concern in the civil rights area (45).

4. Regional or State Directors of the various programs of concern in the area (such as the United States Employment Service, Agricultural Extension Service, etc.). One, or at most two, persons from each program should be selected. Geographical diversity can be maintained by scattering the programs. For example, an agricultural extension director from Texas, an Employment Service director from California, a small business director from Illinois, and so on (20).

5. Top level Negro Federal officials (100).

C. Poor and Grass Roots Organizations (150)

1. To select representatives of the poor as such, we should ask each Regional Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to nominate 25 Negroes, who are members of the Community Action Program (CAP) boards (as representatives of the poor) within his region and are known by him to be effective. Fifteen from each region would be selected (105). We should stipulate that these individuals are not to be officers of or to have a primary involvement with either local chapters of national civil rights groups or local ad hoc groups. These groups have separate representation. We should also request that each director try to spread his nominees so as to reflect representatives of both urban and rural populations.

2. Selecting representatives of grass roots organizations will be difficult. The Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty has isolated some 4,000. Forty-five should be allowed to send a representative. Our criteria ought to be: (1) the groups must be primarily Negro, (2) they must speak for a substantial number of Negro poor, and (3) they must have shown some continuity and viability. Based on what we can learn, there are not too many more than 45 on this list that meet these standards. The selection can be made by consulting with the Citizen's Crusade, OEO Regional Directors, the local CAP, and perhaps local people active in civil rights organizations. Again, however, these grass roots bodies must not nominate someone whose primary involvement is with a national civil rights organization.

D. Civil Rights Organizations (200)

1. The only feasible way to furnish representation to the national civil rights organizations is to assign a block allocation of 200 and to convene Mr. Randolph and the Big 6 to agree upon the allocation to each group. The following criteria should be delineated:

    (a) Geographical distribution is essential. There should be a minimum of 25 participants from each region.

    (b) Both urban and rural interests should be represented.

    (c) Every effort should be made to select those who will be able to return home and implement the policies developed by the Conference, as distinguished from "letterhead" personalities.

E. Human Relations and Public Interest Organizations (100)

1. The chief staff man from each of the major public interest groups (Council of State Governments, League of Cities, National Association of County Officials, International Association of Chiefs of Police, etc.), and the elected heads of those organizations not represented in other categories (as by mayors or governors) should be invited. Appendix IV lists these groups (13).

2. Official Human Relations Commissions (30)

   (a) The chief executive officer or chairmen of 12 key state commissions chosen on the criteria of geographical distribution, power of the commission and size of Negro population within the state. Appendix V lists those states meeting these standards, but this selection should be checked to ensure the quality of the invitees (12).

   (b) The chairman or chief executive officer of 4 key county commissions: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Dade (Miami), and Monroe (Rochester) Counties (4).

   (c) The chairman or chief executive officers of 14 city commissions chosen on the basis of staff size and budget, Negro population, regulatory power and geographical distribution. A list is attached as Appendix VI (14).

3. The chairman or chief staff officer of every Southern statewide private commission (because there is no public counterpart (11).

4. Representatives of broader human relations organizations, such as the Southern Regional Council, including groups with a religious orientation, but which are primarily human relations groups (American Friends Service Committee, etc.)

   This is especially true of the various Jewish groups such as the Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Committee, and other national members of the National Community Relations Advisory Council (36).

F. Fraternal Service and Women's Groups (100)

1. Representatives of Negro fraternal and masonic organizations (25).

2. Representatives of the various service groups, not directly concerned with civil rights, such as Boy and Girl Scouts, YMCA and YWCA, Boy's Clubs, Shriners, etc. (50).

3. Representatives of women's groups (25).

G. Foundations (30)

Representatives of foundations selected on the criteria of (1) size and (2) concern with civil rights (30).

H. Labor (100)

1. An allocation of 100 is made to organized labor. Of this, 95 slots are assigned to the AFL-CIO, 5 are assigned to unions outside the AFL-CIO (Teamsters, Miners, independent rail brotherhoods). Assignment of slots to individual unions must be coordinated to keep individual union representation in balance. The criteria for selection are:

   (a) Geographical distribution, especially insofar as the West and South are concerned.

   (b) Representation of the various types of unions that confront problems of concern to the Conference -- such as craft unions, building trade unions, and the like.

   (c) Union leaders, not staff personnel, are what is needed.

I. Industry and Business (300)

1. 125 representatives of major industry (Council member Miller has agreed to advise); in addition, Mr. Bertram Levine, the Executive Secretary of the National Citizens Committee will also advise.

2. Seventy-five representatives of small business selected with the advice of the Small Business Administration.

3. Seventy-five representatives of Negro business, selected with the advice of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the National Business League.

4. Twenty-five representatives of business organizations. The President and chief staff man of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Business League, ICBO, etc.

J. Religious (100)

1. Size and Distribution of Representation.

The breakdown among Protestant, Catholic and Jewish should be approximately as follows: 50 Protestant leaders; 35 Catholic; 15 Jewish. This represents in gross terms the distribution among the total population. This is disproportionate to Jewish involvement in civil rights, but many Jewish groups are more appropriately included under human relations organizations and should appear there (NCRAC, ADL, etc.).

2. The Council has available options from the following categories of religious leaders:

(a) Principal elected denominational officials, *e.g.* presiding Bishops, Presidents of denominations, and the principal elected officials of such bodies as the National Council of Churches and the Synagogue Council of America. These are the "name" religious leaders in America as distinct from the professional staff who carry forward the work of the churches. Due to the proliferation of Protestant denominations there would be heavy Protestant representation on this basis with relatively small Catholic and Jewish representation.

(b) Principal executive officers of social action and homeland mission agencies at both the Council and denominational level. Once again, representation would be heavier from among the Protestants since the National Council of Churches has its structure, as do most of the major denominations. It is estimated there are 20 social action agencies for Protestants, 7 agencies within the National Catholic Welfare, and about 10 Jewish agencies.

(c) Professional staff workers. In addition to the religious or denominational leaders and the chief executive officers of social action agencies, there are a number of key professional staff workers who might be considered. These are persons who would focus almost exclusively on civil rights and related issues, and they would have to be identified largely on a name by name basis without regard to official position. Many of these persons might be picked up in other categories.

(d) A combination of the above three categories. This approach would produce:

a) For Protestants -- about 40 denominational leaders, and executive officers of 10 social action agencies (those not fitting within the human relation organization framework).

b) For Catholics -- Bishops of all archdioceses except Santa Fe and Portland (which have the smallest Negro populations), the executive officers of 7 social action oriented agencies, and 3 national Catholic organizations of similar orientation.

c) For Jewish groups -- representatives of the 3 major constituents of the Synagogue Council and smaller Jewish social action groups that do not have a primary concern with civil rights.

In sum, there is no simple formula which can be applied to the three principal faiths in a comparable fashion since the structure of the three faiths differ substantially.

K. Education (10)

1. Major universities (3).

2. Negro colleges and universities (4).

3. Regional bodies -- accrediting associations or groups like North Carolina Fund, Negro College Fund, etc. (2).

4. Professional schools from those disciplines where Negro access is most needed, especially business schools (1).

L. Communications (80)

1. Representatives (owners, publishers) of major news media -- radio, TV, newspapers, magazines (40).

2. Leading Southern newspaper editors and publishers (10).

3. Representatives of the Negro news media -- all forms including radio (30).

M. Arts, Sports, and Entertainment (25)

N. Miscellaneous (100)

This category is left to the option of the Council for use as it sees fit.

PART II. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

A. Leaders or Staff

(a) The Council ought to decide, either by category or across the board, whether the focus of the Conference should be on the leaders of the various constituent elements or on the staff personnel concerned with civil rights. Much can be said for both points of view.

The purpose of the Conference is no longer to generate ideas, as was the case with the Planning Session. Its aim is implementation -- "how-to-do-it." For that reason, it would appear that the Presidents of the Southern Baptists, the NAM, etc. should be invited rather than the executive directors, and certainly rather than the civil rights or community relations staff men.

On the other hand, many feel that the best way to assure action by the leadership of various elements of society -- be it business, labor, religion, etc. -- is to involve heavily the staff people of the constituent organizations. The idea is that they will then push their respective bosses to increased action. To some extent, we could do both. Allowance has been made for a certain number of staff people in each major category, but the Council needs to decide whether 50 staff people from labor, for example, might not be too much. This could very easily occur, considering both the staffs of the AFL-CIO itself and those of its larger unions.

B. Congressional Recommendations

Many of the sources that we will rely upon in the selection of invitees have expressed a common concern. It was put most forcefully by Donald Slaiman of the AFL-CIO. His view is that if he undertakes the responsibility to select 100 trade unionists and the accompanying responsibility of rejecting the many many more that will seek invitations, his burden will be unbearable if those that he rejects can then go to their Congressman and obtain an invitation. His view is that Congressional requests for invitations to labor people who are not on the labor list should be answered by saying that our criteria have assured that the interests of the individual nominee will be represented by the invitation made to one or more designated individuals. Several of the other people consulted expressed similar concern, although most might be willing to work with us under the cloak of an anonymity.

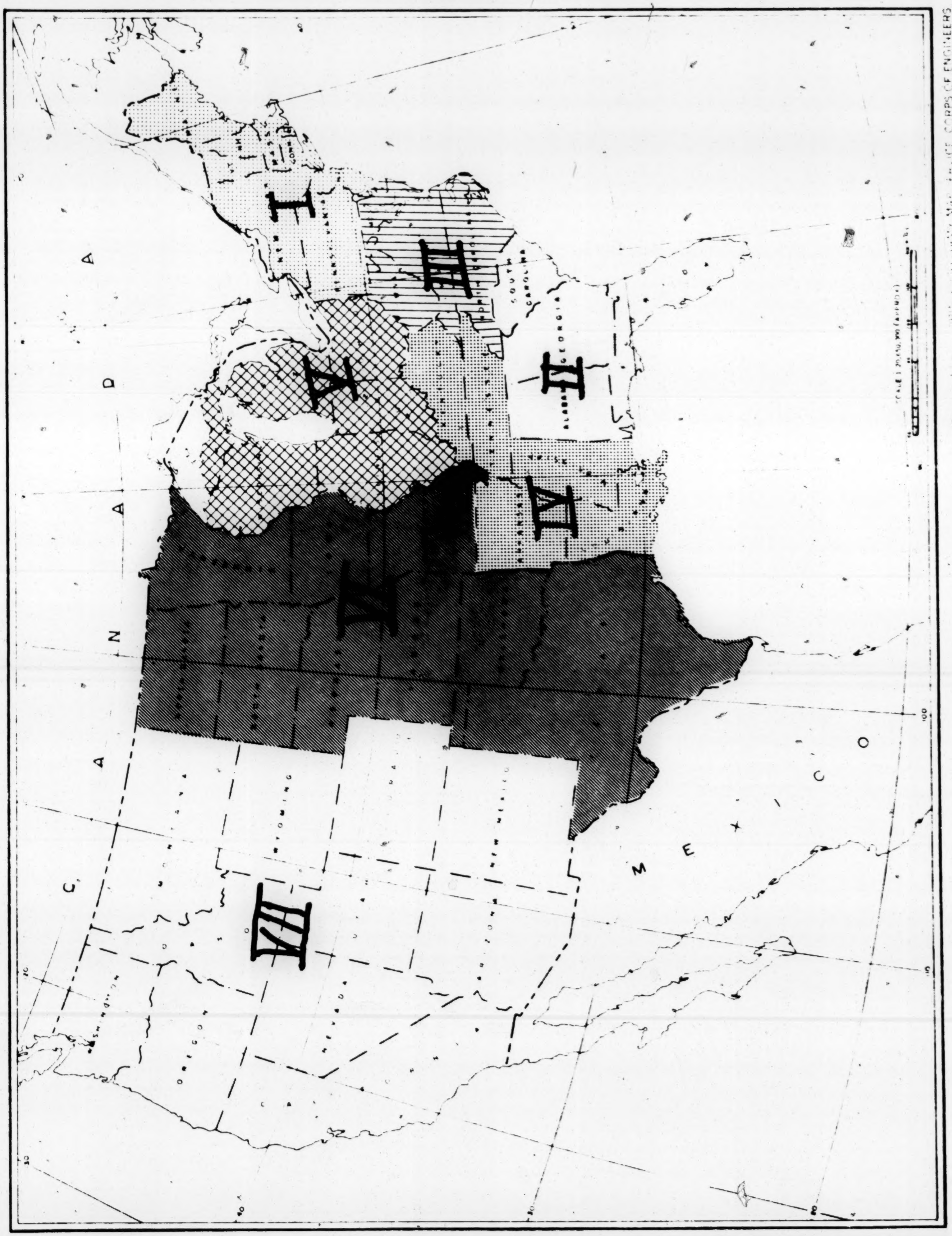
I

APPENDIX I

Atlanta, Georgia
Baltimore, Md.
Baton Rouge, La.
Beaumont, Tex.
Birmingham, Ala.
Buffalo, N.Y.
Camden, N.J.
Charlotte, N.C.
Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio
Columbus, Ga.
Columbus, Ohio
Dallas, Texas
Dayton, Ohio
Detroit, Mich.
Fort Worth, Tex.
Gary, Ind.
Greensboro, N. C.
Houston, Tex.
Indianapolis, Ind.
Jackson, Miss.
Jacksonville, Fla.
Kansas City, Kan.
Kansas City, Mo.
Little Rock, Ark.
Los Angeles, Calif.
Louisville, Ky.
Memphis, Tenn.
Miami, Fla.
Mobile, Ala.
Montgomery, Ala.
Nashville, Tenn.
New Orleans, La.
New York, N.Y.
Newark, N.J.
Newport News, Va.
Norfolk, Va.
Oakland, Calif.
Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburg, Pa.
Portsmouth, Va.
Richmond, Va.
St. Louis, Mo.
San Francisco, Calif.
Savannah, Ga.
Shreveport, La.
Trenton, N.J.
Washington, D.C.
Winston-Salem, N.C.

II

APPENDIX II


I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
CANADA
MEXICO
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
WYOMING
MONTANA
IDAHO
NEW MEXICO
ARIZONA
NEVADA
OREGON
WASHINGTON
UTAH
CALIFORNIA
CORPS OF ENGINEERS

APPENDIX III

REGION I (7)

Buffalo
Camden
New York
Newark
Philadelphia
Pittsburgh
Trenton
(Boston)

REGION II (9)

Baltimore
Charlotte
Greensboro
(Newport News)
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond
Washington
Winston-Salem

REGION III (8)

Atlanta
Birmingham
Columbus, Ga.
Savannah
Mobile
Montgomery
Jacksonville
Miami

REGION IV (9)

Baton Rouge
Chattanooga
(Jackson)
Little Rock
Memphis
Nashville
New Orleans
Shreveport
Louisville

REGION V (8)

Chicago
Cincinnati
Cleveland
Columbus, Ohio
Dayton
Detroit
Gary
Indianapolis

REGION VI (7)

Beaumont
Dallas
Fort Worth
Houston
Kansas City, Kan.
Kansas City, Mo.
St. Louis

REGION VII (3)

Los Angeles
Oakland
San Francisco
(Seattle)

IV

APPENDIX IV - PUBLIC INTEREST GROUPS

1. AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION
   Guy R. Justis, Director
2. COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS
   Charles Schwan, Director - Washington Office
3. INT'L ASSOC. OF CHIEFS OF POLICE, INC.
   Quinn Tamm, Executive Director
4. INT'L CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
   Orin F. Nolting, Executive Director
5. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES
   Bernard Hillenbrand, Executive Director
6. NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MUNICIPAL LAW OFFICERS
   Charles Rhyne, General Counsel
7. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
   Alfred Willoughby, Executive Director
8. NAT'L ASSOC. OF HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS
   John D. Lange, Executive Director
9. NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES
   Patrick Healy, Executive Director
10. U. S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS
    John Gunther, Executive Director

APPENDIX V

STATES

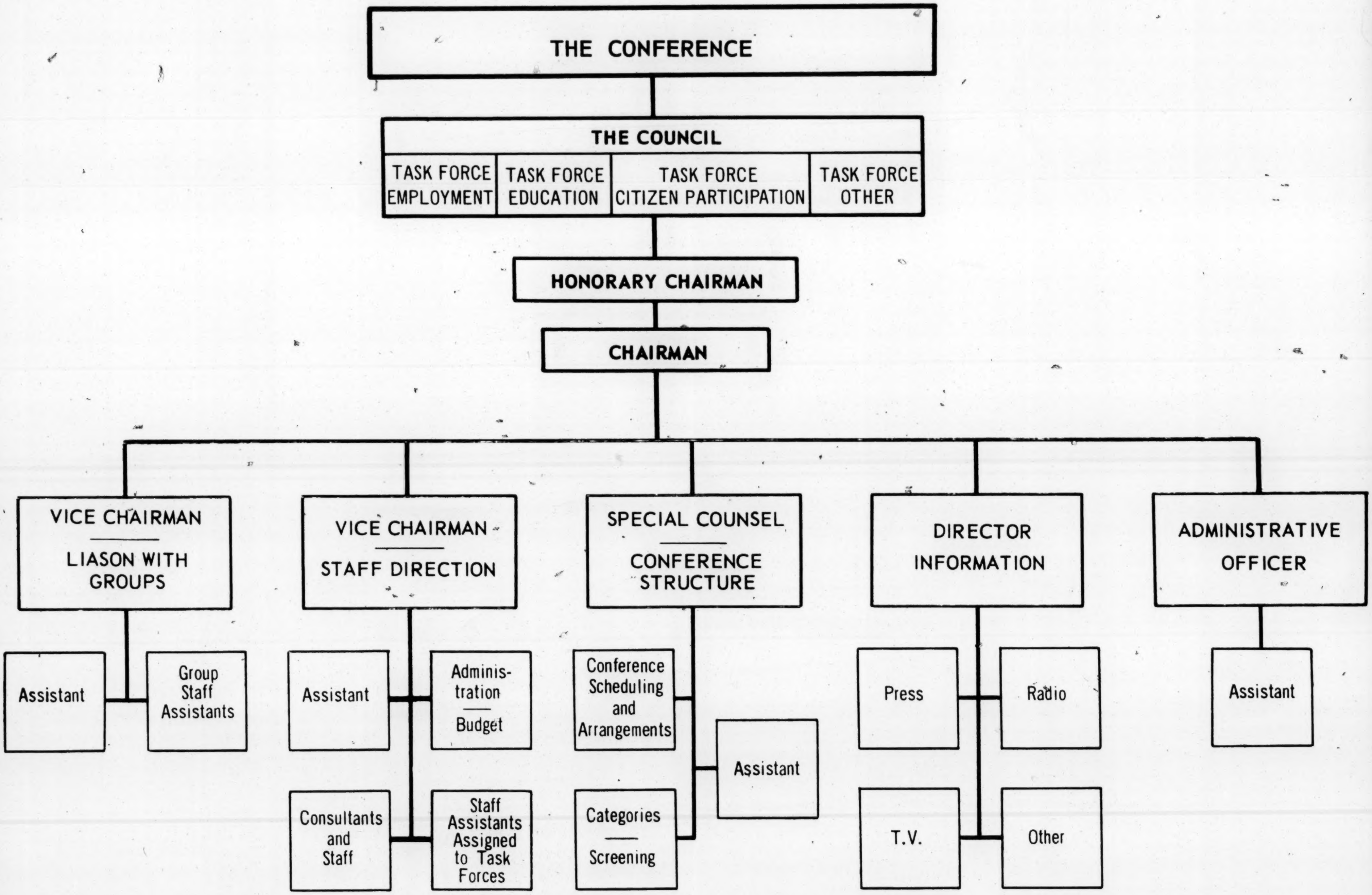
- California
- Colorado
- Illinois
- Indiana
- Massachusetts
- Minnesota
- Michigan
- New Jersey
- New York
- Ohio
- Pennsylvania
- Washington

APPENDIX VI

CITIES

7	Denver, Colo.
1	New Haven, Conn.
2	District of Columbia
5	Chicago, Ill.
5	Gary, Ind.
6	Des Moines, Iowa
4	Louisville, Ky.
2	Baltimore, Md.
5	Detroit, Mich.
6	St. Louis, Mo.
1	New York City
5	Cleveland, Ohio
1	Philadelphia, Pa.
1	Pittsburgh, Pa.

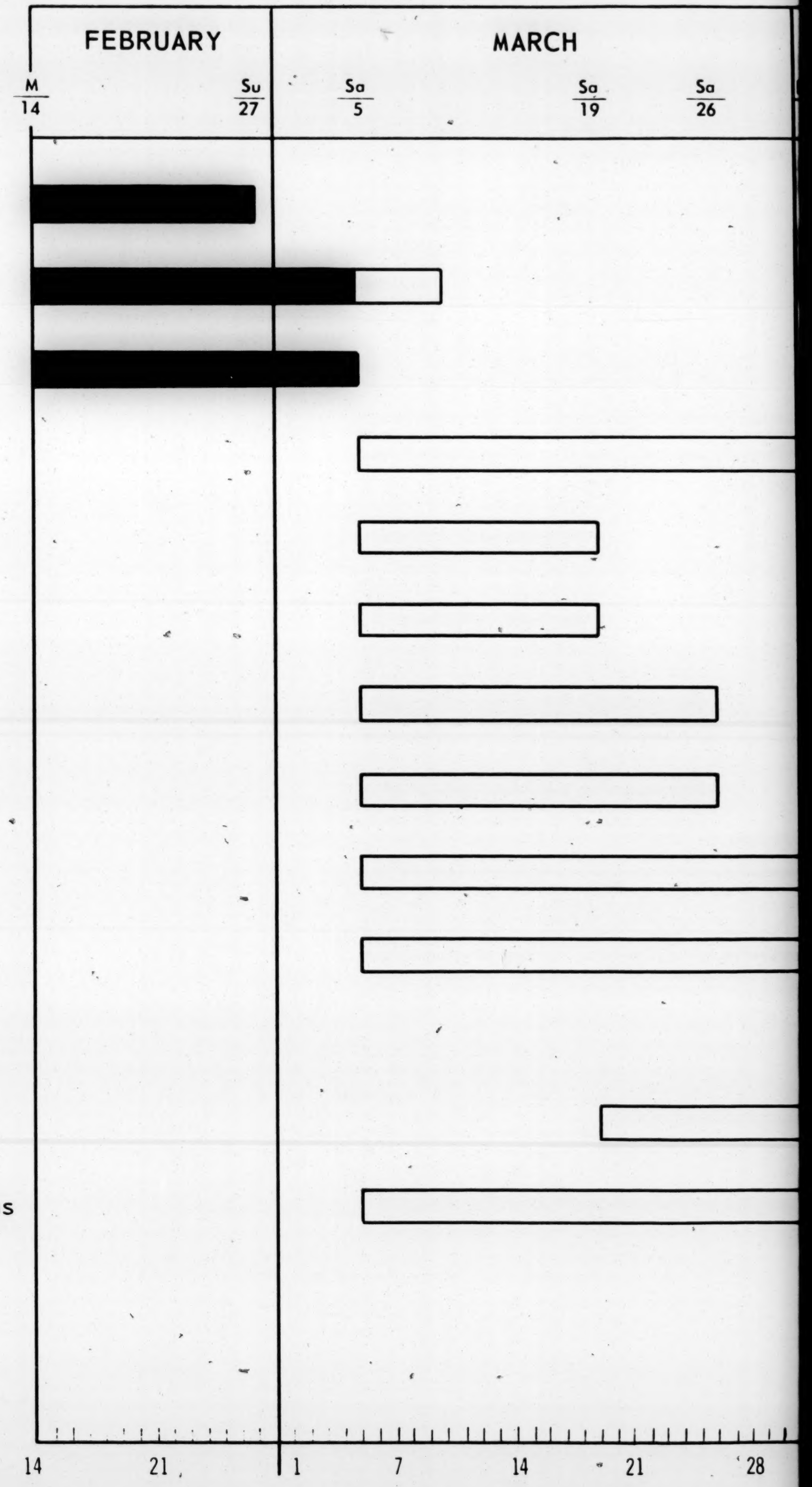
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"


THE CONFERENCE
THE COUNCIL
TASK FORCE EMPLOYMENT
TASK FORCE EDUCATION
TASK FORCE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
TASK FORCE OTHER
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
CHAIRMAN
VICE CHAIRMAN
LIASON WITH GROUPS
VICE CHAIRMAN
STAFF DIRECTION
SPECIAL COUNSEL
CONFERENCE STRUCTURE
DIRECTOR INFORMATION
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER
Assistant
Group Staff Assistants
Assistant
Adminis-tration
Budget
Consultants and Staff
Staff Assistants Assigned to Task Forces
Conference Scheduling and Arrangements
Assistant
Categories
Screening
Press
Radio
T.V.
Other
Assistant

2/25/66

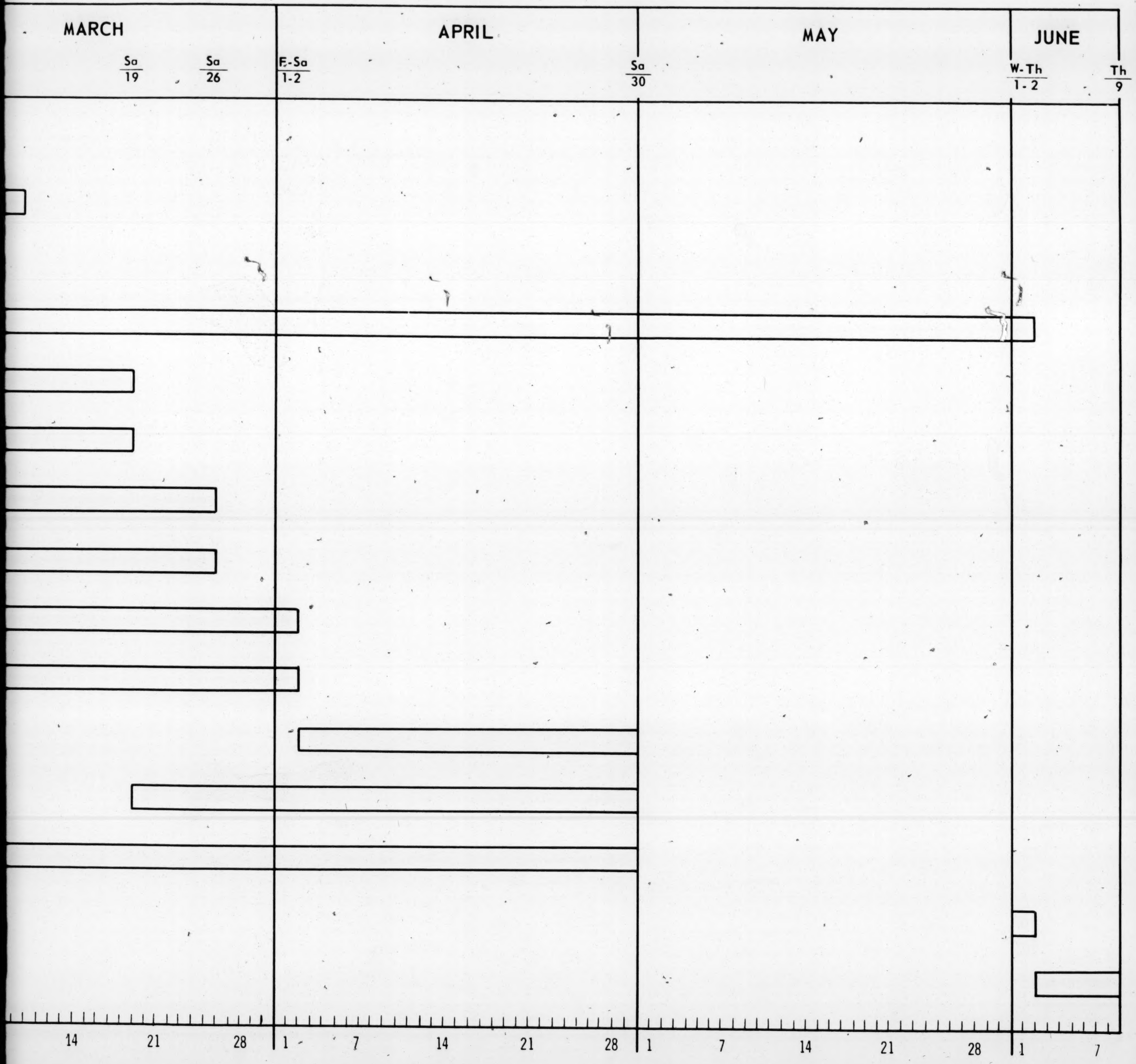
Proposed Time Schedule For White House Conf

1. Formation and Announcement of Council
2. Selection of Vice Chairmen, Special Counsel and Staff
3. Preparation and Agreement on Provisional Agenda
4. Liaison With All Groups
5. Staff Task Force Proposals on Agenda Item 1 (Housing and Urban Development)
6. Staff Proposals on Selection of Conference Invitees
7. Staff Task Force Proposals on Agenda Item 2 (Education and Training)
8. Staff Task Force Proposals on Agenda Items 4 and 5 (Health; Administration of Justice)
9. Staff Task Force Proposals on Agenda Item 3 (Economic Security)
10. Preliminary Staff Proposals on Conference Structure
11. Final Staff Proposals on Conference Structure
12. Proposed Report for Council Decision and Approval
13. Preparation of List of Invitees and Mailing of Invitations
14. Conference
15. Report of Conference to the President



Revised and Approved by Council March 5, 1966

r White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"



THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Tel: 737-9010

March 30, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Please be reminded that the Council will meet in the Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building, at 7:00 p.m., Friday, April 1 and at 10:00 a.m., Saturday, April 2, 1966.

The agenda (provisional) will include:

Friday, April 1

I. Health
II. Administration of Justice

Saturday, April 2

I. Economic Security and Welfare
II. Conference Structure

We regret that you were unable to attend the Council Meeting on March 26, 1966. The enclosed items are furnished for your information:

*First Report of the Task Force on Education
*Conference Structure
Summary of Minutes - Council Meeting, March 26
Revised Time Schedule

*Presented at the Council Meeting, March 26

We are looking forward to seeing you at the meeting. Please let us know if you are unable to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Edward C. Sylvester Jr
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Enclosures

We just received your telegram stating you will be able to make both meetings ECS

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

FIRST REPORT
TASK FORCE ON EDUCATION

COUNCIL MEETING
March 26, 1966

FIRST REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON EDUCATION

MARCH 25, 1966

I. INTRODUCTION

The Task Force on Education, in response to the request of the Planning Session, presents the following statement of the purpose of education in America.

Public education in a free society is properly concerned primarily with the individual, with his intellectual development, the cultivation of his skills, his vocational and professional preparation, the nurturing of his artistic sensitivities and creativity, the discipline of his moral will, his achievement of a genuine sense of personal worth and meaning in existence, and his commitment to high purpose.

But the individual does not live in isolation from society, and while the school ministers to his well-being it must contribute thereby to the strength and integrity of the social order -- the neighborhood, the city, the state, and the nation. The effect of the schools upon his attitudes and actions, the state of his knowledge, his rational capacities, and the level of his skills, it inevitably determines to a major degree the character of society, its political integrity, its economic stability and prosperity, its solidarity of purpose, and its general moral strength.

The school is among the major social institutions which determine the quality and character of the culture of the nation and of the community. Upon the school, to a considerable extent, depends the character of the world in which the present generation must live and into which future generations will be born. What goes on in the schoolroom and laboratory profoundly affects the whole quality of personal and social life, the things men live by, the values they cherish, and the ends they seek. It can make the difference between a life that is full and meaningful and one that is empty and meaningless.

It is inevitable, therefore, that decisions importantly affecting the character and quality of the schools, whether in matters of instruction, personnel, administration, or social behavior and relationships, must make a difference not only in the lives of the individual students but, also, in those sure but subtle ways by which influences permeate the social structure, in the whole life of the society and in its culture. The purpose of our schools is nothing less than the achievement of free persons in a free society.

The fact is that the present time schools in America are not fulfilling this purpose. Our schools, on the contrary, are stratified in quality, divided in objectives, and contribute to producing a class- and race-stratified society. It is incontestable that we have different qualities of education and we therefore provide widely varying levels of opportunities through schooling for the suburban child, the city child, the Negro and the white child in the inner city, and the rural child. There is great need to equalize the opportunities for all our children to the extent that education can provide them with basic skills, saleable skills, and civic and social skills. This would provide them with the basic equipment to be free persons in a free society.

But as the President reminded us at Howard University last June "Freedom is not enough.... it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.

"This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity.... not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result.

"For the task is to give twenty million Negroes the same chance as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities -- physical, mental and spiritual, and to pursue their individual happiness.

"To this end equal opportunity is essential, but not enough ... Men and women of all races are born with the same range of abilities. But ability is not just the product of birth. Ability is stretched or stunted by the family you live with, and the neighborhood you live in, by the school you go to and the poverty or the richness of your surroundings. It is the product of a hundred unseen forces playing upon the little infant, the child, and finally the man."

In the observations and recommendations of the Task Force which follow, the President's words are heeded and the recommendations presented are not restricted to the schools alone but apply, also, to other elements of our society in the context of which the schools operate.

II. THE BASIC PROBLEM

The Task Force on Education accepts this statement of the problem by the Planning Session in its preliminary report of December 1965:

> "As *de jure* barriers have been breached by the courts, *de facto* barriers, no less rigid for their foundation in custom rather than law, have become even more formidable.
>
> 1. Today the overwhelming majority of American school children--more than 90 per cent--are educated in segregated schools.
>
> 2. The evidence is that American education continues to be organized along racial and class lines and that nothing significant has happened in the last eleven years to change this fundamental fact.
>
> 3. ......segregated education is, by definition, inferior education for both Negroes and whites."

III. THE OBSTACLE OF ATTITUDE

The major obstacle to the reorganization of American education to solve these problems is to be found in the fact that sizeable elements of the American public, of their representatives in legislatures and administration, of school administrators and teachers, remain indifferent or hostile to the national policy of educational and racial equality, especially of the inner-city and rural child. These hostile attitudes are manifest in the organized opposition of such groups as the White Citizens Councils, many parent or tax payer groups, neighborhood associations, and many school boards. Moreover, there is ample evidence of the hostility, apathy, incompetence or impotence of many educational administrators.

A similar indifference and sometimes hostility characterize also the attitudes within the colleges and universities in which our teachers and school administrators are educated. Moreover there is a comparative absence of evidence of state and local leadership to match national leadership in striving for equality. Finally, there is an obvious search in both the North and the South for minimal means to satisfy the requirements of the Federal government to procure Federal funds for schools. These facts conclusively indicate the wide-spread intent to resist the law of the land, a resistance that law alone cannot combat.

By reason of these considerations the Task Force on Education offers the following for consideration of the Council in making its recommendations to the Conference:

1. There is need for a strong call by the President, by Governors of the States, by mayors and chief executives of cities, and by other relevant state and local officials to provide concrete evidence of leadership in behalf of the national policy "of equality as a fact and equality as a result."

2. There is need for a program of "corrective" education, designed with special reference to racial, ethnic and cultural stereotypes which reflect the distorted cultural images so commonly held by members of one racial or ethnic group toward other groups. We must confront this need and make a direct attack on such stereotypes and use every possible means to correct the twisted images of minority groups.

3. Equalization of educational opportunity requires many kinds of changes in conventional attitudes, programs and institutional arrangements, the encouragement and support of which demand affirmative policies and actions at both state and local levels. Federal agencies having administrative responsibilities for educational programs receiving Federal support should seek, devise and encourage innovative practices by State Departments of Education, designed to induce or accelerate such changes on a statewide basis.

4. There is need for an explicit program in institutions of teacher education - both pre-service and in-service education - for the creation of positive attitudes among teachers and all school personnel consistent with national policies of equality and the development of a sense of commitment to this policy.

5. There is specific need to introduce into the training of teachers an awareness and understanding of the differences in children not of the middle class, of the special problems of communication in seeking to reach these children - elements which today are not generally part of either the personal experience of the teacher himself or of the training he receives in the colleges or universities which prepare him for his profession.

IV. DEFAULT OF STATE RESPONSIBILITY

It is not a coincidence that the Negro Revolt was addressed to the Federal government rather than to the respective states. The Federal government was called upon to intervene in the field of civil rights and public education - as in other fields - because state governments defaulted in accepting responsibility for fulfilling their obligations. It is not hard to understand the reasons for this default. State legislatures have refused to reapportion during the course of this century so that in 1960, although there were 39 states in which urban populations constituted a majority of the people, in not a single state did the urban population control the state legislature. Nor was the urban population adequately represented in the Congress of the United States.

It is a fact that the callous disregard of urban needs by rural dominated state legislatures forced municipalities to call for relief from the Federal government, a call that was not ignored. Moreover, the traditional and outmoded attitudes of the rural-dominated legislature resulted in inadequate provision for the needs of the rural people themselves. In similar fashion, state legislatures especially in the South in which Negro citizens had little, if any, voice were callous in their response, not only to the needs of the Negro population but, even, in the protection of their civil rights.

It is an ironic fact that the Negro Revolt, bred in the desperate plight of the Negro community, including the segregated and inferior quality of education available to Negro children, disclosed the inadequacies of public school education in general--for the white as well as for the Negro child. In seeking redress for his grievances by the Federal government the Negro American had yet another reason for looking in that direction for help. A century earlier Constitutional commitments to Negro equality had been made, holding forth promises that remained unfulfilled.

The states are still in default of their obligations to contribute towards an adequate and equal educational opportunity for all. Not only have state governments failed to take initiative in working towards improvement of local education but they have, also, by restricting legal authority and sources of revenue, prevented municipalities which desired to do so from dealing with their educational problems.

States have failed to meet their educational responsibilities in other ways as well. They have failed to allocate adequate resources to state departments of education; they have failed to redefine school districts as rapid population and social changes have created new needs; they have failed to redefine frameworks for the structure and functions of local boards of education to meet current requirements. Furthermore, state governments have failed to operate in other areas which vitally affect the ability of the schools adequately to perform their functions. More specifically, the states have lagged in efforts to bring about open occupancy in housing -- a failure which contributes materially to de facto school segregation. They have failed to adequately legislate or implement fair employment practices or even to open state employment on an equitable basis to members of minority groups -- failure that contributes to the continuation and problems of the ghetto and erects a solid barrier to the Negro's entrance to the middle class. The Southern states have failed to provide legal and actual opportunity for Negro citizens to exercise their right of franchise -- a failure which prevented the Negro from helping himself.

By reason of these considerations the Task Force offers the following for consideration of the Council in making its recommendations to the Conference:

6. There is urgent need within the states to develop a state-wide "equalization formula", designed to equalize the quality and availability of educational opportunity, as between densely populated urban areas of the state and those with lesser population density, - such formula to take account of local ability to meet the cost of education and of determined educational needs. In this connection, reconsideration should be given to increased "home rule", and revision of financial codes to the end that municipalities may be better equipped to deal with their education problems. For such areas within the state that decline or are unable to provide adequate and equal education, the state must assume affirmative responsibility for the necessary corrective action.

7. There is a need for re-examination of present provisions dealing with the structure and function of local boards of education, their powers, obligations, and interrelationships with the administrators of the school.

8. There is need for the states to assume more positive responsibility in assuring an adequate supply of well trained teachers and other professional personnel to staff the schools, as well as exerting leadership in redesigning and implementing programs of teacher education in line with the new demands imposed on education by the social, cultural and economic changes taking place in our society.

9. There is a need for states to obtain higher-level educational personnel in state departments of education than present provisions make possible.

10. There is need for all states to follow those beginning efforts in such states as California, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York where publicly declared commitments exist to eliminate racial imbalance in the schools and to bring about equal educational opportunities.

11. There is need for states to take the initiative in removing other obstacles which prevent equal and adequate education such as segregated housing, discriminatory employment practices within the state service itself as well as in the state economy, and barriers to the exercise of the franchise.

V. DEFAULT OF LOCAL RESPONSIBLITY

The combination of rapid population growth and increased population concentration in cities and metropolitan areas, on which there were superimposed the post war baby boom, has greatly strained the resources of local educational systems. In addition to the necessity to expand the elementary school system to absorb a fifty per cent increase in school enrollment during the 1950's and a similar increase in enrollment in secondary schools, many cities have also been faced with the task of adapting the educational system to meet the need of in-migrants from rural areas largely the South, both white and Negro -- inadequately prepared for metropolitanism as a way of life.

The challenge presented by tremendous enrollment on the one hand, and the needs of the newcomers to urban and metropolitan areas on the other, has not been met. Local school systems have to some extent met the challenge of increased enrollment but there is no evidence, as yet, that any large city school system has met the challenge represented by the needs of the Negro population.

The tremendous growth and concentration of the American population has produced large clumpings which override municipal boundaries. It is relevant to observe that during the first six decades of this century, when national population increased about two-fold, urban population increased almost four-fold, metropolitan population(in cities of 50,000 or more and county or countries in which such cities are located) increased more than four-fold, and large metropolitan area population (those with a million or more persons) increased five-fold. Between 1950 and 1960 metropolitan areas absorbed about 85 per cent, and the twenty-four largest metropolitan areas absorbed about 60 per cent of total national population growth.

The large scale migration of Negroes from the rural South to urban and metropolitan areas in the North did not begin until World War I. As recently as 1910, 89 per cent of Negro Americans lived in the South, and 73 per cent lived in rural areas, that is on farms and in places having fewer than 2500 people. By 1960, 40 per cent lived in the North (46 per cent in 1964) and 73 per cent lived in urban places, making the Negro population more highly urbanized that the white. The Negro population shifted not only to urban centers but particularly to large metropolitan areas. By 1960, 51 per cent of all Negroes lived in the central cities of our metropolitan areas, and 38 per cent lived in the 24 metropolitan areas with a million or more persons.

With the increased metropolitanization of the United States, definite patterns of population distribution emerged. In our free competitive system more affluent families tended to move away from the center of the city to newer housing and more desirable residential locations, while the poorer newcomer populations found their port of entry to the metropolitan area led to the inner, older and generally blighted sections of the core city. As the city boundaries were reached populations spilled into surrounding areas creating suburbia as we know it today.

The Negro as the newest newcomer to our metropolitan areas is heavily concentrated in the inner city.

Although the metropolitan area constitutes a single economic and population unit, it is made up of hundreds and in some cases over a thousand separate governmental units, including school districts, with powers to tax and to spend. Given the distribution of population within a metropolitan area described above and the political fragmentation of the area, there is little correspondence within the area between the needs for public services, including education, and ability to pay for them.

The educational system in the United States is essentially a local system. The tremendous changes which have occurred in local areas in population size and composition have created problems of unprecedented magnitude which local areas by reason of the default of the states, as discussed above, have not been able to meet even when they have desired to do so. Furthermore, hostile attitudes of the type discussed above have, on the whole, led most local school systems to retain the status quo or to make minimum efforts towards implementation of the national policy for adequate and equal educational opportunity. But even in those communities which made some efforts to correct racial imbalances that resulted in schools from housing segregation, solutions have been hard to come by. Commonly, the boundaries separating white and Negro neighborhoods tend to be unstable, making it difficult to re-zone schools in ways which reduce racial imbalance for any appreciable time. Again, efforts to pair school attendance zones to reduce imbalance tend also to produce only short-run solutions. A few communities have made serious efforts to create attendance areas so large that significant rebalancing occurs, notably through plans for large educational parks.

The short answer is, however, that many of the larger core cities in the country have school populations which today are more Negro than white; they are rapidly running out of white pupils with whom to integrate the Negro children. And the only realistic solutions posed thus far for reducing racial imbalance call for major re-distribution of pupils (and their families) through the entire metropolitan area or, at least, providing ways for placing children from the core cities in classrooms of the satellite communities around the core city, as is being done experimentally in several New York State communities today.

In light of the above considerations the Task Force on Education offers the following for the consideration of the Council in making its recommendations to the Conference:

12. It is urgent that individual communities affirm and make commitments to a policy of eliminating racial imbalance in their schools. To achieve these objectives, mechanisms such as the following may be utilized: Education parks, "clusters of schools", pairing of schools, proper location of school sites and proper delineation of enrollment areas.

13. It is imperative that existing school districts be enlarged in order that existing imbalances of white and Negro children residing within the district will be reduced and, to this end, it is recommended that priority be given to the development of the metropolitan area school district.

14. There is a need for a total reorganization of school systems in terms of goals, curriculum, methods, building construction and location of facilities (such as educational parks), fiscal arrangements and support, quality of materials, facilities and textbooks; training and selection of administrative and teaching personnel to the end of the achievement of more efficient education for all children and the elimination of racially segregated schools.

15. There is a need for reorganization of school boards in such ways as will more accurately reflect the various groups within the community and will reflect a positive orientation towards efforts to achieve truly non-segregated quality schools. The educational profession, in particular, as well as informed and concerned citizens must take the initiative in bringing this about.

16. There is a need in all school districts to have the range, variety, quality and allocation of learning resources through the various schools within the district reflect the unique need of that school's population.

17. There is need to break down the existent "four walls" school policy to recognize that education is an essential element in efforts to achieve better community life and to produce and to maintain integrated residential communities. Similarly, it must be recognized that the desired educational objectives cannot be obtained through focusing on the schools alone but, on the contrary, require the concerted and cooperative effort of other public agencies, of the church, civic, fraternal, and other social organizations and, indeed, of the citizenry as a whole.

VI. FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT THE LAW WE HAVE

In response to mounting pressures on the Federal government for action to secure long promised but unfulfilled rights for all its citizens, including equalization of opportunity for quality education, the Congress has enacted laws designed better to accomplish these ends. The intervention of massive Federal programs in the field of education has placed upon various administrative agencies, notably the United States Office of Education, responsibilities whose magnitude and intensity have made demands for which past experience, agency structure and numbers of available personnel were seriously inadequate.

It has been a major miracle that, under such pressures, these Federal agencies have been able to administer the new programs called for by new legislation so well as they have. It is no reflection on the dedication and skill of those in these agencies when the Task Force points out some of the weaknesses in the administration and implementation of these programs as they have been revealed.

It is a truism to observe that, in the long run, the effectiveness of law in achieving its declared purposes depends no less on its skillful and imaginative administration than it does on the skill with which the law itself was drafted.

In this section of its report, the Task Force presents for consideration by the Council a number of recommendations, which, if adopted, it is believed would greatly improve the administration of existing legislation.

18. It is imperative that the policy embodied in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 be given a reasonable opportunity to achieve the purpose for which Congress intended. As this applies to education, it was the Congressional purpose to remove school desegregation efforts from the courts where they have been bogged down for more than a decade. In place of litigation, Congress intended to commit the power of the Federal purse in such a way that Federal funds would be withheld from school districts which failed to take effective steps to eliminate what remained of the dual school system long traditional in the South. Unfortunately, however, the newest guidelines issued by the U. S. Commissioner of Education and earlier statements of the Attorney General suggest that the anti-discrimination policy of Title VI will be enforced chiefly through litigation rather than through the fund-withholding device intended by the Congress.

19. Provision should be made for broad, continuous and effective collection, collation, recording, retrieval and interchange of data relevant to the administration of educational programs receiving Federal support, both within agencies and between agencies and personnel at all levels of operation.

20. There is need for clear, positive administrative criteria or guidelines designed to encourage, assist and support local and state educational authorities in establishing and maintaining policies and practices intended to achieve "managed school integration", - criteria which may require the establishment of "quota ratios."

21. There is need to develop new local mechanisms, advisory to the United States Office of Education, charged with responsibility for participating in the planning, formulation of recommendations and evaluation of programs receiving Federal support. These mechanisms should be developed on a metropolitan area basis and neither their composition nor their activities should be subject to the control of existing local "power structures", either public or private.

22. All agencies involved in the administration of educational programs receiving Federal support should place maximum priority on local, state and institutional efforts to initiate, develop, maintain and improve programs designed to free children from the repressive limitations resulting from disadvantaging physical, social and economic environments, in order to raise the level and widen the range of opportunity to learn. (Such efforts are most commonly described as "compensatory education," "enrichment programs," "saturation programs," and others.)

23. There is need to devise and establish new, different and more appropriate guidelines for assessment of individual pupil progress toward personal achievement of a basic skills, b "saleable" skills and, c social and civic skills. Such guidelines are needed and should be used as part of a criteria for grant making and evaluation.

24. Equalization of educational opportunity requires many kinds of changes in conventional attitudes, programs and institutional arrangements, the encouragement and support of which (as has been previously stated) demands affirmative policies and actions at state levels. Federal agencies having administrative responsibilities for educational programs receiving Federal support should seek, devise and encourage innovative practices by State Departments of Education designed to induce or accelerate such changes on a statewide basis.

VII. FAILURE TO HAVE THE LAWS WE NEED

The mobility of the American people reflected in the population data described earlier in the context of metropolitan problems and the uneven geographic distribution of national wealth combine to nationalize many of the problems that must be solved to make equal educational opportunity a reality in fact. In practical terms it is not realistic to assume that the traditional community tax base so heavily relied upon to finance elementary and secondary education can bear the burdens imposed by the very special kinds of problems generated by concentrations of newcomers possessed of limited skills and minimal financial resources. Nor is it realistic either to expect the states into which the newcomers pour to welcome the financial burden resulting from the failures of sister states to provide adequate opportunities in the rural areas from whence the newcomers came.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 reflects Congressional recognition of the pervasive national character of problems connected with equal educational opportunity. So also is the War on Poverty a recognition of national responsibility for providing support to community and state level programs and furnishing Federal inducements for action at state and local levels.

In Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 we have a declaration of Congressional policy against the kind of racial discrimination traditionally practiced in the dual school systems of the South. But Congress has carefully avoided any commitment to affirmative steps to eliminate racial imbalances that cannot be traced to official action of public school authorities. Yet some states - and still more cities - are today demonstrating efforts to eliminate segregation and otherwise create conditions intended to lead to equality in fact.

Many of these corrective actions are frankly color conscious, a seeming anomaly for a nation committed ultimately to the establishment of a color-blind society. Pragmatically we have learned, however, that existing racial discriminations and disadvantages can be made to yield only by actions which are color-conscious. And indeed in many contexts today a claim of color-blindness is simply a shield raised by those who would preserve the segregated status quo.

The question is not whether to use distinctions based on race. Rather the test is how such distinctions are intended and used. We have a long and wholly justifiable suspicion of all racial distinctions and anyone who would purport to make use of them must be prepared to justify his purpose in terms of available alternatives and ultimate objectives. But given existing problems and present knowledge, overtly racial strategems may be indispensable short-run tools, simply because no better alternatives yet exist for eradicating barriers to a color-blind society.

It is time now for such a commitment from Congress, for in countless ways national support is needed for color-conscious activities which are essential if we are to reach our ultimate objective of a nation in which equality is a fact.

25. There is need for Congress to declare a clear, affirmative public policy which recognizes the appropriateness of taking racial considerations into account where this is necessary to eradicate the effects of past or present invidious results of racial actions.

26. There is need for legislative affirmation and specific allocation of Federal funds to encourage and support the planning and organization of programs for "model demonstration metropolitan school districts" designed to eliminate the racial imbalance in schools and to improve the quality of education.

27. At the Federal level, as well as within the respective states, there is an urgent need of a nationally applicable "equalization formula" designed to equalize the quality and availability of educational opportunity, as between the several states, such formula to take account of the state ability to meet the cost of education and of urgent educational needs.

28. Any additional Federal legislation that would make funds available to the schools should require that a "workable program" be submitted in advance, including elements such as the following: a declaration of commitment to achieve and maintain integrated quality education; provision for a focal point in the school system for overseeing and administrating integration; explicit statement of mechanisms to be applied for achieving integration; explicit indication of policies followed in site selection and delineation of school enrollment area; explicit listing of elements of the saturation program; explicit indication of auxiliary services such as counseling, social work, mental health, etc. and supplementary services such as school lunches; indication of provisions for community participation and cooperative intergroup relations; a report on the status of open occupancy and fair employment practices; a report on periodic statistics relating to the educational system and relevant to the achievement of integrated, quality education and equal educational opportunity; evidence of compliance with requests of Office of Education for reports and statistics.

VIII. CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

In this first report, effort has been made to incorporate the programmatic recommendations of the Planning Session, as well as the ideas pooled in the one-day meeting of the entire Task Force. This report must be regarded as a first draft prepared by a subcommittee. It has not yet been seen nor approved by the Task Force.

For the Task Force on Education

Philip M. Hauser
Director

Lester W. Nelson
Secretary

G. W. Foster, Jr.

COUNCIL MEETING

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

CONFERENCE STRUCTURE

March 26, 1966

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

MEMORANDUM

March 26, 1966

To: The Council

From: Berl I. Bernhard, Special Counsel
and
Ronald B. Natalie, Consultant

Subject: Conference Structure

The agenda for the Conference is based on the following assumptions:

First: Approximately 2,400 delegates are to be invited, even after and under significant external pressures.

Second: Council position papers are to be submitted to Conference delegates. Supplemented by suggestions made during the Conference, they will form the ultimate basis of a report to the President.

Third: Delegates should be exposed to the full range of problems covered by the Conference and not pigeon-holed into an exclusive substantive area.

Fourth: The purpose of the Conference is not the generation of new ideas, but rather the implementation of those well analyzed ideas raised by the Planning Session and refined by the Council and Conference staff.

Fifth: No votes are to be taken either in committee or in plenary session. The reactions of the participants in the committee sessions will be recorded and summarized by the Council and staff as part of the follow-up process at the end of the Conference.

Proposed Format:

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

6:30 p.m.	Reception, Sheraton-Park Hotel.[1] The purpose of having the reception is to facilitate registration in advance of the actual opening of the Conference and to assure that delegates will arrive and be ready to work by June 1.

Wednesday, June 1

Breakfast	No formal program.
9:00-9:15 a.m.	Honorary Chairman, A. Philip Randolph welcomes delegates; introduces Chairman Ben Heineman who introduces Vice-President.
9:15-10:00 a.m.	Remarks of Vice-President.
10:00-10:30 a.m.	Vice-Chairman, Edward Sylvester or Vice-Chairman Walter Fauntroy informs delegates of the specific purposes and procedures to be followed during the Conference.
10:30-10:45 a.m.	Delegates go to assigned committee meeting rooms in Sheraton Park and Shoreham Hotels.
10:45-12:15 p.m.	Working sessions in committee rooms at Sheraton-Park and Shoreham Hotels.[2]

---

[1] The suggestion that the reception be held at the State Department rather than the Hotel was rejected to avoid transporting delegates to the State Department. Moreover, registration booths can be set up at the site of the reception to avoid needless details in registering on the morning of the first plenary session.

[2] It is anticipated that approximately 200 delegates will be assigned to each committee room and there will be 12 working committees.

Wednesday, June 1

12:30-1:30 p.m.	Luncheon. No formal ceremonies. Delegates will eat at the hotels where their committees are meeting.
1:45-5:30 p.m.	Delegates will be in working session.
7:30-10:00 p.m.	Official dinner. Recommended speaker, Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor. Speaker to be introduced by a business member of the Council.

Thursday, June 2

9:00-12:45 p.m.	Delegates in working session.
12:45-2:15 p.m.	Luncheon. No formal ceremonies. Delegates will eat at the hotels where their committees are meeting.
2:30-4:00 p.m.	Closing plenary session.[3] Honorary Chairman A. Philip Randolph introduces the Chairman Ben W. Heineman (he introduces Council prior to arrival of the President).[4] The President speaks.

---

[3] If there is to be a head table for this closing session, it is suggested that the Council constitute the head table.

[4] It is hoped that the President will address himself to the follow-up of the Conference, perhaps making recommendations as to a continuing structure to assure actual implementation. This might take the form of regional councils or meetings--or the President might wish to set up task forces to carry out implementations in specific fields. A crucial decision must be made as to whether the implementation should be undertaken exclusively by the private sector, or whether the private sector should cooperate under the broad direction of a structure recommended or constituted by the President. Realistically, the President may not desire to address himself to the details of a mechanism to carry forward the decisions of the Council and Conference. He may choose to limit his directions by asking Mr. Heineman and Council to carry forward with the goal of "fulfilling these rights." In that event, Mr. Heineman should be prepared to discuss with the Conference the various methods of assuring a continuing effort.

Rationale

All delegates should be exposed to the same substantive problems; every effort should be made to avoid assigning a delegate to particular subject areas only. The Conference is to be distinguished from the Planning Session, where the effort was aimed at generating new ideas from the most knowledgeable resource people in specific subject areas. The accepted purpose of the major Conference itself is rather to bring together those who have the capacity to achieve certain goals previously determined and analyzed by the Council and staff. Hence, the delegates should consider and discuss the implementation of the totality of the proposals.

Assuming 2,400 delegates, it would be feasible to break them into 12 groups of 200 each. Each group or committee will consider the agenda presented by an expert panel in each area. This will require organizing four expert panels in the selected subject areas. Assuming four major areas, this will make it possible to cover all of them and allow relief to the expert panels and their staff aides. The details of a hypothetical breakdown are found in Appendix I entitled "Example of Format."

It is important that each committee of approximately 200 be truly representative, i.e., contain all categories of invitees and reflect appropriate geographic distribution.

The selected panel of experts will open every committee session by summarizing the position papers arrived at by the Council and by soliciting suggestions as to various alternative methods of attaining specified goals.

Each panel session is expected to run approximately 1 hour and 45 minutes. Since position papers are to be distributed either prior to the arrival of delegates or at the time of registration, the discussion should go beyond the position paper to relevant to the specific techniques of implementation. Approximately 45 minutes should be allocated to an explanation of the Council position and the remaining hour to suggestions from the Committee.

A recorder should be designated to record whatever consensus is reached. He would later be expected to work with the Council and staff to assure that all relevant ideas be considered in the final presentation of a report to the President. The sessions should be either transcribed through stenotype or a tape recorder. In addition to the recorder a moderator of each committee should be selected whose function it will be to moderate discussions between the panel and the delegates. The moderator and the recorder will be selected by the Council upon recommendation of the staff.

APPENDIX
I

APPENDIX I

EXAMPLE OF FORMAT

Panels of expert personnel will be constituted to present and explain Council position papers. The areas indicated are illustrative only.

Housing (H)	Economic Security (ES)	Education (E)	Health/Administration of Justice (H/AJ)
Panel H-1	Panel ES-1	Panel E-1	Panel H/Aj-1
Panel H-2	Panel ES-2	Panel E-2	Panel H/AJ-2
Panel H-3	Panel ES-3	Panel E-3	Panel H/AJ-3
Panel H-4	Panel ES-4	Panel E-4	Panel H/AJ-4

Since 12 committees are contemplated there need only be 3 panels for each of the 4 topics. The extra panel will allow relief personnel. It will also enable, where desirable, use of a panelist with expertise in more than one area on different panels.

The Committee set up and the order of topics will be as follows:

Order of Topics to be Presented for Discussion in Each Committee

SHOREHAM		SHERATON-PARK	
Committee I Housing Education Economic Security Health/Administration of Justice	Committee IV Health/Admin. of of Justice Economic Security Education Housing	Committee VII Health/Admin. of Justice Economic Security Housing Education	Committee X Education Housing Health/Admin of Justice Economic Sec.
Committee II Education Housing Health/Administration of Justice Economic Security	Committee V Education Housing Economic Security Health/Admin. of Justice	Committee VIII Economic Security Health/Admin. of Justice Education Housing	Committee XI Economic Sec. Health/Admin. of Justice Housing Education
Committee III Economic Security Health/Administration of Justice Housing Education	Committee VI Housing Economic Security Health/Admin. of Justice Economic Security	Committee IX Housing Education Economic Security Health/Admin. of Justice	Committee XII Health/Admin. of Justice Economic Sec. Education Housing

The panel of experts will shift from Committee to Committee in the following manner. This contemplates each panel remaining in the same hotel throughout the day.

PANEL ASSIGNMENTS

Panel		June 1			June 2	
H-1		I	II		OPEN	
H-2		IX	X		XI	XII
H-3		VI	V		VII	VIII
H-4		OPEN			III	IV
ES-1		III	IV		OPEN	
ES-2		XI	XII		IX	X
ES-3		VIII	VII		V	VI
ES-4		OPEN			I	II
E-1		V	VI		OPEN	
E-2		II	I		XII	XI
E-3		X	IX		VIII	VII
E-4		OPEN			IV	III
H/AJ-1		VII	VIII		OPEN	
H/AJ-2		IV	III		X	IX
H/AJ-3		XII	XI		VI	V
H/AJ-4		OPEN			II	I

The schedule will work out as follows:

June 1

9:00-10:30	10:45-12:15	12:30-1:30	1:45-3:30	3:45-5:30	7:30-10:00
	ORGANIZATION		PANEL DISCUSSIONS		
PLENARY SESSION SHERATON PARK	Shoreham:				OFFICIAL DINNER SHERATON PARK
	Committee I	LUNCH SHOREHAM	Panel H-1	Panel E-2	
	Committee II		Panel E-2	Panel H-1	
	Committee III		Panel ES-1	Panel H/AI-2	
	Committee IV		Panel H/AI-2	Panel ES-1	
	Committee V		Panel E-1	Panel H-3	
	Committee VI		Panel H-3	Panel E-1	
	Sheraton-Park:				
	Committee VII	LUNCH SHERATON-PARK	Panel H/AI-1	Panel ES-3	
	Committee VIII		Panel ES-3	Panel H/AI-1	
	Committee IX		Panel H-2	Panel E-3	
	Committee X		Panel E-3	Panel H-2	
	Committee XI		Panel ES-2	Panel H/AI-3	
	Committee XII		Panel H/AI-3	Panel ES-2	

June 2

9:00-10:45	11:00-12:45	12:45-2:15	2:30-4:00
PANEL DISCUSSIONS			
Panel ES-4	Panel H/AJ-4	LUNCH	PLENARY SESSION SHERATON-PARK HOTEL
Panel H/AJ-4	Panel ES-4		
Panel H-4	Panel E-4		
Panel E-4	Panel H-4		
Panel ES-3	Panel H/AJ-3		
Panel H/AJ-3	Panel ES-3		
Panel H-3	Panel E-3	DELEGATES FREE	
Panel E-3	Panel H-3		
Panel ES-2	Panel H/AJ-2		
Panel H/AJ-2	Panel ES-2		
Panel H-2	Panel E-2		
Panel E-2	Panel H-2		

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

COUNCIL MEETING

March 26, 1966

SUMMARY OF MINUTES

The Council meeting of March 26, 1966 was devoted principally to proposals about Education. The Task Force on Education, headed by Dr. Philip M. Hauser, outlined 28 suggestions under five headings: (1) Obstacles of Attitude; (2) Default of State Responsibility; (3) Default of Local Responsibility; (4) Failure to Implement the Laws We Have; and (5) Failure to Have the Laws We Need.

The Council suggested that the proposals be amplified to include specifically how they would be implemented, and be divided into (1) immediately achievable suggestions, and (2) practical goals for the short-term future.

It was decided that higher education definitely should come within the purview of the Task Force and vocational education should be considered also.

The Council recommended omitting the concept of quotas, stressing instead the value of quality and integrated education for all.

The help of a representative from the Bureau of the Budget was recommended to develop estimates of cost for the proposals to be finally submitted. It was generally agreed, however, that the benefits of the education proposals were enormous.

A brief discussion of a suggested Conference structure resulted in considering two possible arrangements: a series of committees of about 200 each, meeting for about two-hour intervals twice each day and covering the four agenda items; or larger committees meeting on a selection of two items to be discussed one on each day.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

COUNCIL MEETING

March 26, 1966

The following Council members and/or their representatives attended the Council Meeting, March 26, 1966:

Ben W. Heineman - Chairman

Hon. Edward T. Breathitt, Jr.
Dr. Jerome Bruner
William T. Coleman, Jr.
Dr. Allison Davis
John S. Gleason, Jr.
Eli Goldston
Courtlandt S. Gross
Miss Dorothy Height
Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
John Lewis
James A. Linen, III
James P. Lydon
Shelby McCallum
Hon. Theodore McKeldin
Dr. James G. Maddox
G. William Miller
Thomas Murray
Donald Slaiman
Dr. Robert W. Spike
William Trent
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young, Jr.

The following Council members were absent:

A. Philip Randolph - Honorary Chairman

Morris B. Abram
Stephen Currier
Father Theodore M. Hesburgh
Rafer Johnson
Dr. Martin Luther King
Floyd McKissick
Joseph Molony
Burke Marshall
George Meany
J. Irwin Miller

The following Conference Staff members were present:

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy - Vice Chairman
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr. - Vice Chairman
Berl I. Bernhard - Special Counsel
James E. Booker - Director of Information
Craig W. Christensen - Executive Assistant to the Chairman
Norman J. McKenzie - Administrative Officer

The following resource and liaison persons were present:

Clifford Alexander, Jr. - White House
Edwin Firmage - Office of the Vice President
Harold Fleming - Potomac Institute
M. Carl Holman - U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
William Mirengoff - Department of Labor
George Schermer - Human Relations Consultant
Albert Shostack - Department of Labor
John Stewart - Office of the Vice President
William Taylor - U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Mrs. Mary Weaver - Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare
Samuel F. Yette - Office of Economic Opportunity
Vivian Henderson - Clark College

The following presented the Task Force paper on Education:

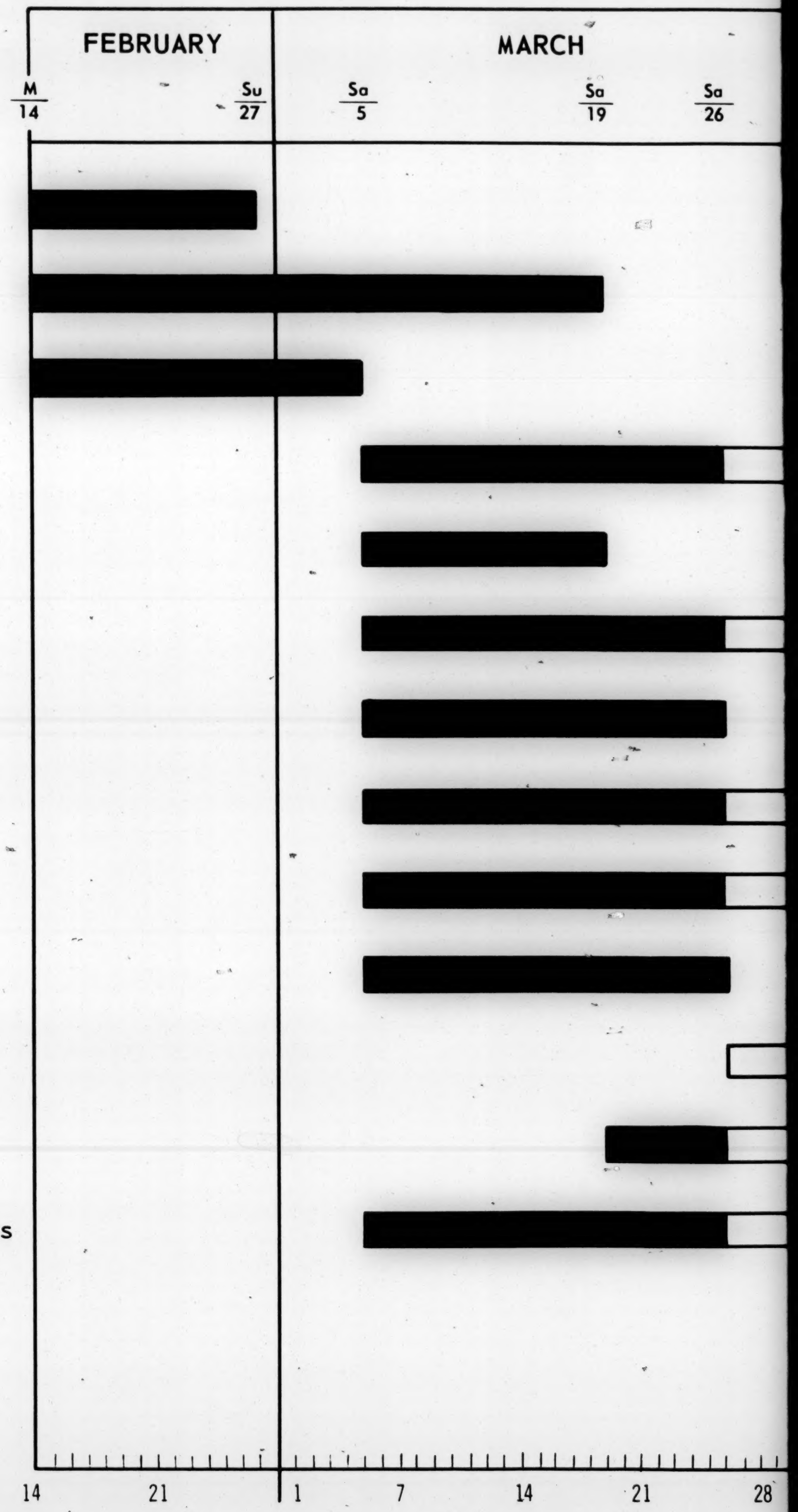
Dr. Philip M. Hauser - University of Chicago
Professor Martin Deutsch - New York Medical College
G. William Foster - University of Wisconsin
Lester W. Nelson - Education Consultant
William R. Odell - Stanford University
Leonard H. Robinson - North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College
Dr. Margaret Rowley - Morris Brown College

Mrs. Dorothy K. Newman, Department of Labor, attended as rappateur.

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States and the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, spoke to the Council and Staff members at a reception at the White House following the Council meeting.

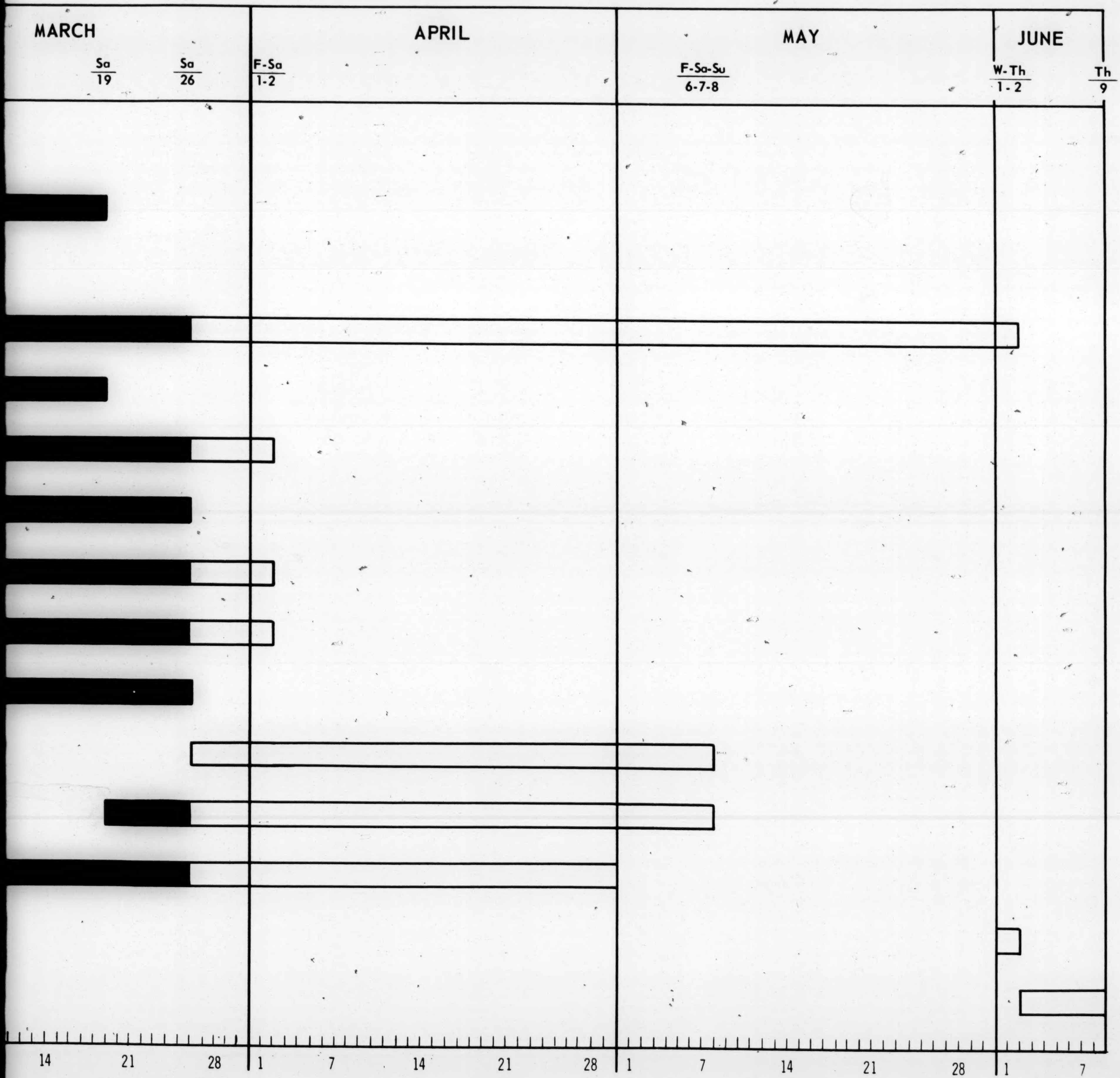
Proposed Time Schedule For White House Co

1. Formation and Announcement of Council
2. Selection of Vice Chairmen, Special Counsel and Staff
3. Preparation and Agreement on Provisional Agenda
4. Liaison With All Groups
5. Staff Task Force Proposals on Agenda Item 1 (Housing and Urban Development)
6. Staff Proposals on Selection of Conference Invitees
7. Staff Task Force Proposals on Agenda Item 2 (Education and Training)
8. Staff Task Force Proposals on Agenda Items 4 and 5 (Health; Administration of Justice)
9. Staff Task Force Proposals on Agenda Item 3 (Economic Security)
10. Preliminary Staff Proposals on Conference Structure
11. Final Staff Proposals on Conference Structure
12. **Task Force Supplemental Work on Agenda Items and Preparation of Proposed Report for Council Decision and Approval**
13. Preparation of List of Invitees and Mailing of Invitations
14. Conference
15. Report of Conference to the President



March 28, 1966

White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"



ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

White House Conference
"To FulFill These Rights"
Council Report

1966

(1)

INTRODUCTION
TO THE

DRAFT REPORT
OF THE
CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

> "We shall either find the means to open employment to all our workers - to find decent housing for all of our families - to provide a good education for all of our American children - or we shall see the American promise spoiled for each of them."
>
> - From Remarks of the President at the White House Conference - June 1, 1966

I

More than 2500 Americans came to their nation's capital at the invitation of their President on June 1 and 2, 1966.

They came from the cities and the suburbs. They came from rural areas. They came from every state to pool their knowledge, energy and resources in a common cause.

Among them were public officials from state houses and city halls, business and labor spokesmen, the clergy and lay leaders of every faith, civil rights and community organization workers, educators, members of civic and public service organizations. They were the rich and the poor, white and Negro.

They came in response to the President's call for a national mobilization "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure. To move beyond opportunity to achievement. To shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin."

They came to pool their knowledge, energy and resources at an assembly which, in the words of their Honorary Chairman, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, was "one of the most important held to seek a solution of the Negro problem since the Civil War."

"And here we are," Mr. Randolph told the participants, "men and women of the Church, labor, business, and government, assembled in a great conference, to become more deeply involved in what we more and more recognize to be the most tremendous social challenge of conflict and change in our country today -- the Civil Rights Revolution."

II

To better understand the Conference deliberations, the sense of urgency and commitment of the conferees and the recommendations and resolutions they adopted - all of which are contained in this Report - it is necessary to focus first on the planning that preceded the meeting.

In his historic address at Howard University on June 4, 1965, President Johnson said that despite recent Supreme Court decisions and Congressional leadership in adopting the first civil rights laws in almost an entire century, "it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All of our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates."

"This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights," he said, in announcing his intention to convene a White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" that would be charged with the responsibility of developing action programs designed to translate the promise of equality into reality for millions of Negro Americans.

This announcement set into motion a year-long program of intensive study which involved hundreds of individuals and organizations across the land, culminating in the national assembly on June 1 and 2. On their arrival in Washington, the conferees were able to discuss and assess proposals and recommendations developed through a thorough and extensive consultative process on the major aspect of civil rights.

The first phase of this process was the organization and convening of a Planning Session, on November 17 and 18, 1965, to explore the widest possible range of ideas. The President invited some 200 scholars and practitioners in the areas of civil rights, labor, business, education, religion, and social welfare to meet in Washington. Their assignment was to explore the many possible approaches to the problems which stand as roadblocks to full equality for Negro Americans. Out of this meeting came a comprehensive set of papers on eight subjects of major concern which reflected a rich variety of viewpoints and experience.

On the basis of this preparatory work, the President appointed a 30-member Council, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ben W. Heineman, and the honorary chairmanship of Mr. Randolph. They were to set the policies and oversee the detailed planning for the White House Conference.

For the next four months an able staff, supported by outstanding consultants drawn from many fields, reviewed and refined the ideas of the Planning Session under the Council's guidance. The Conference planning was benefitted by a continuing process of liaison with organizations and meetings in individual communities with public officials, businessmen, union representatives, and civil rights workers.

The Council met on evenings and weekends throughout this period for extended review and policy discussion. With full recognition that the problems confronting Negro Americans are, as characterized by the President, a seamless web, the Council made an early decision that no one Conference could productively trace the thread of Negro disadvantage through the whole fabric of society. It was therefore necessary to identify and select those priority problems whose solution offer the greatest promise of success in eliminating the barriers that prevent the Negro's full participation in our society.

Thus, it was decided that the focus of the Conference should be centered on four critical areas of public and private policy - Economic Security and Welfare, Education, Housing, and Administration of Justice.

The Council recognized that it was putting aside some problems of racial injustice and inequality which would have to be dealt with in other settings. By adopting these priorities, it pinpointed a few vital areas in which specific and immediate changes could produce far-reaching results.

Equally important was the Council's agreement that the nation could no longer afford the luxury of merely "discussing" civil rights problems, that its Report and the Conference Agenda should be targeted on action recommendations designed to be effective in producing long overdue social and economic change.

Therefore, its Report to the Conference detailed the major specific actions that needed to be taken by various elements of our society - by government at all levels, by private groups, such as business, labor, religious, and voluntary organizations; and, in some instances, by private citizens themselves, acting individually.

This was the foundation which made it possible for the conferees to act effectively and decisively as they assembled in Washington in response to the President's call.

III

Representing a large cross section of American life, including individuals in public and private life who had previously played no active role in expanding equal opportunity for Negro Americans, the conferees were told by the Council that "we look to you for more ideas and new approaches, for first hand reports on constructive programs which have worked in your community, business, or agency."

They were asked "to chart a course of action, to stimulate the massive national effort called for by the President."

To make this possible, each participant was assigned to one of twelve working committees, all having a common agenda. Thus, every person in attendance had an opportunity to discuss and debate each of the four priority subjects, with time being provided for the workshops to discuss additional matters considered of equal urgency.

In their final sessions, each committee set time aside for the consideration of individual resolutions designed to express their sense of urgency about additional action required to achieve a just, free and equal society.

In addition, three general sessions were held where the entire assembly heard addresses by the President of the United States, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Honorary Chairman Randolph, Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall, and Council Member Roy Wilkins.

These messages set the tone and goal of the Conference, and contributed to the demonstrated teamwork of the participants, the constructive policies formulated, and the follow-up momentum already in evidence.

President Johnson challenged the audience to "come up with constructive ideas, with vision, and with a platform that will bring a lot of people into agreement on goals that we have yet to achieve."

He asked that they recognize that "beneath the tumult of events that separate men from one another runs the thread of a common destiny," and stated that "we shall either move this Nation towards civil peace and towards social justice for all of its citizens, or for none."

To this cause, he said, "let each man give whatever he has to give.

"If it be the courage to endure the scorn of bigots, let him give that.

"If it be the wisdom and the patience to teach children that are born into blight and suffering, then let him give that.

"If it be the chance of a job and the training it requires, then let him give that.

"If it be the willingness to change old ways and to hear the cry of those in need, let him give that.

"If it be the power to pass new laws, or to enforce or execute old laws with conviction and fairness and justice, then let him give that."

The complexity of the problems facing the Conference was acknowledged by the President when he said "Do not expect from me, or any man, a miracle. Do not expect us, even together, to put right in one year or four all that took centuries to make wrong."

He continued by giving his personal pledge "to give my days, and such talents as I have been given, to the pursuit of justice and opportunity for those so long denied them."

Vice President Humphrey set forth for consideration the four major areas where "we must do much better" in closing the "tragic gap separating promise from performance in the many crucial areas of civil rights policy."

First, he said, "the Federal Government has the job of meeting its growing responsibilies."

"States and local governments have often failed to exercise meaningful initiative," the Vice President stated in describing the second area. "It is in the state houses, the city halls and the towns - not just the halls of Congress or the Federal courtrooms - where the major battles of the next phase of the civil rights struggle will be waged."

Third, he said, "business and labor unions must move more effectively towards the goal of equal employment opportunity and achievement," adding that "We must face honestly the mammoth employment problem which still exists for most Negroes."

"Our churches and our synagogues, service and professional organizations, and other community groups," were the fourth area, he said. "Some local churches still erect racial barriers at their doors, and many more do not speak out affirmatively on the urgent questions of racial justice which arise in our communities. Many service, professional and community organizations likewise remain silent in times of crisis."

In his address opening the Conference, Mr. Randolph reminded the assembly of the urgency and immediacy of the task before them. They were meeting, he warned, at a time "that the Negro ghettos in every city throughout the nation are areas of tension and socio-racial dynamite." He asked that they consider:

"What can be done to bring about social and racial justice and fulfill the promises of American life for all our people, both the black working poor and the white working poor?

He said that "every day's delay in breaking down the barriers of segregation in housing, schools and discrimination in jobs means irreparable damage to hundreds of thousands of human beings. The damage is not merely to the Negro; it is a liability to white people as well."

Of the Conference, he said, "it will broaden the horizon for the Negro and white American, and the entire world of color now in the revolutionary flames of discontent." The implementation of the Council Report "will constitute a major and powerful thrust giving Negroes the ability to walk through the gate of opportunity and achieve first class citizenship in America."

Solicitor General Marshall, after having been introduced by the President, placed the White House Conference in historical perspective in the long and bitter struggle for racial equality in the United States.

"If we are to fulfill these rights...we must first realize fully the depth of the problem of racial prejudice and discrimination in this country," he said, pointing out history's lesson of "how deeply rooted habits of prejudice are, dominating the minds of men and all our institutions for three centuries; and it cautions us to continue to move forward lest we fall back."

"What is striking to me," he concluded, "is the importance of law in determining the condition of the Negro. He was effectively enslaved, not by brute force, but by a law which declared him a chattel of his master, who was given a legal right to recapture him, even in free territory. He was emancipated by law, and then disfranchised and segregated by law. And, finally, he is winning equality by law.'

In summarizing the Conference in the closing address, Mr. Wilkins said that its Recommendations constituted "formidable facts, of fearless analysis and arraignment and of bold chartings of action reaching to the heart of the democratic ideal."

The urgent duty of every conferee, he said, is to "carry the message back home, the call to community action on the local level, the stirring of interrelated and purposeful state and regional action and the wide use of the newly acquired tools and channels provided by Federal policy and legislation."

To accomplish these objectives, he said, "the destiny of twenty millions of Americans, and of the nation to whose welfare that destiny is bound, cannot be left solely to the doctrinaire conformists who brook no dissent and who, lately, have begun to classify believers by the color of their skins."

Observing that every committee had voted that the Civil Rights Bill of 1966 now before Congress be supported and strengthened, he urged the immediate and fullest support by those present and their organizations.

"Here, in this pending legislation, now before Congress, is a task that can be undertaken in the next twenty-four hours...urgency is the key word."

IV

During their many hours of panel reports, discussions, and committee debate on resolutions there was an enriching exchange of views and factual information, and an enthusiasm to build added programs and priorities on the foundation provided by the Council's Report. Graphic personal testimony of continuing violations of basic human rights was repeatedly reported by those who are confronted every day with the problems with which the Conference was concerned.

From this exchange, a number of points emerged which deserve to be highlighted.

There was universal agreement, and resolutions adopted by each of the twelve committees, in support of the recommendations of the Council. Though much was added in group discussions to strengthen and expand the basic material presented for Conference discussion, the Report was received with enthusiasm by those in attendance and was the subject of favorable comment in the nation's press.

In recommending its adoption and immediate implementation by all the segments of our society to whom it was addressed, there was recognition that it did not "represent a precise or inflexible prescription for action or exhaust all the means open to the nation in its continuing commitment 'To Fulfill These Rights'."

This being the sense of the meeting, the Council statement is reprinted as section one in each of the four chapters which follow in this Conference Report.

The second section of each of these chapters summarizes the discussions of economic security and welfare, education, housing, and administration of justice.

If it can be said that there was one prevailing mood in these discussions, it was the sense of urgency which dominated the Conference. This note, discussed by Mr. Wilkins in his closing remarks, demonstrated the conferees' conviction that the ugly racial crisis facing the nation is quickening in momentum; that a broad and vigorous attack on the roots of this crisis is required immediately.

There was no complacency.

The responsibility of the Federal Government in solving economic problems and social tensions was the dominant theme in every discussion, on every subject, and in every meeting.

Though there was strong concurrence with the Council's view that more must be done by "state and local government, by business and labor, the housing industry, educational institutions, and the wide spectrum of voluntary organizations who, through united effort, have the power to improve our society," the role of Federal power and leadership was considered most significant by the vast majority.

There was marked skepticism that the private sector, both business and labor, would do enough to alleviate present problems without more vigorous enforcement of present Federal statutes and the adoption of new legislation.

Similarly, the participants were convinced that only through Federal power and example would state and local government, and their educational institutions, take the affirmative action measures called for in this Report.

More initiative, incentive, leadership and funds must come from the Federal Government if this nation is to fulfill the rights of all its citizens.

Though a summary of all committee resolutions has been prepared, several on subjects not covered in the basic document were of such widespread interest to deserve comment in this overview of the proceedings.

One was a resolution favoring the strengthening and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1966, urging better enforcement of present laws and the restoration of civil rights funds to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Of similar interest to the delegates was the subject of Home Rule for the District of Columbia, and the unanimous action to support Washington residents in their desire for self-government.

Condemnation of the Federal Government's lack of firm enforcement of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was evident by the many resolutions which gave examples of noncompliance and urged that the leverage of Federal fund withdrawal be used more vigorously.

The Viet Nam issue was raised in several committees and the overwhelming sentiment was that it was not pertinent to the agenda of this Civil Rights Conference.

Finally, the number and variety of resolutions adopted on follow-up measures gives vivid testimony to the Conference's commitment to action.

The conferees favored the organization of similar conferences in every state, the convening by the President of a meeting of state governors, the planning of special impact programs in housing, education and employment, public education and information on the nature of the civil rights crisis, and a continuing exchange among and between the people and organizations present at the Conference.

The prevailing sentiment favored an organized and coordinated national effort to implement the programs and plans endorsed by the Conference.

Thus, stated Chairman Heineman, out of this historic meeting "came agreement on basic programs and approaches; the foundation of what should be considered the nation's immediate business in the achievement of equal opportunity."

"This blueprint for action," he said, is realistic and attainable."

V

In assessing the value of any undertaking, it is often necessary to look behind the agenda. The White House Conference is no exception. In view of many participants, the dialog and decisions made outside the committee rooms were part and parcel of its success.

What were some of the affirmative acts produced by the President's conference call?

Church leaders of many faiths announced their intention to take immediate steps in support of Conference Recommendations and, in the words of one statement issued at the time, "to recommit the Church to the new call for racial justice." The role of voluntary organizations was dramatized by the pledge from the National YWCA to "take affirmative action to purchase goods and services from suppliers who assure equal opportunity to Negroes and members of other minority groups." The reaction of public officials was demonstrated in a statement by the Mayor of a large southern city that he "highly recommended that every aspect of the report be pursued to realization." Plans for Progress, representing 328 major employers, announced its support of the President's goals.

Added to this was the fact that the meeting halls proved to be a common ground where public officials, educators and civil rights leaders of several communities met and came to agreement on new programs to be executed in their cities when they returned home.

The nation's interest in the Washington assembly is evidenced by the fact that more than 500 representatives of press, radio and television were on hand to report the news to millions of interested Americans. The participants were doing much more than talking to one another. They were starting the "massive public education program," called for in the Council's Report.

To the thousands of words of news that went by every means of communication to many countries were added favorable comment and analysis in scores of editorials, columns and broadcast comment.

One editorial in a leading southern newspaper said:

"The gathering at the White House apparently made a commendable approach toward such practical aspects of race relations as education, job opportunities and housing problems. These are not easy matters to face in any North Carolina community; solutions require good faith efforts as well as patience; evident progress, not words alone."

It ended by recommending to its readers that "A regional conference on Negro advancement could seize some of the initiative now held by extremists on both sides, and too often in government exclusively by Federal officials."

VI

In conclusion, the participants gave full recognition to the fact that only they, as representatives of the entire society, through their organizations and institutions, can make equality a fact.

They proposed that this goal be accomplished by pushing for direct and vigorous action on every front.

The Federal Government must play the dominant role. Though every section of this Report calls for Presidential and Congressional action, every responsible official - from section chief to Cabinet member - each day has the power to make or break Federal civil rights policy. A renewed effort must be made to see that every county agent, every purchasing officer, every employment official, and the tens of thousands of others who represent Federal policy, realizes that his government intends that he carry out the letter and the spirit of the law.

State and local government should recognize the need to recapture the initiative and leadership they have lost by inaction. It is not enough to wait for Federal action and Federal funds, although these are essential and are becoming increasingly available. They must be stimulated to act on the many roadblocks which only they can clear in housing, education, health, welfare, the administration of justice, and economic security.

Legislators and administrators in every branch of state and local government must recognize the crisis they face in the nation's drive to make equality a fact. They should proceed to implement the recommendations in this Report.

In the private sector, more affirmative action is needed from businessmen, industrialists, and financiers. Though many of the larger corporations are working to develop local merit employment councils, vocational and counseling services, and motivational programs, most local business has not yet seen the stake it has in racial progress.

The business community must improve its communication with Negro Americans. Affirmative action programs should be agenda item number one for every employer, every trade association, and every local chamber of commerce.

Organized labor has a responsibility to translate its national support for civil rights into decisive action by international and local unions. There is a need to open the doors of apprenticeship training, upgrade workers, and renegotiate discriminatory contracts. Many unions can best demonstrate their commitment to equality by promoting Negro members to responsible positions.

Every segment of the housing industry needs to join in a serious reappraisal of the role housing now plays in impeding racial progress. Builders, investors, union officials, economists, and public officials must join hands in closing the gap between incomes and housing costs. Their support is imperative in the fight for open, racially unrestricted housing in suburban areas as well as the central city.

Similarly, quality education for all will never become a fact without a greater commitment by teachers and administrators, school boards, and state and local officials. Innovation is essential in eliminating racial concentrations, improving teacher training and textbooks, and bringing about a greater interdependence among the educational units within our metropolitan areas.

Every one of us has a job to do in providing support for greater educational opportunity for all children and in improving the dialog between the schools and the community.

In the area of individual citizen and organization action, those identified with civil rights, religious, and labor organizations have played the major role thus far in awakening the nation's conscience and in supporting positive action.

But to accomplish our goal new allies must be found. Leadership must now include the representatives of local business, labor unions, civic and veterans associations, neighborhood groups, and other components of our diverse society in villages as well as cities, including organizations of men, women and youth.

Negroes and other minorities have a crucial role to play in this battle for true equality. As the gates of opportunity are opened, all who have been denied must seek to improve their education, housing and employment. Opportunities for leadership must be sought in elective and appointive office; in trade, professional and civic organizations; in business firms and labor unions. The Negro American needs to recognize his responsibility for affirmative action by becoming totally involved in every level of our society.

The target for citizen action should be to support and stimulate meaningful advancement on all of the fronts covered in these recommendations.

But more than lip service is needed today. Every organization, institution, and agency can make a contribution by using its hiring and purchasing power to promote affirmative action. This direct involvement could produce immediate and beneficial results in every community.

In this civic mobilization, the need for a better informed public is imperative. This is not only a challenge to the mass media, but applies equally to voluntary organizations concerned with civil rights progress, the information programs of business and labor, the schools and to public officials at every level. There is a need to separate the wheat from the chaff, to better inform the public about the significance of equal opportunity rather than emphasizing controversy for its own sake.

The Conference believes that the massive effort required to bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans will require the active partnership of every segment of our nation. Only by coordinated planning and direction can we hope to achieve the maximum effort which will be required by existing institutions and organizations.

America has demonstrated many times the ability of its citizens to respond to challenge, to join forces in a common cause.

What is needed is a full understanding of the issues, a sense of commitment, a determination to find solutions.

There will be disagreement on methods some of us use to accomplish our common goal. But dissent, and the variety of approaches we use, can provide strength to the public and private effort that will be required if we, as a nation, are to "Fulfill These Rights."

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"

Council Report
Draft

1966

a)

COUNCIL MEETING
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

DRAFT OF
THE COUNCIL'S REPORT
TO THE
CONFERENCE

May 6-7-8, 1966

CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION.......... 1

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE.......... 5

I. INTRODUCTION.......... 5

  The Social and Economic Setting.......... 6
  What Can Be Done.......... 12

II. DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE HUMAN RESOURCE PLAN.......... 14

  Why the Recommendation is Needed.......... 14

III. METROPOLITAN JOBS COUNCIL.......... 17

  Why the Recommendation is Needed.......... 17

IV. RURAL JOBS TASK FORCE.......... 19

  Why the Recommendation is Needed.......... 19

V. AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS BY PRIVATE EMPLOYERS AND GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE MORE AND BETTER JOBS.......... 21

  Why the Recommendation is Needed.......... 21
  Affirmative Action by Private Employers.......... 21
  Affirmative Action by Community Organizations.......... 23
  Action Required by Federal Government.......... 26

VI. EXPAND AND STRENGTHEN SUPPORTIVE SERVICES TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT OF NEGROES INTO JOBS.......... 27

  Why the Recommendation is Needed.......... 27
    A. Federalize the Employment Service.......... 28
    B. Improve Access of Negro Workers to all Available Jobs in the Community.......... 29
  What Can Be Done.......... 30
   By Federal Government.......... 30
   By Local and State Governments.......... 30
   By Private Employers.......... 30
    C. Develop and Implement a Large Scale Program to Facilitate Economic and Social Adjustment of Rural Negroes Migrating to the City.......... 30

VII. EXPAND YOUTH JOB PROGRAMS; DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT COUNSELING PROGRAMS FOR NEGRO YOUTH.......... 32

  Why the Recommendation is Needed.......... 32

CONTENTS (cont'd)

Page

VIII. STRENGTHEN INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS PROGRAMS.................. 33

Why the Recommendation is Needed.................. 33
What Can Be Done.................. 34

IX. STRENGTHEN AND RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE BENEFITS TO THE POOR.................. 35

Why the Recommendation is Needed.................. 35
What Can Be Done.................. 36

EDUCATION.................. 38

INTRODUCTION.................. 38

I. EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY.................. 40

II. REDUCTION OF RACIAL CONCENTRATION.................. 43

Workable Program.................. 44
Demonstration Centers.................. 46
School Construction.................. 47
Stronger Sanctions Against Segregation.................. 48

III. QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL.................. 49

School-Community Relations.................. 50
School Boards.................. 50
More Flexible School Organization.................. 51
Special Attention to Rural Schools.................. 52
Vocational Education.................. 52
New Learning Materials.................. 53
Higher Education.................. 54

CONCLUSION.................. 57

HOUSING.................. 59

INTRODUCTION.................. 59

I. FREEDOM OF CHOICE--THE OPEN MARKET.................. 62

Recommendations for Federal Action.................. 63

CONTENTS (cont'd)

Page

Recommendations for State Action........................ 65
Recommendations for the Private Housing Industry......... 65
Recommendations for Citizen Action...................... 66

II. HOUSING SUPPLY FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES......... 68

Government Subsidies - Rent Supplements.................. 69
Rural Housing.. 71
Recommendations for Federal Action...................... 72
Recommendations for Citizen Action...................... 74
Recommendations for the Private Housing Industry......... 74

III. SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES AND NEW TOWNS.......................... 74

Recommendations for Federal Action...................... 77
Recommendations for State Action........................ 79

IV. REVITALIZING AND INTEGRATING THE GHETTO..................... 80

Revitalization... 80
The Demonstration Cities Program......................... 82
Citizen Support.. 85
Recommendations for Federal Action...................... 86
Recommendations for State Action........................ 87
Recommendations for the Private Housing Industry......... 87

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.. 88

PURPOSE.. 88

INTRODUCTION-WHITE JUSTICE-NEGRO JUSTICE.......................... 88

I. PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL PHYSICAL SECURITY..................... 90

Support of Administration Bill........................... 90
  Commentary... 90
Amendment of Administration Bill to Provide
Indemnification for Victims of Violence................. 93
  Commentary... 93
Effective Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws............... 94

II. EQUAL JUSTICE IN THE COURTS.................................. 95

Support of Titles I and II of Administration Bill:
Non-discrimination in Juror Selection.................... 95
  Commentary... 95
    Federal Juries....................................... 95

CONTENTS (cont'd)

Page

State Juries..98

Amend the Administration Bill to Include A Removal Provision..100

Commentary..100

Amend the Administration Bill to Include a Federal Injunction Provision..102

Commentary..102

III. IMPROVEMENT OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS..103

Commentary and Detail..104

Federal Responsibility..105

State Responsibility..106

Local Responsibility..107

Private Groups..109

IN CONCLUSION..111

INTRODUCTION

> Therefore, I want to announce tonight that I intend to call a White House conference of scholars, and experts, and outstanding Negro leaders -- men of both races -- and officials of government at every level.
>
> This White House conference's theme and title will be "To Fulfill These Rights."
>
> Its object will be to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure.
>
> To move beyond opportunity to achievement.
>
> To shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin.
>
> To dissolve, as best we can, the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong -- great wrong -- to the children of God.
>
> -- From Remarks of the President at
> Howard University, June 4, 1965

In convening this White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," the President has summoned a broadly representative cross section of America to a momentous undertaking. He has asked us to exercise all the collective wisdom we possess to devise and set in motion an action program for citizens and communities across the country. The objective, as simple to define as it is difficult to achieve, is to translate the promise of equality into reality for millions of Negro Americans.

Fortunately, we have the benefit of much sound preparatory work. In anticipation of this Conference, the President last Fall called a Planning Session to explore the widest possible range of ideas in this field. The session was held on November 17 and 18, 1965. Some 200 scholars and practitioners in the areas of civil rights, labor, business, education, religion, and social welfare met for intensive working sessions on eight subjects of major concern. The result was a comprehensive set of recommendations reflecting a rich variety of viewpoints and experience.

In February the President appointed a 30 member Council, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ben Heineman and the continuing chairmanship of Mr. A. Philip Randolph, to set the policies and oversee the detailed planning for the White House Conference. An able staff and a number of consultants reviewed and refined the recommendations of the Planning Session and conducted the other preparatory work for the Conference. At every stage of the planning, they were guided by the Council's determinations.

The Council met on evenings and weekends for extended review and discussion of plans and proposals submitted by the staff. The format of the Conference, the subjects to be considered, this Report and the recommendations it embodies -- all are the results of this thoughtful process. Thus what you are asked to consider here, and the way in which your deliberations are organized, represent the considered judgments of the Council as the policy-making body of the Conference.

Some of the judgments were difficult to make. The President has accurately described the problems confronting Negro Americans as "a seamless web." The strands of this web reach into every area of American life, and none of these interrelated aspects of the problem is without its urgent and anguishing features. Yet no single conference could productively trace the thread of Negro disadvantage through the whole fabric of society. In order to achieve a common focus on specific action efforts, it was necessary to select a manageable number of areas of concentration.

There will be many other meetings and conferences, private and governmental, national and local, at which civil rights problems and alternative approaches to them will be considered. Therefore, it was not judged necessary that this Conference diffuse and dilute its efforts by trying to deal with the entire range of problems and possible solutions which are worthy of discussion. Rather, the objective was to focus on a few vital areas in which something specific and immediate can be done. This was the major task confronting the Council, and it received fullest consideration.

The resulting conclusion was that the Conference should direct its primary attention to five critical subject-matter areas -- economic security and welfare, education, housing, administration of justice, and health. It was also decided that there should be developed in each of these areas a limited number of specific proposals for action to which the conferees could address themselves. With whatever revisions and alternative proposals they might devise, the participants could then commit their efforts in their own communities to actions which will achieve early and important effects.

The Council's Report is designed to serve these purposes. It seeks to summarize, succinctly but thoroughly, the chief problems in each subject area that deny Negroes their full share of participation in the life of the nation. It defines the broad goals that must be attained if we are to realize "not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result." It details major actions that need to be taken by various elements of our society -- by government at all levels; by private groups, such as business, labor, religious, and voluntary organizations; and, in some instances, by private citizens themselves, acting individually.

Finally, the Council proposes several specific activities in each area on which Conference participants and other public-spirited citizens may concentrate their efforts.

As the Report clearly indicates, there is no intention to slight the importance of governmental action, whether federal, state, or local. The need for additional legislation, administrative changes, and executive leadership at all three levels has been extensively treated; the proposals in this category and the Conference reactions to them will be transmitted to the President and will be made available to state and local public officials.

But the Conference would fail in its main purpose if it did no more than that. Governmental action, however forceful and creative, cannot succeed unless it is accompanied by a mobilization of effort by private citizens and the organizations and institutions through which they express their will. Indeed, the role of government itself is in large part determined by the presence or absence of such citizen efforts.

That is why the major emphasis of this Conference must be on immediate, practical steps to enlist in this cause the great mass of uncommitted, uninvolved Americans.

That is why we must not end these discussions without a common resolve to return to our communities and undertake those specific actions for which our varied interests and positions best fit us.

Fortunately, we do not have to spend a great amount of time defining the problems with which we must deal; they have been described, analyzed, and discussed at length in many forums and in the preparatory stages of this Conference. Nor do we need to expend our energies convincing one another that the conditions suffered by most Negro Americans are intolerable; the President has presented that case in the most eloquent, moving, and urgent of terms. That is why we are here.

The challenge before us now is to chart a course of action to which every thoughtful American can subscribe.

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

I. INTRODUCTION

The employment and income problems of the Negro population, are complex, long-standing, and rooted in deep economic, social, psychological, and political disabilities. Bold, creative, and large-scale action is nessary if rapid progress is to be made toward equal opportunity, fair and full employment, decent living standards, full use of human potential, and security for the nation's Negro citizens.

There is no single, simple, or quick solution for the Negro's economic problems. The range of action needed to achieve an adequate level of employment and income security must cover the multi-faceted problems of many different sub-groups. Assistance to jobless Negro youths would not be adequate to meet the needs of underemployed Negro adults. Action to help farmers and farm workers would not necessarily improve the lot of people seeking work in metropolitan areas. Programs to aid the unemployed mother who depends on public assistance for a livelihood would be of little utility for the Negro professional or businessman. Lasting solutions must be tailored, therefore, to the particular needs of specific components of the Negro population.

Moreover, it must be re-emphasized that the economic problems Negroes face along with other disadvantaged workers are compounded for Negroes by the continuing widespread presence of racial segregation and racial discrimination. Thus, solutions must go beyond strictly economic measures and be related to sociological, political, and psychological approaches.

Consideration has been given to all of the fundamental factors underlying the Negro's economic disadvantages. A wide-ranging battery of specific and realistic actions is proposed, calculated to achieve sharp progress on a variety of fronts--jobs, training, nondiscrimination, supportive services, labor standards, income maintenance, public assistance, and others. In addition, stress is placed on the need to reach and maintain a full employment economy, as a setting which greatly increases the effectiveness of all other measures taken to improve the Negro's economic status.

The document as presented here, however, makes no attempt to set forth or detail a complete rationale on each and every recommendation. Supporting statements are appended for some of the recommendations. Included here are the items which appear to be of highest priority as basic approaches and solutions to economic security and welfare problems of Negroes.

The recommended action involves not merely one, but all sectors of the American community--the federal as well as state and local governments; business enterprises and organized labor; educational bodies; community organizations such as churches and health and welfare groups; and the spectrum of national associations. The intention is to mobilize the nation's brainpower and material resources for a systematic and many-sided effort to eliminate the barriers that prevent the Negro's full participation in the economic and social process.

The Social and Economic Setting

Recommendations to improve the economic security and welfare of the Negro people must take into account the magnitude of the Negro's disadvantages in the job market, the wide gap between the income and employment status of whites and nonwhites, and the changing characteristics and geographic distribution of the Negro population and labor force. They must take into account sharp and decisive advances in technology and other such forces which generate abundant benefits to some and disproportionate burdens to others.

Today there are more than 20 million Negro Americans. They comprise more than one-tenth of the nation's total population.

There are some 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force; i.e., employed or looking for jobs. They include about 3.5 million women. By 1970, the total is expected to reach ten million.

The figure of 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force presents an incomplete picture. Many members of the working age population are not in the labor force but could be if jobs and incentives in the form of decent earnings were consistently available to them. Thus, eight percent of all Negro men aged 25 to 64 were not in the labor force in 1963, compared with only five percent of comparable whites. On the other hand, the proportion of Negro women who work or seek jobs is considerably higher than the proportion of whites, since more of the former are primary family wage earners or must supplement the wages of their husbands.

Today, the Negro population is predominantly an urban one. About three-fourths of all Negroes live in urban areas, mainly in larger cities with populations of more than 50,000. The six cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, D. C., and Los Angeles alone account for one-fifth of all Negro people. There are 18 cities in which 100,000 or more Negroes live--these cities account for almost one-third of the total Negro population.

The concentration of Negroes in largely segregated areas of central cities, while white residents, industrial establishments, and offices move toward the suburbs, constitutes an important factor in framing proposals to improve economic and welfare conditions.

The heavy out-movement of Negroes from the South in search of better economic, educational, social, and political status (3.3 million left the South between 1940 and 1965) is an important factor in planning action programs. However, over one-half of all Negroes still live in the Southern States, and there are recent indications that the rate of out-migration is decreasing. Migration

Most of the Negroes who still live in rural areas are in the South. Even in that region, however, almost three-fifths of all Negro people are urban residents. In 1960, two out of every five residents of Birmingham, Atlanta, and New Orleans were Negroes.

While urban problems must command an increasing proportion of our attention, we cannot overlook two facts. First, many of the hard-core Rural economic security and welfare problems Negroes face are in rural areas. Second, those rural migrants who find their way into the stream of urban life bring with them problems which impede significantly their ability to adjust to present and future urban labor markets. The adjustment problems of the migrants is due, in part, to the failure of most urban areas to prepare for the influx of new residents and to take steps to ease their transition to urban life.

The Negro's disadvantaged status in the job market is underscored Unemployment by government statistics on unemployment and underemployment. Even in today's booming economy (Feb. 1966), the unemployment rate for Negroes is about eight percent--more than twice the national average--and the gap between whites and nonwhites is even greater for married people and heads of households (particularly women) who are most in need of a job to support their families. Negroes only comprise eleven percent of the nation's labor force, but make up more than twenty percent of the nation's unemployed.

employed
in the
labor
force
[illegible]
the av pu
lation

Not only is unemployment higher among Negroes, but they tend to be out-of-work for longer periods than whites. They also suffer heavily from underemployment, including part-time work, substandard pay, and the necessity to accept jobs below their skill or educational potentials.

The most serious unemployment problem is the shocking incidence of joblessness among Negro youths. Although this problem has been decreasing in recent months, fully 18 percent of out-of-school Negro youths aged 16 to 21 were unemployed in February 1966. This is twice the rate for white youths and it means that thousands of young Negro people who are actively looking for jobs cannot find a productive place in our society. In addition, it is estimated that many thousands of youths have withdrawn from the labor force, or refrained from entering it, because they have given up hope of finding decent employment.

The school "drop-out" problem among young people is another factor compounding the situation. Some three-fifths of out-of school nonwhite youths aged 16 to 21 lack high school diplomas. In this era of technological advance and complex job requirements, "drop-outs" have twice the unemployment rates of high school graduates. When they are employed, they work for less pay and are more subject to layoffs and displacement by machines.

The Negro's disadvantages do not end when he finds a job. Even when he is employed, he tends to work in low-skill, low-wage occupations and industries with the lowest growth rates and the most limited opportunities for advancement and mobility.

In recent years, technological change and other job market conditions have led to a rising demand for skilled craftsmen, white collar workers, and service workers, while reducing opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. In particular, the technical, professional, clerical, sales, and related white collar occupations have shown rapid growth. Yet, it is precisely in the skilled and white collar occupations that the Negroes are heavily under-represented, while they are concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled labor categories in which job opportunities are most restricted.

technology

Only one-fifth of all nonwhite workers hold white collar jobs, compared with almost one-half of all white workers. Only seven percent of all Negro workers are in the professional and technical category--half the proportion among whites. Only three percent of the nonwhites are managers, officials, or proprietors, compared with eleven percent of the whites. The figures for clerical workers are nine percent versus seventeen percent; for sales workers, two percent versus seven percent; for skilled craftsmen, seven percent versus thirteen percent.

By contrast, twelve percent of all Negro workers are nonfarm laborers--three times the proportion of whites. An nonwhites are heavily represented among migratory and other seasonal farm workers and small tenant farmers who face severe underemployment, substandard earnings, and eventual replacement by new agricultural technology on large farms.

Farm machines

Negroes are heavily concentrated in the service occupations, which have shown rising manpower needs. However, they tend to be employed at household service, custodial, and other low-paid work rather than in the higher-paid service occupations.

[illegible]

To keep abreast of new technological demands and changes in occupational requirements, a fundamental alteration in the occupational structure of the Negro labor force is necessary. Otherwise severe problems of economic insecurity are likely to continue.

A major problem in improving the occupational status of the Negro labor force is its relatively low average educational attainment. In 1962, for example, less than one-third of the nonwhite members of the labor force had completed high school, compared with a majority of the whites. Educational attainment has, however, shown continuous improvement in successive generations. This fact represents an important element in plans to improve the Negro's lot.

On the other hand, achievements in occupational status and earnings by Negro workers have not kept pace with improvements in their educational attainment. The average Negro male with 16 or more years of school earns an annual income less than that earned by a white male with ten years of school.

Employment handicaps are reflected in the relatively low incomes of most Negroes. The income of the average Negro family is little more than half of the white family income. It is true that the Negro income level is rising, with greatest progress in Northern and Western urban areas. However, the rapid rise of incomes among whites has prevented a narrowing of the income gap between the races. Even when whites and Negroes are employed in the same occupation, and have had the same number of years of schooling, the average incomes of the two groups show this disparity.

with equal
learning
of whites and
Negroes there
is unequal
income

Because of unemployment and low incomes, a much higher proportion of Negroes than of whites must rely on public assistance to supplement inadequate earnings. These poor people need not only money for subsistence, but a wide range of services to quality them for productive employment, and to meet basic family, health, and welfare problems.

Poverty goes hand-in-hand with cultural deprivation, alienation from the mainstream values of American society, and unstable family relationships. The social and psychological consequences of discrimination and ghetto life are woven into the economic problems of the Negro and require consideration in economic security and welfare programs. For this reason, there is mounting awareness that conventional programs to solve the employment needs of Negroes must be accompanied by a wide range of supportive services designed to instill favorable work attitudes and character and personality traits, fill gaps in basic education, solve health and family problems, and overcome other barriers to the individual's labor force adjustments.

What Can Be Done

Housing, education, health, transportation, and access to various supportive services such as public employment offices, all significantly influence the economic security of Negroes and their access to jobs and training. Action required to meet the total problem ranges across the board.

That which is being done by private business firms, community organizations, churches, schools, federal, local and state governments must be done more efficiently and at greatly increased program levels. More and better jobs must be created. Preventive programs to offset manpower shifts resulting from technological change are necessary. Training programs and supportive services must be expanded. Youth requires special attention. It is necessary to strengthen income maintenance programs and labor standards. Public assistance and welfare programs need to be restructured.

It is necessary to stress that actions in the areas cited and measures to improve the economic security and welfare of Negroes take effect most rapidly in a healthy, growing, full employment economy. The availability of jobs at fair wages to all who need them eases the task of eliminating discrimination, upgrading the Negro work force, raising labor standards, and providing income security. Consequently, the attainment and maintenance of a full employment economy is a recommendation of high priority.

√ The recommendations that follow are not addressed to every facet or to total solutions. Principle emphasis is placed on new approaches appropriate to federal action and to programs conducive to non-federal initiatives and implementation.

These recommendations include the development of a Comprehensive Human Resources Plan, Metropolitan Jobs Councils and establishment of a Rural Jobs Task Force.

Also recommended are:

Affirmative actions by business, churches, and community organizations to provide more and better jobs for Negroes while eliminating racial discrimination in employment; improvement and expansion of supportive services to include federalization of the public employment service; improvement in transportation and access to jobs by Negro workers; and the development of new arrangements to help migrants from rural areas adjust to urban life.

Another set of recommendations involves Negro youth. A year-around youth job opportunities program in private business, local, state, and federal governments to meet the needs of inexperienced youth with minimum skills is recommended. A greatly expanded counseling program is recommended; and a program is recommended for the implementation of large-scale efforts to reach Negro children and teenagers with systematic motivation programs along the lines of the Vice President's task force on youth motivation.

Still another set of recommendations call for the development of national standards for the operation of the welfare system and provision for higher income maintenance for welfare recipients and explorations of a guaranteed minimum income. It is also recommended that provisions for the protection and expansion of benefits to workers uncovered by minimum wage laws and collective bargaining rights be extended.

II. DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE HUMAN RESOURCE PLAN

Why the Recommendation is Needed

Effective action programs must be based on accurate information. The programs must also be based on systematic planning which mobilizes all available resources, selects specific goals, and schedules all necessary activities in accordance with definite timetables and priorities. Moreover, the component parts of the overall program must be effectively coordinated to attain maximum impact. The recommendation for a Comprehensive Human Resources Plan is intended to meet these requirements and provide a flexible basis for creative action programs.

Thus the plan has two objectives. In the first instance, it undertakes the collection and analysis of data on a number of variables and characteristics of Negro workers as to employment, unemployment, training, and opportunities. In the second instance it undertakes the consolidation of experiences and the provision of information through public and private channels for translation into programs to structure training and job opportunities for Negroes.

The significance of need for a Comprehensive Human Resources Plan is pointed up by recent experiences in the Watts section of Los Angeles. After the riots, private and public groups went to Watts for the purpose of determining program needs to get at a variety of the social and economic problems encountered by Negroes which, it was generally assumed, were casual factors underlying the riots. One of the immediate problems with which the groups were confronted was the absence of basic information on the Watts population and factors influencing their labor force status and their access to jobs and training. Implementation of training programs, job programs, business development and other types of programs by both private and public groups continues to be impeded by the absence of information that would have been readily available through a Comprehensive Human Resources Plan.

Major thrust for implementation of the recommendation must come from the Federal Government. The United States Department of Labor and the Bureau of Census are best equipped to systematically develop the Comprehensive Human Resources Program. However, the program in the final analysis is oriented toward local areas. Local leadership and response, therefore, is essential to its implementation and success. Some aspects of the Comprehensive Human Resources Plan will result from data aggregated on a national basis. But substantive parts of the plan must be developed at local levels if information obtained is to be more systematically useful for local action needs and programs.

Thus to develop a Comprehensive Human Resources Plan effective cooperation between private business firms, labor unions, community groups, local, state and federal governments is necessary. Business firms must make known occupation and job requirements. Insofar as possible they must project such needs and give advance information on technological innovations. Churches and other community groups must play a vital role in helping to channel information on neighborhoods. They can also operate various types of information and resource centers. Labor unions will have to cooperate in helping to structure training opportunities through apprenticeship and other programs.

1. The Comprehensive Human Resources Plan should focus most heavily on the 70 odd cities in which most urban Negroes are concentrated and on the five or six southern states in which most rural Negroes live. Data for both urban and rural areas should be collected on a neighborhood basis.

2. Progress on resource development and characteristics should be kept up-to-date. Progress of Negroes in the job market and the effectiveness of private and public programs and services in meeting the needs of Negro workers should be systematically evaluated through some type of balance sheet approach.

3. Specific goals as to the number of trainees and job placements by occupations and industry should be set. Timetables for accomplishing these goals should be attuned to the number of new entrants to the job market; expansion in job opportunities and the targets and priorities established.

4. Human Resources Development Plan should be established in major urban areas, taking an individualized approach to the needs of disadvantaged workers. This should include establishment of Human Resource Centers in several cities where workers with especially severe unemployment problems can receive intensive and individualized assistance, such as diagnosis of needs, individual counseling, referral to health, welfare, or other services, referral to training, and specialized job development and placement under continuing supervision.

III. METROPOLITAN JOBS COUNCILS

Why the Recommendation Is Needed.

Economic facts involving jobs and income are high among the most disturbing current measures of the impact of racial discrimination and changes in the economy. Negroes are not being absorbed into jobs at high enough levels and with sufficient pay to enable them to keep pace with new developments in the market place for goods and services. The consequence is depressed purchasing power in the community and limited markets for goods and services. Another consequence is high social and financial cost to the community in such forms as welfare assistance and lost potential through delinquency, crime and idleness. Obviously business and other community interests would be served through positive and affirmative action taken which will assist in eliminating these problems.

No longer can access to a job or the acquisition of a job by Negroes be left to chance. Large scale and systematic efforts by employers to provide and sustain a climate within which Negroes can get more and better jobs is necessary.

To accomplish this task a new vehicle or apparatus in the form of a Metropolitan Jobs Council is recommended. The initiative in establishing such councils should be taken by the business community and structured to be representative of the total community. The focus of each Council would be:

1. To initiate, develop and carry-out a Comprehensive Human Resources Plan such as previously discussed. This would allow for the collection and organization of information on potential Negro workers and assist the development of programs for providing jobs.

2. To seek funds from private sources as well as from the Federal Government to help underwrite various programs within the community which have as their purpose getting more and better jobs for Negroes.

3. To provide technical assistance for local groups addressing themselves to jobs for Negroes.

4. To complement the efforts of employment services and private groups such as the Urban League.

5. To solve the job problems and meet the job needs of the total metropolitan area (city and suburbs) on a comprehensive basis.

IV. RURAL JOBS TASK FORCE

Why The Recommendation Is Needed

For several decades, the economic position of the southern Negro farmer and rural resident has grown steadily worse. Of more than four million Negroes still living in southern rural areas perhaps less than 50,000 families have enough land and capital to engage in agriculture at anything better than bare subsistence levels. At the same time thousands of less fortunate rural nonfarm families eke out an existence as casual laborers or welfare recipients on nonproductive farmland or the fringes of small towns and cities. Still others are subjected to the harsh and ill-rewarded life which is still the lot of most of America's migrant workers. Poorly educated, poorly housed, victims of mechanization, shrinking acreage allotments, and racial prejudice, Negro rural families when they move into the cities are least equipped to become self-supporting and well-adjusted members of the urban community.

Because the problems involved are approaching crisis proportions, and because of the special nature of the problems themselves, the Conference recommends that the President appoint an emergency Rural Jobs Task Force whose first report, with action recommendations, will be due no later than September 1.

This Task Force should include knowledgeable representatives of private groups, state and local governments and appropriate federal officials.

The focus of the Task Force's efforts should be to provide jobs and economic assistance for rural Negroes, eliminate handicaps caused by discrimination and denials of opportunity, and facilitate the economic and social adjustment of rural families moving to urban areas.

Specifically, the Task Force should be prepared to recommend prompt and practical steps by which private and public resources will be used to:

1. Provide farm land for Negroes with interest and expectations in farm operations and management either for commercial or subsistence purposes, and provide a means whereby Negro farm families can be subsidized at income levels commensurate with adequate living standards.

2. Provide technical assistance and financial assistance for farm operators, marketing and housing cooperatives in rural farm and nonfarm areas. Financial assistance should include long-term low-cost loans.

3. Provide domestic Peace Corps programs for rural residents in economically depressed areas.

4. Provide intensive job training programs, directly tied to local and regional economic planning -- such training to be accompanied by provision of adequate living income for trainees and their families.

5. Provide expanded county agent and home demonstration agent programs, both in the rural areas and in the cities, designed to help rural Negroes secure employment in cities and to cope with the transition from rural to urban life.

6. Sharply upgrade the substandard conditions under which the families of migrant workers are employed, housed and educated and establish safeguards to guarantee them equal protection of the law.

7. Improve and accelerate affirmative actions to remove all racially discriminatory practices in the administering of federal programs and other publicly and privately supported programs affecting the lives of rural residents.

8. Provide for the establishment of Permanent Rural Jobs Councils which will assist in implementing and reviewing programs initiated under the Rural Jobs Task Force.

V. AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS BY PRIVATE EMPLOYERS AND GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE MORE AND BETTER JOBS

Why The Recommendation Is Needed

Affirmative action by both private and government employers, labor organizations and community groups is essential to provide more and better jobs for Negroes. Affirmative action that generates more and better jobs and insures access to jobs by Negroes is also action against discrimination.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibiting discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies; Executive Order 11246 requiring affirmative action to ensure equal employment opportunity by government contractors; state and local fair employment practice laws; and recent rulings by the National Labor Relations Board and the Plans for Progress program are all contributing to the achievement of more and better jobs not only through nondiscriminatory activity but through action leading to equality of opportunity.

Employers need to look, think and act beyond simple nondiscrimination and pro forma or passive equal employment opportunity programs. Active and deliberate effort to increase and improve jobs for Negroes is necessary. The Government itself needs to become a model employer in every respect and set the example for affirmative action. State and local governments should also become model employers. In addition, they should establish programs of contract compliance comparable to the Federal Government's Executive Order 11246.

Affirmative Action By Private Employers

There is no affirmative action plan which will apply to all companies in all situations. Overcoming past traditions of discrimination and ensuring the acceptance of equal employment opportunity will require great initiative and creative thinking. Management must devote as much thought and effort to this as it does to other major functions of administration.

Among things that need to be done are:

1. Positive communication to Negroes that barriers of exclusion have been removed. This should be done through both regular and Negro oriented media, civic meetings, mass meetings, radio and television.

2. Encourage Negroes to apply for all levels of employment.

3. Review all qualifications standards and tests to ensure that Negroes are not victims of unconscious bias and that standards are fair and objective.

4. Re-evaluate all Negro employees and progression opportunities to guarantee access to jobs commensurate with ability. In some cases collective bargaining agreements will have to be revised to overcome discriminatory placement maintained by transfer and seniority stipulations.

5. Policy statements should be followed up with specific directives involving all levels of supervision.

6. There should be a precise system of feedback and reporting covering recruiting, hiring, training, and upgrading of each department, division and field office.

7. When progress is slow, top management should become personally involved.

8. Lower levels of supervision should be evaluated on the results of equal employment opportunity activities in the same way they are evaluated on other areas of supervisory ability.

9. Particular effort should be exerted to locate Negroes in responsible and active positions as a visible example of policy, e.g., supervisors, personnel officers.

10. Business should be withheld from suppliers and contractors who engage in discrimination.

11. Management should increase the use of manpower development and training and on-the-job training programs to help Negro workers find employment and advance to more skilled jobs.

Effective use of the Comprehensive Human Resource Plan, previously referred to, will help to identify and channel Negroes into MDTA and OJT programs.

12. Firms with well established management and operating know-how can cooperate with Negro owned and operated businesses to provide training for management and others employed in Negro firms.

13. Job opportunities for Negroes should be expanded through the franchise system. Every major firm should have Negro owned franchises in all major cities as well as in small cities and towns.

14. State and local equal opportunity councils should be expanded and strengthened to give leadership to anti-discrimination efforts.

Affirmative Action by Community Organizations

Churches, educational institutions, health and welfare groups and associations can undertake affirmative action through technical assistance and through the example of their own practices. These institutions have already proved to be effective instruments to bring about change in employment patterns. However, much of the work is confined to the national level. We recommend that churches, educational institutions and health and welfare groups undertake programs to:

1. Provide technical assistance to persuade and help local institutions and affiliates to eliminate discriminatory patterns.

2. Withdraw business from suppliers and contractors who engage in discrimination. An example in this respect is "Project Equality" sponsored by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

"Project Equality" is a national program by which participating religious institutions (Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish and Protestant denominations) use their hiring and purchasing power to promote affirmative action for equal employment opportunity. The program is similar to the Government's for administering Executive Order 11246. Employment practices within the institutions, their schools and hospitals, as well as that of suppliers and contractors are covered.

The principal elements are:

1. Each participating religious institution agrees to adopt and implement non-discriminatory and affirmative action programs to ensure that applicants are hired and that employees are placed, trained, promoted and otherwise treated during employment without regard to race.

2. Each employer who wishes to become eligible for contracts or purchase orders forwards to the Project Equality staff in his location a standard "employment analysis" form containing three kinds of information:

(a) A breakdown of work force by race and job category.

(b) A list of affirmative actions taken to eliminate discrimination and ensure equal employment opportunity.

(c) A statement as to the problems encountered in recruiting minority persons for employment.

3. The contract staff within the Project Equality area compiles a list of eligible firms.

4. Project Equality members within the area pledge to do business only with eligible firms on the list.

5. On the basis of work force and problem information contained in the completed "employment analysis" reports, Project Equality staff members conduct compliance reviews of firms on the eligible list to insure that non-discriminatory and affirmative actions are being implemented and are achieving successful results.

The program began in May 1965, and now operates in several major cities (Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Hartford, San Antonio). Total purchasing power committed to the program is well over a half billion dollars. The goal is to establish programs in each major city in which there are significant numbers of nonwhites by 1967.

Another organization exploring this type of program is the YWCA. Others could include:

1. Educational institutions
2. Hospitals
3. Mass media industries
4. The advertising industry
5. Civic organizations
6. Financial institutions

Action Required by Federal Government

Strengthen Title VII (Prohibition of Discrimination by Employers, Unions, and Employment Agencies) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

1. Amend Title VII to:

(a) Expand coverage to employees of state and local governments, private membership clubs, educational institutions, and employers and unions with eight or more employees or members.

(b) Authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue "cease and desist" orders.

(c) Authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to order back pay to persons suffering financial loss through denial of equal employment opportunity.

2. Use Government contracting authority to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with Government contracts.

3. Undertake technical assistance and educational programs to help employers, unions, and others develop capabilities for providing equal employment opportunities and to reduce employment prejudices and discriminations

4. Expand the training of federal, state and local staffs, present and potential staff members of community organizations at local and national levels to inform them of federal requirements and provide guidelines and ways to eliminate discrimination and carry out affirmative action programs.

5. Provide an effective means for employers and labor unions to exchange information on their experience in attacking discriminatory practices.

VI. EXPAND AND STRENGTHEN SUPPORTIVE SERVICES TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT OF NEGROES INTO JOBS

Why The Recommendation Is Needed

Discrimination, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, relegation to low-skill jobs, and poverty have left their mark on the Negro labor force. A relatively high proportion of Negro workers lack the educational attainment and occupational skills needed to compete for many of the jobs in today's increasingly complex economy. This is especially true of white collar and technical jobs. The problem is made more severe by the migration of hundreds of thousands of Negroes from rural to urban areas, often without the kinds of vocational skills demanded for nonfarm work, and often lacking adequate knowledge of city life and services. Many of these people were persuaded to move to cities by employers and city officials during periods of labor shortage, such as World War II, and they have suffered substantial unemployment and underemployment in subsequent periods of reduced manpower requirements.

There is a crucial need to make available occupational training and related basic and remedial education to help prepare jobless Negroes for employment. There is also a need for training to upgrade employed Negroes who are working below their skill potentials. In many cases, existing training or educational programs are of inadequate size, inconveniently located, and not geared to the needs of disadvantaged groups. On-the-job training by employers has also been relatively limited for Negroes.

Formal training is not enough to assist Negroes at the lower end of the economic scale. Those in this group often require a variety of supportive services to ease their adjustment to the demands of the job market. The public employment service should be the key agency in meeting these needs. They need specialized help in solving health, family, housing, and welfare problems which interfere with their success at seeking and holding jobs. Those who migrate from the countryside to the city often need help in adjusting to their new environment. Many disadvantaged people require counseling and related services to develop effective work, job seeking, and human relations attitudes and behavior patterns. It is very important to introduce new concepts and thinking regarding transportation routes and the mobility of Negroes in and out of the central city.

This set of recommendations covers training programs and supportive services to meet these urgent needs. It includes steps to strengthen government services, as well as measures to utilize the facilities and experience of nongovernment organizations.

A. Federalize the Employment Service

There is a need to federalize the public employment service, which currently is operated by state agencies, although financed entirely by Federal funds.

1. A national system to bring together jobs and job applicants without regard to local boundaries is needed to keep pace with today's complex job market. This system must be available to handle rapid shifts in manpower requirements, such as those caused by technological change and changes in defense needs. It is needed to give maximum mobility to the work force, to utilize unemployed workers in depressed areas, and to meet manpower shortages

which are currently on the increase. A federalized employment service is in a position to effectively deal with the continuing large-scale movement of rural people to urban areas, and other inter-regional migration patterns which have received little or no government services in the past. Furthermore, for an increasing number of occupations, such as engineering and other professional and technical jobs, the labor market is actually a national one.

2. Federalization is needed to strengthen program standards, to eliminate discrimination in referral of applicants to jobs, and to raise the quality of services, such as intensive counseling, furnished to applicants.

3. To an increasing extent, public employment service offices have been called upon to administer federal manpower programs. As they assume functions such as the selection of enrollees for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, and the MDTA, the need for federal coordination to insure high standards, nondiscrimination, and uniformity has increased.

4. A federal system would greatly improve employment service personnel standards. It would create a career ladder at an adequate and unified salary scale, promoting the interchange of staff members among local, state and federal levels. It would guard against discrimination in the selection of employment service staff members.

B. Improve Access of Negro Workers to all Available Jobs in the Community

The location of most Negro workers in segregated ghettos sharply reduces their physical access to jobs in the community. Investigations revealed that many workers in the Watts area had to travel for two hours, transfer to several bus lines, and pay a half-dollar each way to commute to jobs or to visit employment offices in search of a job. Relatively few can afford to own private cars. These transportation difficulties discourage job seekers and impose unfair costs on workers least able to meet them. The problem is aggravated by the growing trend of locating new business and government establishments in distant suburban areas.

What Can Be Done

By Federal Government

1. The Federal Government should locate new federal facilities in places readily accessible to residential areas where Negroes live.

2. In awarding government contracts, the Federal Government should require to the maximum practicable extent, that the work be performed in establishments accessible to areas with substantial Negro unemployment problems.

By Local and State Governments

1. Local and state governments should evaluate and modify local transportation routes, fares, and facilities to improve the access of Negroes to available jobs.

By Private Employers

1. Unless there are compelling business reasons to the contrary, new business establishments should be located in areas accessible to places where Negroes live, such as downtown areas, rather than in distant suburban or other out-of-the-way sites.

C. Develop and Implement a Large Scale Program to Facilitate Economic and Social Adjustment of Rural Negroes Migrating to the City.

1. Centers in rural surplus labor areas can be established by local groups with technical assistance provided by private institutions to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for jobs and housing and provide vocational and personal counseling.

2. Local governments and community organizations in urban areas should develop reception facilities in urban labor demand areas equipped to help the in-migrant solve employment and housing problems; to make available to them the range of health, welfare, and other urban services; and to provide temporary quarters (Halfway Houses, Youth Hostels) for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period.

VII. EXPAND YOUTH JOB PROGRAMS; DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT COUNSELING PROGRAMS FOR NEGRO YOUTH

Why the Recommendation is Needed.

The high rate of unemployment among Negro youths--male and female--their unduly high rate of school drop-outs and evidence of disorganization among some young residents of impoverished Negro ghettos are problems of paramount urgency. Most Negro teenagers and youth are inexperienced and many bring few skills to the job market. Jobs at the same time are limited. Programs to reach Negro youth through special counseling services are limited. Negro youth in large numbers have yet to be convinced that employment opportunities are increasing and job restrictions are diminishing. Because of the limited number of jobs available to Negro youth they have little reason to believe they will be successful in the job market.

We recommend as follows:

1. A year-round youth job placement program comparable to the special summer program formalized in 1965 be developed. Jobs must be generated for Negro teenagers which utilize their present skills while preparing them with new and better skills.
2. Vastly improve and expand counseling services for in-school youths and make available skilled vocational advisers who are acquainted with the requirements of industry. Public employment offices should expand their programs of vocational counseling services in the schools.
3. Community organizations should supplement the counseling services of government with emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged youth with especially severe employment and training problems.

4. The Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation should be greatly expanded and utilized by community organizations to reach and motivate Negro youth. This program can be implemented in high schools and colleges most effectively. Initiative may be taken by local clubs, churches and Parent Teachers Associations. College students should form their own task forces to initiate and implement the program in local high schools.

The thrust of the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation is to provide a means whereby the unconvinced Negro youth may be convinced of the changes in job opportunities by witnessing and counseling with Negroes who have "succeeded" in jobs and occupations previously closed to the Negroes. The program is in its second year and has already proved to be a success.

VIII. STRENGTHEN INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS PROGRAMS

Why the Recommendation is Needed.

The strengthening of income maintenance and labor standards programs is of special importance for Negroes, who are heavily concentrated in occupations and industries which pay low wages, provide only intermittent employment, and are excluded from protective labor standards legislation. For example, extension of minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and laws protecting the right to join labor unions to currently excluded agricultural and service workers would greatly contribute to the economic security of large numbers of Negro workers. Such protection would help to raise incomes to adequate levels and would reduce the dependence of impoverished Negroes on public assistance. Improved labor standards and income safeguards would also help to provide the Negro work force with the security needed to motivate workers to develop their skills, actively seek employment, and make their maximum contribution in the job market.

What Can Be Done.

1. Improve the federal minimum wage and child labor standards.
    a. Expand coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to currently excluded industries and occupations in which minority groups are heavily concentrated; e.g., service and agricultural jobs.
    b. Increase the minimum wage. Provide for adjustment programs to help disemployed workers obtain gainful employment.
    c. Prohibit child labor outside of school hours on farms except those operated by the child's own family.
2. Extend the protection and benefits of collective bargaining to occupations and industries in which Negroes are concentrated.
    a. Extend the protection of the Labor-Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries; e.g., agriculture.
    b. Insure, through State laws and programs protection of collective bargaining rights for workers excluded from the Labor-Management Relations Act.
    c. Intensify efforts to organize workers in service, agricultural, and other occupations in which Negroes are heavily concentrated.

IX. STRENGTHEN AND RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE BENEFITS TO THE POOR

Why the Recommendation is Needed

Welfare programs as they are presently operated fall far short of providing an adequate living to the poor. They also fail to provide welfare recipients with maximum opportunity to move from dependency to self-sustaining employment.

The annual income available to families under the Aid to Families With Dependent Children Program only averages about $1.15 per day per person for all of the costs of living. Aged and disabled recipients of public assistance receive only between $900 and $1,000 a year and blind recipients receive slightly over $1,100 a year.

In addition to low cash payments, the provision of services to help poor people overcome the barriers to self-sufficiency is also limited in most cases. Widespread shortages of trained staff members add to this problem.

Both federal and state laws impose eligibility conditions that deny help to some needy people. The most important group excluded from coverage under federal law are families with children in which the parent or parents are employed but whose earnings do not provide even a meager living. More than half of the children among the poor are thus excluded from eligibility for federally aided public assistance. Also excluded are persons nearly but not yet 65 and young and middle-aged couples or individuals who are not blind or disabled and who have no minor children. Requirements for a specified length of residence and special requirements that exclude some families with children that are headed by women also result in many needy persons not receiving aid.

The limitations of existing programs bear particularly heavily on Negroes. More heads of households in the nonwhite than the white population work part time or for only part of the year. Negro earnings are lower than whites.

The proportion of nonwhite families headed by women is almost two and one-half times the corresponding proportion of white families. The risk of poverty among children in nonwhite families headed by employed women is about two and one-half times that of white children in such families. Finally, the southern states have conspicuous difficulty in financing adequate assistance programs, even with a relatively high tax effort for public services. Since half of the total number of nonwhite poor people and only about one-third of all white poor people live in the South, this situation adversely affects Negro families.

What Can Be Done

1. Raise the level of public assistance benefits to furnish a standard of living compatible with health and decency. Insure the availability of public assistance to all impoverished people.

2. The Federal Government should establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the states.

Highest priority in setting national standards should be given to eliminating the separate categories of public assistance and substituting a single category based exclusively on need.

3. Public assistance recipients should be given every opportunity and encouraged to seek and take jobs and training. The amount of earnings which can be retained by public assistance recipients without impairing benefits should be substantially increased.

Teenagers should be permitted to keep a substantial proportion of job earnings or MDTA or NYC Training allowances when assessing the welfare needs of recipient families.

4. Under existing programs, require that Aid to Families with Dependent Children be granted to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an

employable male present in the household, provided that he is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.

5. Reduce or eliminate residence requirements for public assistance or reimburse the states for payments to nonresidents.

6. Enact legislation to permit operation of public welfare programs by the Federal Government in states which cannot or will not meet federal standards.

7. Establish standards and provide additional resources for state and local governments and community organizations to provide supplemental non-monetary services to needy people. These services should include: consumer education; legal assistance; vocational and personal counseling; health information; home management; and free family planning.

8. Relieve the acute staffing problems in public assistance agencies by developing large scale programs to train subprofessional aides in order to reduce the burden of the professional staff.

Employ nonprofessional staff members to handle the more routine tasks and as "expediters" to locate and inform poor people about available programs and help them utilize services.

9. Develop means of guaranteeing a minimum income to the poor through the tax system and the utility of a system of family allowances based on the number of dependents.

EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of our schools is nothing less than the achievement of free persons in a free society. Not until every child has equal opportunity for acquisition of basic skills, saleable skills, and civic and social skills can it be said that America is providing her children with the equipment to become free persons in a free society. American schools today are failing significantly to fulfill this promise.

Some of the shortcomings flow from the educational process itself; other sources of inequality stem from uniquely racial considerations.

The fact is that today the overwhelming majority of American children, more than 90 per cent, are educated in segregated schools. Segregated Negro schools are inferior in quality to white schools. And segregated schools, both white and Negro, provide inferior education by definition, for they fail to prepare their pupils for life in our pluralistic society and ever shrinking world.

Despite the breaching in the courts of _de jure_ barriers to desegregated education, despite beginnings toward eliminating the dual schools system in the South, segregated education is still the general condition. The bright hope that the desegregation process would be speeded by threatened termination of Federal school aids is as yet largely unrealized. In the North and West _de facto_ segregation continues as the prevailing pattern, and if anything has become more, rather than less rigid.

Moreover, the courts, the Congress, and the Executive have hitherto made almost no affirmative contributions toward solving problems of _de facto_ segregation; a few states and some cities must be credited entirely with what limited progress has been made to date.

Hostility and indifference still surround national policies which seek equality for citizens in every area. All of the remedies suggested in the recommendations which follow depend on a more aroused public commitment. Corrective campaigns must be launched at every level to educate and involve the public in the urgency of our needs.

The President should issue a strong call for more overt leadership on the part of governors, mayors and other state and local officials on behalf of a national policy of "equality as a fact and equality as a result."

Mass media of communication must be mobilized in campaigns to replace distorted and outmoded stereotypes of minority groups.

Corrections in understanding and appreciation of minority groups must focus on two areas of crucial importance in education: textbooks and other learning resources, and the training of teachers.

Within this framework, the massive task of reforming our educational system can take place. It must deal first with equalizing the allocation of financial and human resources, so that our schools provide for all children what is now provided for the fortunate few.

Beyond this, the concentrations of population on the basis of race must be confronted. The Negro is battling for his right to achieve the same dispersed patterns of living as are open to other groups. Negroes, like other citizens, should have the largest possible freedom in the selection of schools for their children. Not unless school districts, and every part of American society, move toward true integration can we remain a leader of the world's free nations nor a symbol of the type of democratic society we profess to be.

And finally, we must recognize the central and complex issue of educational quality which the civil rights movement has brought strikingly to national attention. The task of equalizing opportunity will not be complete until we design education for persons of all ages which truly enables them to become free individuals in a better society.

I. EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The educational opportunity provided for children in America today is grossly unequal. Too many children are locked into inferior school systems by poverty and prejudice; they have no choice but a bad one, and the number of them that reject it should not surprise us. Our efforts are too often concentrated on adjusting the child to the system, and too little geared to improving and equalizing a school system that will have meaning for the child.

Our rural schools are of uneconomic size and have too few local resources to develop imaginative teaching or adequate plant and equipment. Our central cities steadily lose to the suburbs those who gain education and wealth, so that both financial and policy support for city schools is left to those least able to provide it.

The widening gap between inner city and rural schools on the one hand, and the affluent schools of suburbia on the other, as well as the inequity of geographic distribution of wealth are reflected in the disparities of per pupil expenditure, which range, for example, from $265 in rural Georgia to over $500 in metropolitan Atlanta, from $318 in Mississippi to $869 in New York State.

More than economic stratifications divide our schools; barriers of race prevent the schools from providing for Negro children the path to opportunity and mobility which they have provided for other Americans. The neighborhood school is becoming at worst a weapon of class distinction, at best a symbol of the status quo.

The flight from the cities by middle-class whites will soon leave cities so preponderantly Negro in population that integration will be an academic question, as it is in the nation's capital today. Poor education is today one of the central reasons for that flight, with its attendant exacerbation of residential and economic segregation. Parents who are able desert the poor schools of the city as well as the countryside, and join with those who are willing to spend enough energy and money on education to bring it at least to their own standards.

Deterioration of urban and rural education can no longer be allowed; the dangers to American society are too great. States have for too long neglected this growing danger, and the problem is now so massive and so complicated that all the local and national resources of America must be brought to bear on its solution.

There will be, of course, public resistance to the means required to equalize educational opportunity. Increases in the national budget will be hampered by fear of federal control, by the vast requirements of defense expenditures. Profound hostility still prevents complete national commitment to desegregated opportunity, and public ignorance or indifference on many issues is still to be overcome. State and local educational leadership, a key to many areas of change, is often inadequate.

But we must recognize the problem and commit ourselves to the expense of solving it. The costs of unemployment, welfare and relief, delinquency and crime, high morbidity and mortality -- human as well as financial costs -- are among the costs of failure to make adequate investments in education.

To begin the process of equalizing educational opportunity, state governments must commit themselves to a public policy of equalization, and devise formulas in the area of expenditures and allocation of human resources that will remedy past inequities.

Legislative reapportionment opens the way for states to ease restrictions on local authority and revenue sources, encourage new leadership and consciousness of new needs in State Departments of Education, redraw school district boundaries to consolidate inefficient rural districts and experiment with metropolitan unities, and redefine the duties and obligations of state and local boards of education to make them more representative of the populations they serve.

At the same time, the Federal government should address itself to equalizing the disparities among the states themselves and augmenting the resources of those areas which cannot provide education up to the national standard.

All school districts should be spending at least $1000 per child per year on education; that figure is only half of what is spent in our more affluent suburbs, but it is twice the national average.

With an initial appropriation of $7 billion, under new legislation tying incentive grants to a "workable program" described below, and coordinating them with state equalization formulas, some 15 million students, or about one-third of those who now receive less than $1000 in school funds, could be brought to that level.

Our aim, of course, should be within a few years to double or triple the total of $27 billion in federal, state and local funds now spent on education.

II. REDUCTION OF RACIAL CONCENTRATION

Beyond raising the lowest segments of our school system to a level of investment more nearly comparable to the rest, there is the even more complex problem of breaking up the patterns of racial concentration that plague our cities. When we begin to achieve something more nearly approaching parity in the schools we will of course be removing one of the causes of middle-class fear; white parents will become more willing to leave their children in better city schools, or to move back in to truly innovative new school systems. And increasing our investment in pre-school and elementary education, as well as our knowledge of how to teach a slum child, will result in children of greater educational mobility. Exchanges and cooperative arrangements will thus become more attractive.

But we cannot wait and hope. And we cannot run the risk of freezing Negro children into improved ghetto schools; we have as a nation discarded the notion of "separate but equal."

Affirmative action at every level is required to break down the walls of segregation and pave the way for the exercise of free choice on the part of the Negro, as for all citizens, in respect to his life's pursuits.

Workable Program

A national requirement of local commitment to integrated education should be legislated by Congress; present and future Federal education grants must be contingent on the presentation of a "workable program" from the recipient community to achieve this goal.

A satisfactory local program should include an overall commitment to integrated, quality education, provision for administrative responsibility to achieve it, and explicit description of policies to be followed in site location, enrollment zones, statistical reporting, transportation, enrichment programs, and health and counseling services. It should describe efforts to involve the community in planning and evaluation, and should be related to other community programs in housing, employment, welfare, and other social services.

Implied in such a requirement is of course a consciousness of race, and deliberate use of racial statistics and relationships in public documents. Congress has legislated against racial identification in the past, to the end of eradicating discrimination; but experience has demonstrated that "color-blind" programs will not bring us to a "color-blind" society.

Congress should declare a policy of "color-conscious" planning which will allow for reporting of racial identifications, tabulation of racial data, and provide for the confidentiality of such information where necessary.

Planning for Systematic Change

In addition to requiring that all federal expenditures in education be subject to "workable program" requirements, funds will be needed for positive planning to reduce racial concentration. As a first step, the President asked the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, in November of 1965, to document the extent of racial isolation in our country's schools, and to recommend solutions.

Congress should amend Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to allow grants for planning and implementation of plans for reducing racial imbalance, and preparation of both urban and rural master plans; funds in the amount of $150 million should be authorized to begin this process.

Communities should study and devise mechanisms such as rezoning, clustering, pairing or closing schools; exchanging students or entering into cooperative arrangements with other parts of the metropolitan area; enlarging districts and experimenting with transportation patterns; building new schools or educational parks in strategic locations.

An essential part of the planning must deal with interdependent metropolitan planning, in schools as in other areas. Most municipal populations, which have grown to unforeseen size in a decade or two, override municipal boundaries. Although a population unit, the large metropolitan area is made up of hundreds of separate governmental units, including school districts, with independent jurisdictions and revenue powers. Among these units there is little correspondence between the need for public services and the ability to pay for them.

In addition, an essential part of this planning should include the private and church-support schools, which now educate some 16 per cent of the school population, and which often hold the only reservoirs of white children in inner-city locations. Their role in the particularly difficult urban centers is crucial -- in fact in some cities they form a kind of second system enrolling between one-quarter and one-half of the total school population.

Some private schools have made outstanding efforts to provide scholarships and special programs to underprivileged children. Outside the South many church-related schools have at great sacrifice given classroom space to thousands of pupils from the ghetto who are outside the religious faith of the sponsoring group.

But imagination and initiative in cooperative arrangements with this important sector of American education have too long been stifled by fear of breaching the wall of separation between Church and State.

Federal and state governments should study the constitutional limitations on ways to use private education resources to confront the racial problem, and where feasible, join these schools in a partnership to improve education for all.

Such plans should consider ways to integrate pupils on a shared time basis, to incorporate private and church-related schools in innovative educational "parks", and government subsidies to such schools which enroll pupils without reference to religious qualifications and wish to take advantage of teaching materials created to educate for new social attitudes. Plans to assist Negro pupils to move into schools of lesser racial concentration should include proportionate places in private and church-related schools, with scholarship aid if necessary.

Demonstration Centers

Even the best planned changes depend on the existing educational establishment to carry them out, and experience has demonstrated that overburdened school administrators and municipal authorities can rarely be as innovative as is necessary to tackle fundamental change. They and the public they serve would be encouraged or prodded by demonstrations of methods that work.

The Federal Government should, therefore, appropriate $1 billion per year in grants to plan, establish, and operate model centers which experiment in increasing the quality of education and in reducing racial concentration.

These centers should be organized as educational parks, including children from the earliest ages through adult education, operating every day, most evenings, and year-round. They would spend up to $2000 per child per year, so as to provde completely adequate equipment and become laboratories for research in materials and techniques, and for teacher training. They would provide opportunity for longitudinal follow-through of large numbers of children, and would experiment with the best of remedial and guidance services.

The model centers should be responsible to independent metropolitan boards of directors, representative of all the community, and should be coordinated with a single university to avoid the diffusion of multiple responsibility.

School Construction

Rapidly expanding school population, plus the inadequacies of existing plant in many communities, urgently calls for new capital investment in school buildings.

An immediate appropriation of $2 billion is recommended for construction of new school units in ways designed to reduce racial concentration.

Such an appropriation (which would include capital expenditures for the demonstration centers described above and for existing "impact aid" funding) would be subject to the "workable program" requirement as well.

Stronger Sanctions Against Segregation

All of the above recommendations are designed as incentives to communities to plan affirmatively for improvement. But in the meantime even the sanctions already enacted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are failing in their purpose and must be strengthened. Many communities are still so far out of step with national purpose as to evade even the existing minimal requirements of Federal law.

It was the Congressional purpose, in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to remove school desegregation efforts from the courts where they had been bogged down for more than a decade. Unless the power of the Federal purse is more effectively utilized, resistance to national policy will continue and, in fact, will be reinforced.

The revised Title VI guidelines for school desegregation issued in March 1966 face most of the difficult issues yet to be resolved. To achieve the intended results, the Office of Education must provide for a much enlarged technical staff to put them into effect, insist that compliance calls for meeting both the spirit and letter of the law, and develop more prompt and efficient machinery for withholding or terminating Federal aids where reasonable compliance efforts have failed.

Judicial proceedings by the Attorney General can play an important role in enforcement, but litigation cannot be made a substitute for the administrative proceedings visualized by Congress as the primary device for enforcing Title VI.

Title VI, in addition, unquestionably applies to many current practices which are normally described as *de facto* segregation. Personnel is at present inadequate to investigate these problems, set standards, and exact compliance. There is evident need for added commitment in this area.

Finally, pending legislation and administrative procedure that apply stronger criteria to all systems, Congress should enact explicit authority for withholding aid from communities whose state educational support has been terminated for failure to comply with state criteria.

Coordinated Federal Action

Federal education legislation has evolved in response to special needs and is located in a variety of agencies with a variety of emphases. Until the whole of Federal activities can be organized to speak effectively and with one voice for equality of educational opportunity, it is futile to expect that desired policy objectives can be achieved.

Federal programs should be codified by an Advisory Council with a research and drafting staff, which will submit to Congress as speedily as possible recommendations to establish a single, Cabinet-level Department of Education consolidating these programs.

III. QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

It is an ironic fact that the Negro Revolution has revealed basic weaknesses in our public education that affect children of all racial backgrounds. Even in the event of major national progress toward equalizing educational opportunity and reducing racial imbalance, communities will still face profound inadequacies in their ability to provide meaningful learning for each of their children.

There is as yet no strategy that offers a complete remedy for the effects of discrimination, hopelessness, substandard life conditions, and mediocre schools. Increasing the funds spent on education so as to bring up per pupil expenditures will provide more individual attention and materials for each child. Reduction of racial barriers will have a crucial effect on the environment, which will make school a preparation for a better life.

But the quality and relevance of education are still basically a local option in America. Communities must realize that built-in inequities cannot be compensated for by an effort of a year or two, in effect shaking an educational aerosol can over our nation's slums.

Individuals and organizations, school boards and school administrators, civil rights groups and government officials, and private foundations must take on the hard task of reorganizing local education to establish flexible, healthy educational centers that belong to the community and to the children.

School-community Relations

The "four walls" school policy must give way to participation in the life of the community, and coordination with urban renewal, health, welfare and other social services. Schools should involve a broad range of community organizations in planning, and reflect the needs and resources of the community in school program.

School Boards

School Boards must more accurately reflect the various groups within the community; the educational profession as well as individuals and organizations should take the initiative in bringing this about.

More Flexible School Organization

Reorganization is a priority for inferior schools, and for schools challenged by children outside the middle class stream for which most education in America was designed. But from these new ideas we will also learn much about the improvement of "good" education as it now operates.

Consideration should be given to a major reorganization of the school system in terms of goals, curriculum, methods, building construction and location of facilities, fiscal arrangements and support, instructional materials and textbooks, and training and selection of administrative and teaching personnel.

Citizens and school boards should apply to quality education the same innovative planning spirit as is needed to achieve equality of education. Among the institutional changes they can explore and apply are:

1. The way in which time is divided and allotted. School schedules are inflexible. New uses of free time, after-school hours, and year-round programs should be devised.

2. Method of entry into school. New kinds of pre-school programs, like Head Start and other experiments, should be incorporated. Orientation, reception and placement centers for children entering the system, new to the system or to urban living, should be expanded.

3. Grouping for instruction. Many experiments in ungraded schools, variety of large and small groups, and more personalized instruction can be instructive.

4. The ways in which teachers and other professional personnel are utilized. A greater range of professional talent can be employed, internships for teachers-in-training devised to help more experienced teachers,

community and volunteer aides used to free the best teachers for the most important assignments, housekeeping and administrative duties performed by non-teachers, and various methods of "team" teaching tried.

5. Provision for better guidance and counseling, with better trained personnel and a lower counselor-student ratio.

6. Wider use of community resources, both in the classroom and as enriching extra-curricular activities.

7. Extensive use of schools and school personnel in continuing education for parents and out-of-school youth, including literacy programs.

Special Attention to Rural Schools

Rural communities need to investigate curricular innovations which will prepare their children not only for probable migration elsewhere, but for different kinds of vocational and technical skills; similar innovation in transportation and boarding arrangements should be devised.

Vocational Education

Vocational education has not kept pace with the rapid changes in technology and work, and has not involved sufficiently the efforts of industry, labor, schools, agencies and organizations to make it relevant. The hopes inspired by the Vocational Education Act of 1963 have not been realized.

New state plans should be developed, consonant with equalization formulas and "workable programs"; the present legislation should be amended to provide $2 billion over the next ten years to assist states with such a program.

Such plans should give attention to:

1. Wider curriculum offerings in business education, pre-employment training in distributive fields, health services, electronics, etc.

2. Broader technical training, available in places where affected individuals live.

3. Minority representation on councils, boards of institutions, manpower and apprenticeship programs, and state and local boards.

4. New conceptual models for students with educational or socio-economic handicaps.

At the same time, vocational agricultural programs should be put into an integrated framework through state planning and increased federal pressure, and $25 million annually allocated to modernize and equalize such programs.

Negro students in present agricultural programs have little opportunity to participate in work experience in local agri-business; they are largely confined to obsolete land based agricultural projects. Such out of date programs need to be abolished, and teachers retrained.

Modernization plans should consider (1) high school courses in agri-business occupations which would lead to specific jobs on graduation together with continuing evening school; (2) scholarships for retraining teachers; (3) subsidizing trainees' transport to more distant localities with better work experience; (4) more pressure on superintendents and administrators to eliminate bias within the system.

New Learning Materials

There are wide gaps between existing learning materials and those which (1) present the unique contributions of all minority groups to the development of the United States; (2) meet the differences in needs of students of varying backgrounds, abilities, and aspirations; and (3) reflect increasing knowledge and use of new technological resources.

Federal research agencies and private funds should give priority to developing such materials, and state and local school authorities should give priority to acquisition and expanded use of such materials.

Higher Education

It is recommended that the Federal Government state as a national policy its obligation to assure each individual an equal opportunity to secure the benefits of higher education without regard to color, social status, and financial ability.

1. Two years of post-secondary education should be made available at public expense for all high school graduates.

Such community colleges should offer terminal or transferable educations, and should be a crucial focus of vocational-technical education and adult education programs.

2. Some public and private Negro colleges that show particular potential should be selected as prime targets for development as model institutions, and $319 million should be made available for support to Negro colleges in general.

The McGrath report properly recognizes the dependence of a large majority of Negro students upon the so-called Negro college, and concludes "that most of the predominantly Negro institutions ought to be preserved and strengthened." Approximately 100,000 students are enrolled in some 107 of these colleges, about 7,000 in junior colleges.

Appropriations should include $66 million per year to raise per capita expenditure to that of other college students; $5 million per year for faculty training and development; $40 million for deficit in plant;

$15 million for renovation of obsolete buildings; $10 million for library expansion; $1 million for curriculum reform; and $2 million for consultant services on development.

Preparations should be made for a doubling of attendance in Negro colleges -- an enrollment which would still be below white levels. To close this gap would eventually entail an additional expenditure of $450 million.

3. All citizens -- post-high school youth and adults -- should have the right and the responsibility continuously to upgrade their education in order to maintain a fully productive and responsible role in society.

Adult education programs should give special attention to adults with educationally deprived backgrounds, the skills and understanding necessary for economic self-sufficiency, materials designed to give appreciation of minority group contributions, provision for full-time study when desired, and materials designed for adults rather than children.

4. Critical changes in teacher recruitment, training, and clinical experience should have high priority.

Conventional programs of teacher education are grossly inadequate. The gaps between the teachers' own background and that of the students, the increasing heterogeneity of school populations, teachers' insensitivity to cultural differences, and unfamiliarity with instructional materials reflecting the environment of puils -- all present grave problems. For the great majority of teachers, that which has been omitted or neglected in pre-service training is unlikely to be gained in later years.

To remedy these deficiencies, recruitment should be vigorously instituted by State Departments and professional organizations among social and economic groups other than the "middle-class."

Teacher education curricula should be modified to emphasize social and behavioral sciences and more effective instructional materials.

State meetings of administrators and policy makers should initiate changes in institutional accreditation, program approvals, and teacher certification.

Clinical experience in urban and rural schools of all types should be financed by states, supervised and evaluated by professionals based at the teacher education institution nearest to the point of clinical experience. Institutes to retrain supervisors of clinical experience should be placed where inner-city and rural classrooms and teachers can be incorporated into the program. At least one such institute in each state should be financed by the Federal Government in connection with the demonstration centers proposed earlier.

Funds for the National Teacher Corps should be appropriated; the integration of its experienced teachers, both in training and on-the-job, should be mandatory. Fellowship programs for teachers should also require integrated recruiting, staffing, etc.

Research is the core of the effort to overcome the social and psychological consequences of poverty and discrimination; it will be expensive and of long duration. Basic reforms and innovations must not await definitive research results; research and reform should proceed concurrently.

The Office of Education does not yet match the standards established at the National Science Foundation or the National Institute of Mental Health, and has allowed political, geographical and other considerations to determine its allocation of funds.

It is recommended that an appropriation of $100 million be made to the National Science Foundation for educational research and evaluation.

Evaluation can more profitably be made by those not responsible for administration of programs; guidelines for evaluation should be developed with the assistance of the Office of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget.

There is special need for research in (1) human learning processes and the extent to which they are influenced by broad and specific environments; (2) developmental stages at which intervention is effective, and the kinds of effective intervention at various stages; (3) multiple curriculum strategies; and short and long term effects of educational hardware.

CONCLUSION

Efforts to equalize educational opportunity, improve the quality of education, and reduce racial concentration in the schools must proceed in the broad context of rapid technological and social change, including the increasing awareness of the American people that "to fulfill these rights" is an American, not only a Negro American problem. Unless we are successful in solving the problem, our metropolitan areas could become frozen into Negro central cores characterized by physical deterioration, poverty, and wasted human resources, surrounded by a white middle-class fringe living in perpetual fear of the central city Negro population.

The achievement of equal opportunity in the schools involves much more than modification of policy and program by the schools. It requires a broad base of community cooperation and action, and the active participation of religious institutions, business and labor organizations, civic and community groups, social and fraternal societies, and private foundations.

Mere admixture of white and Negro pupils does not constitute integration unless other basic changes are produced at the same time. Public and private programs to retain and bring back middle-class white population to central cities and to promote integration in housing, employment, religion, and society in general are essential to the achievement of genuine school integration.

HOUSING

INTRODUCTION

It has been more than thirty years since the American people first expressed national commitment to housing, in the form of the National Housing Act. Seventeen Years have passed since the Congress gave added purpose to that commitment in the bold pledge: "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

For millions of Americans, these noble assertions have meant good homes in pleasant surroundings. For a generation of Negroes, however, that commitment has proved empty and that pledge remains unredeemed. For 15 million of these Americans--as a matter of race--congested slums have constituted their homes and ghettoed isolation has been their environment. In housing, as elsewhere, there have been and continue to be two Americas.

In the decade of the '60's, we have begun to realize the terrible cost of racial isolation. We have begun to hear from the long-silent "other Americans." They are speaking in justifiable anger, and in terms of urgent protest against the unbreakable barriers of confinement and exclusion that they continue to face.

Housing policy--both governmental and private--has traditionally ignored the needs of the nonwhite and the economically disadvantaged. The economics of the housing industry are such that only the upper half of the income spectrum is served by the new housing supply. The new product comes in massive aggregations located for the most part in the surburbs or in central city renewal areas. The practices of the market are such that both the new and the used supply is affirmatively marketed to one racial group or the other, but rarely to both in the same neighborhoods or subdivisions.

In many of the larger metropolitan areas, as much as two-thirds of the total white population and often more than three-fourths of the school age white population live outside the central city in suburban towns, villages, and townships. State governments have clothed these suburban jurisdictions with the power to zone the use of the land and to control the issuance of building permits in such a manner that only housing for the affluent can be built there. The use of extra-legal pressures upon builders and brokers to exclude even the affluent Negroes is a common occurrence. These barriers discourage even those few private and non-profit entrepreneurs who are motivated to do what so much of the industry does not attempt to do.

The consumer public has become thoroughly conditioned to the established patterns and practices of the housing market. Whites respond without thought to the sales promotion of the industry and are easily frightened into believing their economic and physical security are dependent upon isolation from Negroes. Negroes have been so conditioned to exclusion that few are motivated to challenge the barriers even when such challenge is supported by law.

While few city governments have sought affirmatively to promote desegregation, many have attempted to improve slum housing conditions through urban renewal, code enforcement, and public housing. In the absence of a supply of housing for low and moderate income families and because of the lack of mobility for Negroes, most attempts to improve decaying neighborhoods have failed dismally.

Federal housing policy, until recently, was geared almost exclusively to a market of middle-class families who desired to live in the suburbs.

This was, and remains, a market from which Negroes and the poor are virtually excluded. For many years, the only program aimed at their housing needs was low-rent public housing. After nearly thirty years, however, that program has accounted for only one percent of the nation's housing inventory. Moreover, public housing has been confined largely to the central city and has not served to open up housing opportunities throughout the metropolitan area.

In more recent years, the Government has undertaken a number of other programs structured to serve the needs of the disadvantaged. All have suffered from the disabilities of inadequate volume and the absence of provision for attacking the still inviolate "white noose" of the suburbs.

The consequences of the slums and ghettos and the barriers to freedom of choice in housing loom large. Millions of houses are required for low and moderate income families who presently have no choice but to live in filth and misery and degradation. Fair practice laws, affirmative action programs, gigantic building and rehabilitation programs, and perhaps billions in subsidies will be needed to enable them, as well as those who have the financial means, to live in decent housing in suitable environoments. The dimensions of the program indicated are staggering--but they are no longer than America's space ventures, the demands for defense, or the tremendous growth of the national economy. Americans are conditioned to thinking big. They can think big enough to cope with this problem as well.

In general and positive terms, the housing goal for the nation might be stated as follows:

> "A decent home within a suitable living environment in which there is complete freedom of choice for all, total absence of racial barriers and maximum inclusiveness in terms of both economic class and race in every part of the metropolitan community."

In more specific terms a series of goals might be set forth:

1. Freedom of choice-an absolutely open, racially unrestricted market in which housing is affirmatively merchandized to families and persons of all racial groups.
2. An adequate and expanding supply of new housing for low and moderate income families--widely dispersed throughout each metropolitan area.
3. Racially inclusive suburban communities and new towns.
4. Revitalization and integration of the existing ghetto areas.

I. FREEDOM OF CHOICE--THE OPEN MARKET

Our concern here is to assure fully open access to whatever housing exists and is on the market or is to be built. Fair housing practice laws are essential. However, such laws are not likely to be either adopted in the first place or effectively administered unless there is a basic commitment by word and deed among a substantial body of citizens, white and nonwhite alike, to the goal of an open society.

More than voluntary action is needed. The existing patterns of segregation took shape under the guiding hand of local governments and federal housing agencies. It is now necessary for government to take equally strong measures to foster desegregation.

Seventeen states and some 36 cities have fair housing laws on their books now. Executive Order 11063 requires that agreements for Federally-assisted housing made after November 22, 1962, must be covered by enforceable pledges not to discriminate. Those preceding that date are subject to the use of the government's good offices and other appropriate action permitted by law. All publicly aided housing (except that FHA and VA assisted) is subject to the anti-discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

While these laws represent basic first steps, they have failed to serve their intended purpose on several scores. One major weakness is that most of the housing supply is not affected. That which is affected is held to be at a competitive disadvantage, causing most enforcement bodies to be soft in administration. More serious is the fact that no affirmative action is required of sellers, brokers, etc., and no performance standards are established. While a seller or agent is prohibited from refusing to sell or rent because of race, he is not required to seek out the patronage of the nonwhite market and can evade compliance with impunity. Compliance rests heavily upon complaint procedures, thus placing the principal burden for enforcement upon the shoulders of the victim of discrimination.

Recommendations for Federal Action

1. The Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing should be broadened to cover all housing provided through loans by lending institutions regulated and supervised by the Federal Government--the great bulk of savings and loan associations and commercial and mutual savings banks. In the administration of the Executive Order, housing developers should be required to merchandise their housing affirmatively on an open market basis. A reporting system patterned after the employment reports required of government contractors should be initiated. Developers should show that they do not discriminate in any operation to qualify for FHA or other government assistance anywhere.

2. Enforcement under the Order and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 must be more affirmative and vigorous. Clear and affirmative guide-

lines for field offices of the appropriate Federal Agencies and frequent checks on their procedures are required if equal housing opportunity is to be a fact. Demonstrations of affirmative action to desegregate should be required by recipients of Federal funds and assistance. Federal assistance within the scope of Title VI should flow only to communities in which freedom of choice to secure a home is written into law.

3. A comprehensive Federal anti-discrimination law, as broad as the Constitution permits, covering all housing transactions whether or not Federally-assisted, is urgently recommended. Enforcement provisions and remedies should include civil litigation, cease and desist orders, administrative penalties and, when applicable, termination of assistance from the Federal Government. Enforcement responsibility should rest with an administrative agency with the authority and obligation to require compliance reports and to conduct field checks. Those parts of the housing industry benefiting from government mortgage insurance and guarantees should be required to demonstrate that they are merchandising and otherwise encouraging the rental and sale of housing to the Negro consumer in integrated settings. Housing provided through direct and indirect government subsidy--such as urban renewal, public housing, rent supplements, and below market interest rate programs--should be conditioned on a showing that sponsors, sites, and merchandising plans are designed to achieve integrated occupancy. The primary enforcement device applicable to Federally-assisted housing should be the termination of funds and other benefits now and in the future to the enterprises and units of government found in violation of the law.

Recommendations for State Action

1. State fair housing practices laws with provisions comparable to those outlined above should be put in force in every state in the Union. In most of the states having fair housing laws, strengthening amendments are needed.

2. State licensing authorities should require that all licensed brokers, builders, etc., show that they are serving the entire public without distinction as to race as a condition to the issuance or reissuance of the license.

Recommendations for the Private Housing Industry.

(The term "housing industry" as used here applies to the entire private sector of the housing market, including finance, construction, real-estate brokers and agents, managers and the various trade associations.)

1. The National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), the National Home Builders Association, the several banking and saving and loan associations, and trade associations are urged to adopt and prominently publish policy statements advocating equal opportunity in housing guaranteed by law. Programs directed to their local associations by the national housing and home finance organizations should be instituted, to explain the laws on fair housing and to urge local participation in community programs if open occupancy.

2. Officials of the trade associations are urged to enter into intensive dialog with leaders of civil rights and fair housing groups, community action committees, and the like for the purpose of developing and conducting effective fair housing programs. While dialog at the national level is important, it is not enough. It should also be carried on at the state, metropolitan and neighborhood level.

3. Mortgage lending institutions, real estate brokerage firms and housing developers are urged to recruit and employ Negro and other minority men and women and to train them for the more responsible technical and professional functions--so that Negroes will be represented more fully throughout the real estate and home finance field.

4. NAREB and all state and local real-estate boards are urged to admit all licensed real-estate brokers of all races to membership and to extend to them all privileges of membership, including access to cooperative listings. All other racial barriers to free participation in the market over which real estate boards have control should be eliminated.

Recommendations for Citizen Action

1. Individual citizens and civic, religious, civil rights, and political groups are urged to join with or to create state and national groups in support of national, state, and local fair housing laws of the type described above. Such legislation is likely to be adopted only after a groundswell of citizen concern and support has been registered.

2. Fair housing councils or their equivalent should be organized in every urban area. Full time staff is essential. Foundation funding is urgently needed. While it is important that such councils be privately organized and managed, ways should be found to permit government funding on a matching basis wherever the standards of the activity are of merit. These groups should:

a. actively foster community action and guidance programs designed to encourage Negroes to seek homes in the general market;

b. consistently test the market, filing complaints where appropriate, and applying pressure on enforcement agencies for affirmative administration of fair housing laws, orders, and regulations;

c. serve as "watch dogs" with respect to publicly aided programs, to assure that urban renewal and public housing programs are planned and managed so as to increase housing opportunities and promote desegregation. Particular attention should be given to relocation caused by public action, and to site selection for public housing.

3. Housing information centers sponsored by local fair housing councils, community action committees, civil rights, civic and religious groups, real-estate boards and home builders associations should be established at convenient locations in each urban area. Funding of the centers should come from government sources. The function of each such center would be to:

a. Prepare and train community action, civil rights and other civic leaders to lead and conduct community action programs to improve housing conditions. The development of extensive understanding of the intricacies of the housing market and of the potential value of laws, regulations and government aids would be included in the training.

b. Assist nonwhite families in finding homes in the general market, outside the ghetto, within their means and at fair rents or sale prices, to obtain proper financing, etc.

c. Assist nonwhites who are refused housing because of race to file complaints with the appropriate authorities.

d. Assist low and moderate income families to improve their housing conditions as much as their finances and the existing supply will permit.

e. Prepare those living in exclusively white and/or affluent neighborhoods to accept the necessity of a more inclusive mix, racially and economically, in all neighborhoods.

II. HOUSING SUPPLY FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES

If segregated patterns are to be eliminated, if there is to be freedom of choice and mobility for Negroes, if overcrowding in present ghetto areas is to be at least partially relieved so rebuilding can begin, if schools are to be integrated, and if Negroes are to have the freedom to live in proximity to job opportunities--then there must be a vast addition to the supply of housing priced within the reach of low and moderate income families well distributed throughout each metropolitan region. The private housing industry is not meeting this need for either low or moderate income families.

It is not our function to comment upon the economy as a whole. We do know that as far as the production of housingin the lower cost brackets is concerned the economy has been in paralysis for years. At present it is being strangled to death. Even if it must be done at the expense of other parts of the economy, it is imperative that vast amounts of credit for the production of lower cost housing be made available, immediately. Now when the housing industry needs priming, the time is particularly propitious for offering credit incentives to builders to supply housing for low and moderate income families.

There are countless barriers in the way of large volume housing production for lower income consumers. Hydra-headed systems of suburban local government arbitrarily and capriciously control the use of land. Both land and credit for housing are scarce and costly. The organization of the industry is chaotic and production processes are a hundred years behind modern technology. The industry as a whole and the building trades in particular, are strongly resistant to change. All of these factors stand in the way of reducing costs.

Government Subsidies - Rent Supplements

However, it will take a long time before an industrial revolution in housing has been achieved to the point that low income families will benefit from reduced costs. In the meantime, there are more immediate and practical means for bridging the gap in the form of subsidies. The cost would run into the billions but in a few years would amount to less than the terrible costs of maintaining and extending today's slums and ghettos.

There are several forms which such subsidies may take. Public housing is one--but in its traditional form has been found wanting. Fortunately, there have been recent shifts in emphasis away from the large projects which concentrate great numbers of the poorest people in otherwise poor neighborhoods, to small scattered sites, and to the purchase or lease of existing properties.

Second is the below market interest rate program 221(d)(3). It has had some success in supplying new housing for families just below the middle income level but has not served those in the moderate or lower income levels.

Third is rent supplements. As originally planned by HHFA (now HUD) the rent supplement program was designed to fill the gap between the very low income ceilings set for public housing and the minimum incomes required for obtaining decent quality, privately financed housing. As drafted, in general, an entrepreneur could develop housing throughout a metropolitan region and rent a portion of the units to low income families under the supplement program.

The program as finally adopted in 1965 limits the supplements to individuals and families whose incomes are within the public housing eligibility limits, and who, in addition, are living either in substandard housing, or are 62 years of age or older, or have been or will be displaced by natural disaster or government action, or are physically handicapped. The administration's request for $30,000,000 for the first year has been cut to $12,000,000 by the Congress. Further, a rider has been attached which allows the use of supplements only in those jurisdictions having a local workable program or "local official approval for participation." This limitation serves to strengthen the hand of those local jurisdictions that wish to exclude low income and nonwhite families.

How significant is the $12,000,000 appropriation? There are about 13,000,000 American families with incomes under $4,000 per year. Eight million of them live in urban areas. Altogether at least ten million families live in substandard housing. Slightly less than six million families in the United States have incomes under $2,000 per year; half are in urban areas. If supplements were to average $600 per year per assisted family, two billion dollars would cover about three and one-third million families. Four billion would be required to assist just those families with incomes under $3,000. Six billion would be necessary to enable families above the povery line who live in substandard housing, as well as those poor families, to move into decent housing.

What would happen to the economy if this much additional money were poured into housing annually? Would rents and prices simply become inflated thus defeating our purpose? Where should the line be drawn between supplements and no supplements? Are there cheaper ways of doing this job (e.g., giving low income families housing without cost providing they care for it--in the manner that the U.S. gave land away to homesteaders)?

These are matters for economists and experts to discuss at another time.

What we should understand here is that a rent supplement program of the scale now before Congress is no solution unless the nation is prepared to think in terms of billions of dollars within the next few years.

This is not to say, by any means, that rent supplements alone will do all that is necessary to increase the supply for low and moderate income families. There is much merit in proposals that would make subsidized home ownership possible for millions of such families: and that argue for a partnership arrangment between government, industry, voluntary, non-profit groups and low income families--brought together under a subsidy program--as by far the quickest and surest point of departure.

While one approach to getting a quantity of low and moderate income housing on the market is to provide incentives to private enterprise through subsidies, easy credit, and the like, the current trend is to provide encouragement to non-profit sponsors and cooperatives. Perhaps the job will be better done in the long run if both private enterprise and non-profit groups are involved since, each will provide a check on the other and each may be able to do some things better than the other.

Rural Housing

The lack of decent housing for low-income Negroes in rural areas presents special problems and requires special approaches to solution. The seriousness of the problem is being aggravated by mechanization and increasing crop yields per acre. Obviously, a decent home will not solve the problems of unemployment, lack of education and training, and the resulting sense of hopelessness. Action is needed in all these areas.

New programs are being developed by the Federal Government: A Cabinet-level Rural Development Committee with a Rural Community Development Service, a Rural Area Development, and a Rural Renewal Program. The Cabinet Committee also has authority to coordinate the activities of the Farmers Home Administration. Thus, new resources are being made available to improve rural communities as well as urban areas. Other special programs are also under way, - the Public Works and Economic Development Act and the Appalachia program--which are directed to improving rural life.

The present structure should be built up and strengthened with sufficient funds to subsidize the construction, purchase and rental of housing for low and moderate income families of all races. Of course, expanding job and training opportunities and providing health and social servies are all equally essential in the development of self-sufficient rural communities.

Recommendations for Federal Action

1. Federal legislation designed to increase the rate of production of new houses to 2,000,000 units per year is urged. Half of such units should be reserved for moderate and low income families. (The present rate of production is about 1.4 million, practically none of which is for families below the middle income level. State governments should supplement federal and local programs for increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing.

2. The rent supplement bill as submitted to Congress in 1965 is strongly endorsed as a model until a more comprehensive program can be devised. The amendment to allow local government jurisdictions to veto rent supplements should be eliminated; and income limits should be above the public housing level but below what is required for standard private housing. An initial funding of a half-billion dollars annually is urged. Eventual funding of this and other programs to whatever level is necessary to provide a decent

house for every family is recommended. The costs of such a program have been estimated from two to six billion dollars annually, depending upon the income limits to be established and the amounts of subsidy to be allowed.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development should request funds necessary for a vastly enlarged program of research and development in housing and urban environment. The urban environment is of such critical importance today that research in the field should equal or surpass all that is being done in such areas as the physical sciences and the aerospace program. Among the many concerns of such a program would be the perfection of more efficient and less expensive means of land assembly, comprehensive planning for land use, and the production of housing to the end that the needs of the entire population including the less affluent are properly met.

3. Consultation of experts on all aspects of community development and housing should be called to analyze the needs and to specify in technical detail the requirements for the production of an adequate supply of housing for low and moderate income families, and the desegregation of the cities along the general lines recommended in this paper. Producing the necessary volume of houses for low and moderate income families will require the knowledge and experience of learned economists, financiers, industry and labor representatives, and marketing analysts.

4. FHA 221(d)(3) below-market interest program, which benefits moderate-income families, requires greatly increased funding and, in addition, should be extended to enable this group not merely to rent but to purchase homes.

5. The Federal Government should provdie technical assistance to groups interested in sponsoring FHA 221(d)(3) projects and help them cope with problems of finance, land acquisition incorporation, etc. Specific aid

is needed to acquire land in areas hostile to the inclusion of Negroes and lower income families. FHA building requirements should be revised to result in decreased costs and lower rents under this program.

Recommendation for Citizen Action

Civic, fraternal, religious organizations and groups of individuals are urged to organize non-profit corporations and cooperatives for the purpose of raising capital and serving as the developers, owners, and operators of housing developments for moderate and low income families, taking advantage of such federal aids as Sec. 213 (Cooperatives), 221(d)(3) (below market interest) and rent supplement programs mostly under the 221(d)(3) market interest rate program.

Recommendations for the Private Housing Industry

1. A housing industry program, patterned after the Plans for Progress program in employment, in which the National Trade Association, major home financing institutions, representatives of local trade associations, etc., pledge to promote housing development for moderate and low income families on a racially inclusive basis throughout metropolitan areas, should be launched under the leadership of the President.

2. Men and women with experience in home finance, construction, and real-estate marketing are urged to serve on the boards of fair housing committees, non-profit housing corporations, and cooperatives to provide guidance to such groups.

III. SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES AND NEW TOWNS

Following World War II, a tremendous volume of homebuilding took place in the suburbs where ample land was available at reasonable cost. This was the beginning of the white exodus from the central cities--from older housing to new homes in new communities.

Albeit few Negroes were able to afford to purchase or rent in this market, those who had the necessary income were barred because of their color. Except for the small number of units built for Negroes in Negro subdivisions--fewer than one percent of all new housing--opportunities were limited to the hand-me-down housing vacated by white families who moved to the suburbs. The pattern was rapidly and firmly established and persists today--new housing in the suburbs for white families with sufficient incomes, and old housing in the central city for Negroes regardless of their income.

The Federal Government bears a large share of the responsibility for this dual market. With FHA and VA assistance, racial segregation was extended, supported, and reinforced. Not until 1950, was the racial convenant prohibited in transactions involving Federal assistance. The Federal position then became neutral, as opposed to adherence to racial homogeneity of neighborhoods. Today, the Federal Government requires nondiscrimination in the operations of programs of assistance. Needless to say, however, this policy has made no inroads in the predominantly white suburbs; nor has it even arrested the increase in this pattern of segregation.

To undo these now deeply rooted paterns of segregation will require cooperation and resources of great magnitude. To bring down the walls around the cities and to achieve the ideal of communities and neighborhoods inclusive of all races and incomes will require a major redistribution of population between city and suburb, a restructuring of the relationship among the local governing units in the metropolitan area, and totally new approaches to planning and developing new communities as extensions or satellites of the central city.

Joint ventures of the several governing units must tackle the problems of both desegregation and increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing on a metropolitan-area wide basis. The greatest difficulty in achieving this unity of action will involve overcoming the parochial attitudes, based on false notions of race, housing, property values, and the like, which prevail in too many communities. The decision on whether or not local bodies will cooperate will rest, of course, with the citizens and residents. Support and pressure from housing and other civic groups are indispensible.

The Federal Government should condition assistance for communities facilities and services such as roads, sewer and water systems, and school construction on the formulation and implementation of metropolitan area plans agreed and adhered to by all units of government operating with the area. Two requirements of this plan must be that:

1. It furthers desegregation by race and income throughout the area.
2. It includes provision for low and moderate income housing commensurate to the needs of the population area.

Liberal grants are needed for planning and for financing the development of community facilities, low and moderate income housing, and community services. Some encouragement from Federal Government is in the offing. A beginning is a piece of 1965 legislation establishing a new program of FHA mortgage insurance for privately financed land development. Up to $10 million per mortgage amount is allowed.

In order to qualify for this assistance, the development must be consistent with comprehensive planning to assure that the proposed developments will be compatible with the present and projected development of the wider area where the land is situated. Now pending in Congress is a slightly broadened proposal which deals with "new communities." An increase to $25 million in the total mortgage amount insured will facilitate larger scale land development and wider range of urban facilities and services. Specifically required is available housing for those who are employed in the community or the surrounding area.

The new legislation and proposed program demonstrates the growing demand for new housing and new communites for the expanding population. Unfortunately, no specific provisions for requiring the availability of housing for all races are included. More affirmatively, new communities should be considered as sources of housing for those so long excluded from new housing in areas outside of the central city. This objective should be positively stated and implemented in legislation pertaining to new communities.

Recommendations for Federal Action

1. Federal assistance to any local governmental unit should be conditioned on the submission of a metropolitan-wide plan providing for the desegregation of housing and promotion of communities inclusive of all races and incomes. Zoning regulations, provision for low and moderate income housing, subdivision controls, and the like must be applied to this end. Enforcement mechanisms by the local government should be a requirement. The plan should indicate an overall program of housing, community facilities and services, and transportation to and from employment centers which would result in the free flow of residents to housing throughout the area without regard to color.

2. In areas in which local governing bodies are not meeting their responsibility to provide housing for all segments of the population, the nonwhite and the poor, the Federal Government should take direct action to provide the housing needed.

3. A realistic plan for promoting racial desegregation in the city and metropolitan community should be a basic and mandatory element of all workable programs for urban renewal. Desegregation should also be a mandatory criterion for all relocation and housing reuse plans. No clearance projects should be funded until the local authority can demonstrate that there is an adequate supply of suitable housing on a desegregated basis actually available and within the financial reach of the families to be relocated.

4. The practice of locating large public housing projects in areas of racial concentration must be changed and smaller units should be distributed throughout the metropolitan area. Leasing and purchasing programs should be used to acquire apartments and homes outside of areas of racial and low-income concentrations.

5. Legislation is needed to authorize HUD and local authorities to diversify tenancy in large housing projects by removing some units from the low income status and applying the subsidies to houses in other areas, thus permitting a wider range of incomes in each area. Federal restriction on land and unit cost should be modified to permit construction of large units for large families. In new developments combinations of public housing, below market interest rate housing for moderate income, rent supplemented housing, and non-subsidized housing should be encouraged.

6. Local public housing authorities should be enabled to function on

a metropolitan basis.

7. In locating, transferring or expanding governmental agencies, departments, and other operations, the Federal Government should require racial and income inclusiveness of the community. If housing and all other facilities and amenities do not reflect such inclusiveness, no Federal installation should be located there. The Federal Government should also contract solely with employers located in communities which provide housing and other amenities for all races and income groups in all neighborhoods.

8. HUD should be empowered to purchase, lease, and sell land to assure that its development and occupancy, now and in the future, will provide housing, facilities and services for persons of all races and incomes. To assure that future housing needs will be met, undeveloped land should be "banked" by the Federal Government in accordance with projections on population expansion and area development.

9. The Federal Government should encourage, support, and assist private groups with financial incentive and technical guidance in the acquiring, assembling, and use of land for the purposes listed above.

Recommendations for State Action

1. State governments should either regulate the zoning activities of municipal and township governments, establish state land banks for housing purposes, or create district authorities to reserve land in all parts of each metropolitan area for housing for lower income families. In many metropolitan areas it is no longer possible to resolve the problems of poverty and race within the boundaries of each municipality. Metropolitan area-wide relations are needed, and only the state governments have the constitutional power to require their establishment.

2. State governments should create housing development corporations comparable to the industrial development corporations which have come into common use in recent years. Such corporations or authorities should be authorized to purchase, assemble, hold and sell land, build housing developments, lease or sell such developments to private management companies, non-profit groups and public housing authorities. Such corporations or authorities should have the power to take land in municipal jurisdictions which have used zoning and other legal or extra-legal means for excluding housing for low and moderate income families.

IV. REVITALIZING AND INTEGRATING THE GHETTO

While the term "ghetto" is often applied to any area that is predominantly or exclusively of one racial group, whether white or non-white, voluntary or otherwise, it is being used here in the narrower sense of "an involuntary ethnic slum."

The dream that the slums of America could be rebuilt, renewed, and revitalized has been a major objective of the nation's housing policy and program for many years. The term "slum clearance housing" was used almost synonymously with "low income public housing" in the 1930's. The assumption that the slums could be rebuilt through a combination of federal, local, and private action has been the thesis of the urban renewal program since 1949.

Revitalization

Thirty years of public housing experience and fifteen of urban renewal have taught us that the problems of the American slums are far too huge and complex to submit to the piecemeal, uncoordinated attacks of these separately conceived and administered programs. While some of the worst housing has been eliminated and some urban renewal developments are show case exhibits, the slums and the ghettos have grown larger, overcrowding has been intensified, and the alienation of the ghetto dweller has become a national crisis. Too often, public housing and urban renewal programs have aggravated rather than ameliorated the degree of segregation and congestion.

An open market, an ample supply of housing for low income families outside the ghetto, the intelligent planning and development of new areas on a racially inclusive basis are absolutely necessary preconditions to an effective attack upon the ghettos themselves. The ghetto areas need not be depopulated before work is begun, or course. Much of the work must be done with the people who are there and want to stay, for in many of the ghetto areas there are human and physical resources upon which to build, and cultural and ethnic ties of such value that they will give the neighborhood strength and stability. Elderly people may find the prospect of moving away frightening and traumatic. Neighborhood business men andinstitutional leaders might lost their source of livelihood and major interest in life if they were forced to move. Wherever possible, then, the rebuilding of the neighborhood should be an organic process like the development of a chrysalis within the shell of the old organism.

In some instances, it may be possible for owner occupants to rehabilitate their properties without vacating them. Many properties may be suitable for reclamation but will go through a change of ownership and tenancy. New structures for accommodating those relocated from within the area, as well as new residents from outside, may be built progressively without subjecting the entire area to clearance.

Whatever is done, however, should so change the character of the area that it will be identified no longer as a slum or a ghetto.

A new physical design and new facilities for schools, recreational and cultural activities, open space, shopping and services will be essential. In addition, an organizational structure through which the residents and property owners can exercise a degree of local control over management of facilities and services will be necessary to cultivate and nurture the **esprit** that distinguishes the true neighborhood from a mere conglomeration of persons and structures.

The principle that the emerging neighborhood must be broadly inclusive of a range of incomes and racial and ethnic groups must be a conscious and controlling policy from the inception and continue indefinitely in the management of neighborhood affairs. Inasmuch as programs of this type normally will require governmental assistance, all grants and other forms of assistance should be conditioned upon this principle.

Thus far the principal programs intended to check blight and rebuild slum areas have been public housing, urban renewal, and housing code enforcement. Two new programs are now being advanced: Rent supplements and the Demonstration Cities Program. Obviously the first three have not been successful. This is not to say that each would not be a useful and important tool in a comprehensive program. Rent supplements, if adequately funded and made applicable and functional throughout each metropolitan area will have tremendous utility, as previously discussed.

The Demonstration Cities Program

It is now generally recognized that the renewal of slum areas requires a broad and comprehensive approach, such as that incorporated into the general framework of the proposed Demonstration Cities Program. To quote from President Johnson's message in recommending the program:

> "From the experience of three decades, it is clear to me that American cities require a program that will....
>
> "Concentrate our available resources--in planning tools in housing construction, in job training, in health facilities, in recreation, in welfare programs, in education...to improve the conditions of life in urban areas.
>
> "Join together all available talent and skills in a coordinated effort...
>
> "Mobilize local leadership and private leadership, so that local citizens will determine the shape of their new city...."

The thrust of the Demonstration Cities Program is to the slum and blighted areas of the central cities. Cities will be competing for a share of this program which is limited to a given number of cities "willing to face up to their responsibilities." To qualify, the city must submit a program which is large enough to remove blight and decay, substantially increase the supply of adequate housing for low and moderate-income people, add to the social services for the disadvantaged residents, and make a substantial impact on the sound development of the entire city. In addition, provision for citizen participation and using of residents in the work of rebuilding are required.

Federal assistance will include the complete array of all existing urban aid programs and special supplemental grants to assist the cities to provide their share of the demonstration program under both existing Federal grant-in-aid programs and non-Federally-assisted activities undertaken as part of the demonstration program. This assistance will be equal to 80 percent of the local or State share. Up to 90 percent will be available for planning and developing the program.

This proposal represents a giant step forward. It is not the first time that a broad and comprehensive approach to urban problems has been suggested, but it is the first time that legislation of this type has been formally introduced. It is the first time that there has been official recognition of the concept that an urban area is like a living organism and that the health and welfare of the whole and each of the parts are interrelated.

From one point of view the proposal is a bold one. Viewed from the perspective of conventional wisdom and the traditional piecemeal approaches to specific urban problems, the mere submission of a bill of this type seems revolutionary. From another perspective, however, the bill itself is timid in the extreme. As presently drafted, it offers too little too late.

Two major cirticisms that have been directed against it are that it is expected to be limited to only some 70 cities and that fund requirements have been grossly underestimated. These criticisms can be brushed aside for the moment on the grounds that a program of such dimensions must be tested on a limited basis before it goes into full-scale production. Undoubtedly, if it proves successful on a demonstration basis, there will be a clamor for its extension and the necessary funding will develop in time.

A more serious weakness lies in the fact that it repeats the basic errors of the public housing and urban renewal programs. It does not embrace the entire urban community. The central cities will be anxious to utilize every available dollar, but the suburbs are likely to go right on siphoning off the more affluent whites and excluding the less fortunate and the nonwhites.

Under the proposed bill, an overall city nondiscrimination policy will be suggested but will not be mandatory. Under these conditions, the Federal Government will be continuing precisely what it has been doing for thirty years--it will be underwiriting and subsidizing local government and industry policies and practices that perpetuate and encourage segregation.

We strongly urge, therefore, that the Demonstration Cities Program and all other programs directed toward resolving the problems of ghettos and slums be conditioned upon parallel programs, standards, and criteria that will lead to an adequate supply of housing available to lower income families in many parts of the urban area, an open market, and affirmative desegregation procedures.

One important element of the proposed Demonstration Cities Program will be that, if the proper criteria are established and firmly administered, the cities that make maximum local commitments and show the greatest readiness to change will be rewarded accordingly.

Citizen Support

A successful attack upon the ghetto depends as much upon the people who live in the affluent and racially exclusive suburbs as upon those in the central city. This presents a major challenge to the religious groups in the suburbs. It is not enough to support fair housing programs that welcome Negroes of similar economic class and cultural attainment. Suburban communities must be prepared to accept a mix of lower-income families, white and nonwhite, if the present ghettos are to become decent, inclusive communities. The political leadership of suburban communities and of the states must understand this and take the necessary actions to make it happen.

Equal responsibility rests with the leadership within the ghetto and with the civil rights movement. Community action programs are needed to raise the people from hopelessness and apathy and to train them in the techniques of social action. There must also be preparation and motivation for participation in community life outside the ghetto. The ghettos will not be desegregated simply by protesting against or obtaining remedial action for conditions in the ghetto. Great numbers of families will have to move out of the ghettos into larger communities. Conditions within the ghetto will have to be changed and improved so others will be attracted there. All of this requires a great deal of change in people as well as in physical design.

Recommendation for Federal Action

A Federally financed program for comprehensive renewal and revitalization of the racial ghettos is needed. The concept of the Demonstration Cities Program is endorse. The program as outlined should be strengthened by establishing the following mandatory criteria:

a. A state or local fair housing law and a local plan for desegregation.

b. A growing supply of housing for low and moderate income families outside the ghetto.

It is further recommended that the program be extended to all cities if it proves workable and that it be funded at a much higher level than now proposed.

Recommendation for State Action

State governments should go beyond the adoption of fair practice laws and adopt a broad policy and program of promoting desegregation and the dissolution of the ghetto. By drawing up broad plans for each metropolitan area, providing for state aids to education, recreation, planning, and community development, and conditioning such aids to localities upon adherence to the plans, the state governments can do a great deal toward achieving these objectives.

Recommendations for the Private Housing Industry

Representatives of the lending institutions, associations of appraisers, and insurance companies in each metropolitan area should set up inter-association committees to consider the often stated assertion that predominantly Negro or changing neighborhoods are forced into decline by the bias of appraisers and the refusal or reluctance of banks to finance loans and of insurance companies to insure properties. If there is validity to the claims, the respective industry groups should seek remedy for the practices through internal means or by legislation or regulation.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper is to set down briefly three major subject areas requiring positive action to assure equal justice in the administration of American law. Precise recommendations will be formulated for Council discussion on May 6 and 7.

INTRODUCTION-WHITE JUSTICE-NEGRO JUSTICE

In large measure there are two systems of justice in the United States. One for the white man and one for the Negro. In the words of Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard Law School and a member of the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

> The Negro, and his supporters, march in the streets not because the law is not clear, but because it has not been followed. He knows from long experience that a resort to the courts will far too often result, initially, in delay, frustration, injustice, and denial of clearly defined rights. It is small comfort to him that three years later he will get justice from the Supreme Court of the United States. Justice--true and real justice--should be dispensed by voting registrars, sheriffs, the police, school boards, district attorneys, justices of the peace, and the others close at hand who represent the authority of the State, and who use their authority far too often to perpetuate a system of social control, which may represent what has been regarded as the southern way of life, but which is wholly inconsistent with rights established by valid Federal power as a part of "the supreme Law of the Land."

Our concern is not with abstract declarations of equal justice. Rather, it is to ensure that all citizens shall, in reality, be free to exercise constitutional rights without being terrorized or harrassed--without fear of murder or physical beatings--and have resort to even justice, free from discrimination imposed by unfairly selected or biased juries or from abrasive treatment by the agents of law enforcement. The problem is different, in the North and in the South, in the urban areas and in the rural communities, but everywhere there are racial inequities. The administration is committed to safeguarding fully the rights of every citizen. Its request for new laws reflects a determination to take every measure to protect the lives and physical security of all persons and to eradicate discrimination in the processes of justice. The intent of the national government is not an issue.

The issue confronting the Conference is: precisely what are the positive programs that the national government in conjunction with state and local governments and with public support must undertake to secure these rights?

The recommendations made below fall into three related categories:

First is the protection of individual physical security. Here the concern is to develop effective legislative and executive measures that will combat the deplorable condition, found in parts of the Deep South, which allows American citizens to be beaten and even murdered because of their race or because they espouse freedom. This tragedy is magnified when their assailants are not brought to justice.

Second is the need to secure equal justice in the courts. This is related to the first since it will help assure that those who injure others because of their race will be tried by an impartial jury, rather than one chosen by methods almost guaranteed to produce acquittals. Other recommendations in this section will contribute to fairer trials in those instances where Negroes and civil rights workers are prosecuted in criminal cases.

Third are recommendations on how to attain the objective of improving police-community relations. This is primarily a northern problem, and it is a grave one for the nation. Hundreds of thousands of minority group citizens see the police as their emeny. In many northern urban riots of the last few years, the principal targets of the rioters have been policemen. These problems are deeper and often more complex than in the south. Positive steps must be taken to deal with them. These steps are contained in the recommendations below.

I. PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL PHYSICAL SECURITY

Support of Administration Bill

There must be broad support of Title V of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill which creates a new statute providing greater Federal protection of the right to individual physical security.

Commentary:

The problem of individual physical security for Negroes and their supporters in the Deep South was faced by post-Civil War Congresses. A series of civil rights bills aimed at this specific problem were enacted. However, subsequent Congressional amendments and court decisions have largely emasculated these statutes. Today, they are weak weapons with which to fight physical violence where local authorities are unwilling to do so. Three major difficulties in applying these statutes have come from court opinions which:

1) require a stringent adherence to the rule of "specific intent," amounting almost to a demand that the Federal Government prove that the assailant actually had in mind not only illegal violence, but also an intent to deprive the victim of a specific constitutional right;

2) declare the statutes do not apply to acts by private individuals when there is no color of state action; and

3) hold the statutes do not provide protection for all Federal rights, but only for certain limited ones.

As the Administration was preparing its bill for submission to Congress, the Supreme Court, on March 28, 1966, handed down two significant decisions, Price and Guest, which bear on these Federal civil rights statutes. The impact of these decisions is not yet certain. However, there was some clarification. First, the present civil rights statutes dealing with violence--Sections 241 and 242--provide protection for all rights included in the Federal Constitution. Thus, any future statute could provide such extensive coverage. Second, a majority of the court appears ready to rule that the Federal Government, under

Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment, has the power to pass a statute that would penalize private persons whose actions interfere with any constitutional right. Third, the requirement of specific intent seems considerably weakened. It may well be satisfied by the requirement of ordinary criminal intent, requisite in any criminal prosecution.

With this background, the Administration has drafted Title V of its Civil Rights Bill of 1966. It covers private as well as official action which discriminatorily interferes with any person while he is, by way of speech or peaceful assembly, opposing any denial of the opportunity to enjoy certain specific rights. In other words, unlike the existing civil rights statutes applicable to violence, this statute goes into great detail to protect rights included in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and First Amendments and in the main body of the Constitution. Included within this enumeration of rights are, among others: voting, public accommodations, public schools and colleges, public facilities, private or public employment, housing (enlarged if the Administration bill becomes law,) Federal or state jury service, the use of common carriers and their facilities, and participation in the benefits of Federally-assisted programs.

An important feature is the provision for graduated penalities in accordance with the seriousness of the results of violations, e.g., if death results, the violator may be imprisoned for life; if bodily injury short of death occurs, the violator may receive a maximum sentence of ten years and a $10,000 fine; it no personal injury results, the violator is subject to a maximum prison term of one year and a maximum fine of $1,000.

Sections 241 and 242 are not eliminated from the Code. Rather they are left as alternative bases for prosecution, but each is amended to make its penalty provisions roughly comparable to those outlined above.

Amendment of Administration Bill to Provide Indemnification for Victims of Violence

Amend the Administration Bill to include a provision that would establish Federal administrative machinery to compensate victims of racial violence.

Commentary:

An elementary principle of law is that no remedy is complete if it does not tend to make the injured party whole. The Administration Bill provides more effective criminal penalties--and the hope of fairer trials in Titles I and II--but there is still a need for more effective means of assuring money damages to injured persons. The lack of effective civil remedies, at either the state or local levels, has been documented in many studies, most notably in the 1961 Commission on Civil Rights Report. In this regard, the Planning Session participants felt strongly that some Administration machinery, in addition to judicial remedies, should be established within the Federal

Government to provide indemnification for the victims of violence. The Douglas-Case Bill proposes the establishment of an indemnification board within the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Its function would be to examine complaints of unconstitutional violence and, in appropriate instances, to grant money damages to the persons injured.

Effective Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws

Support the President's request, in his message to Congress of April 29, 1966, for more Federal agents to increase the effective enforcement of the Civil Rights Laws.

The Panel on the Administration of Justice at the Planning Session recommended that the President of the United States immediately ...implement the following recommendation of the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

> " 'The Commission recommends that the President direct that Federal law enforcement officers be stationed at the scene of likely violence, that increased numbers of Federal officials be assigned to communities where violence has occurred, that more extensive investigation and surveillance activities be undertaken by these officials, and that Federal law enforcement officers be authorized to make on-the-scene arrests for violations of Federal law.' "

In his Civil Rights Message to Congress of April 29, 1966, the President declared:

> "Further, we shall ask for expansion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, specifically to permit it to increase its effective role in the enforcement of civil rights laws.

> At times in the recent past, as many as one-third of the Bureau's agents have been assigned to the investigation of civil rights matters. The number of civil rights complaints the Bureau investigated in the last fiscal year was 143 per cent more than the figure for 1961. These responsibilities place a heavy burden on the Bureau's field staff.
>
> On the advice of Attorney General Katzenbach and the F.B.I. Director Hoover, I recommend that Congress authorize an appropriation providing for another 100 F.B.I. agents and additional supporting personnel--to strengthen our capacity to deal with civil rights crimes.
>
> In every city and town and rural community, law abiding men and women must look for protection primarily to improve local law enforcement. But the Federal Government has its responsibilities to see that Federal rights are secured and their transgressors brought to justice.
>
> We shall meet these responsibilities."

II. EQUAL JUSTICE IN THE COURTS

Support of Titles I and II of Administration Bill: Non-discrimination in Juror Selection

There must be broad support for Titles I and II of the Administration Bill which provide for non-discrimination in the selection of Federal and state jurors.

Commentary:

Federal Juries

Title I of the Administration's Bill has, as its basic objective, the assurance that Federal grand and petit jurors be drawn from a broad cross-section of the community. There are four key features:

> 1) No person or class of persons shall be denied the right to serve on Grand or petit juries in federal courts on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.
>
> 2) Voter registration rolls became the exclusive source from which names of prospective jurors must be drawn, with the exception that this need not be done where the voter rolls reflect discrimination.
>
> 3) Detailed compulsory procedures are specified for the selection of names from the basic sources, and for each subsequent step in the selection process.
>
> 4) A special method is provided for determining whether jury officials have followed the prescribed procedures.

It can be seen that this proposal bars what have come to be known as "blue ribbon" juries. It attempts to meet the objective of drawing Federal jurors from the broadest possible cross-section of the community by overcoming the most basic problem: finding a generally available source of names that is broadly representative of the population of the judicial district by race, color, religion, sex, national origin, and economic status.

The proposal does rely upon the voting rolls maintained by State officials on the theory that these rolls reflect a fair cross-section of the community in most areas, and assumes that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 will assure an early end to racial discrimination in the registration process.

Recognizing that an interim period of discrimination may exist, there is a special provision for implementing the ban on discrimination in Federal juries. Where Negroes or other groups are still not fairly represented on the voter rolls, the judicial council of the circuit (the Federal appelate court judges,) may designate other sources of names. Additionally, there is an important requirement that names be taken at random, from the voting rolls.

The bill retains substantially the qualifications prescribed by present law, i.e., a juror must be 21 years old, a citizen residing in the judicial district, free of any serious mental or physical disability, and not convicted of a serious crime (unless pardoned,) and able to read or write, speak and understand, English. The jury commission can only determine such qualifications on the basis of a standard juror qualification form. These minimal qualifications presently are not always followed by jury officials in an effort to obtain so-called "blue ribbon" juries. Such practices would no longer be legal and subjective judgements about the competence of jurors, such as intelligence and good character, are forbidden.

Once a person is found qualified, he is placed on a "qualified juror wheel," and subsequently if his name is drawn, assigned to participate on Grand or petit jury panels.

There are provisions for assuring that selection procedures in both criminal and civil cases are followed. Non-compliance can be raised prior to the introduction of any evidence at trial. If there is some evidence of non-compliance, the challenging party is given access to the relevant records and papers of the jury commission which are otherwise confidential. If the court finds non-compliance, it may dismiss the indictment or stay the proceedings until a proper jury is selected. Actual prejudice need not be shown by the challenger.

The bill would challenge significantly the present law governing exclusions and excuses from jury service, the theory being that jury duty is an obligation of citizenship. Excuses are only granted on an individual basis and then only for a six month period in cases of "unusually severe hardship."

State Juries

Title II of the Administration Bill is designed to eliminate all forms of unconstitutional discrimination in the selection of juries in state courts. In contrast to Title I, which deals with Federal courts, Title II does not prescribe any specific procedure to be followed in selecting jurors. The states can continue to use any seemingly valid jury selection methods until a Federal court determines that such methods have operated in a discriminatory manner.

There are three essential provisions:

First, discrimination in state jury selection processes on account of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or economic status is prohibited.

Second, the Attorney General is authorized to enforce the prohibition on discrimination by civil injunctive proceedings against state jury officials.

Third, a discovery mechanism is provided to facilitate determinations as to whether unlawful discrimination has occurred in the jury selection process.

The Attorney General is authorized to sue for preventive relief in Federal courts when he has grounds to believe that state jury officials are violating the provision against jury discrimination. This is a power similar to those he already has with respect to voting, public accomodations and employment. Also, this bill specifies certain types of relief which the Federal courts can grant in suits brought either by the Attorney General or by private individuals, such as suspending procedures of states which are used for discrimination, prescribing objective criteria, requiring state jury officials to maintain detailed records, and appointing a special master to take over the functions of the state jury officials--in other words, the equivalent of Federal jury registrars. These types of judicial relief are not novel and are akin to those operative in the voting area today.

The special discovery procedure assures that one can ascertain whether or not discrimination has occurred in the jury selection process. This procedure is available both to the Attorney General and to private litigants as well as to a defendant in a criminal case. Thus, when an individual asserts that there has been discrimination, the state or local officials must furnish a written statement regarding jury selection and how the names were obtained. This in turn will become evidence of whether the jury has been fairly selected. The party who complains may not only cross examine, but may present other evidence to support his charge. The Bill contains a specific provision making the destruction or concealing of official evidence a Federal crime punishable by $1,000 fine or one year in prison or both.

Amend the Administration Bill to Include A Removal Provision.

Amend the Administration Bill to include a provision for the removal of cases from state to Federal trial courts, in order to assure a fair trial.

Commentary:

The Administration Bill does not contain a provision for the removal of cases from a state to a Federal trial court. The Planning Session participants considered a removal provision as one of several elements that might be included in a new civil rights bill. In those instances where other measures to secure a non-discriminatory trial fail, removal of the case to a Federal court may be the meaningful alternative.

At the present time removal of a case from a state to a Federal court is difficult to accomplish unless it is based upon an invalid state statute.

A number of different approaches have been suggested to the Congress, although none are part of the Administration Bill. The Administration takes the position that it has recently participated in two cases in the Supreme Court, Rachel v. Georgia, and Peacock v. City of Greenwood which would have the impact, if decided as the Justice Department desires, of expanding removal beyond unlawful state statutes. (It is suggested that the Supreme Court's reaction was rather mixed to this argument and legislation may be the only avenue of relief).

The Douglas Bill (S. 2923) provides for expanded removal of cases to Federal Court in many instances, including where (1) removal is necessary to assure equal protection in prosecution of state offenses by the Attorney General; (2) there is discrimination in jury selection, voter registration, courtroom procedure, jail organization, or bail practice; or (3) where a defendant in either a civil or criminal case is discriminated against because of his exercise of the rights of speech, press, assembly or petition in support of racial equality.

The Kennedy-Javits Bill (S. 3170) provides for removal of any similar criminal case brought against any defendant who exercises rights under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or any other Federal right to equality, or for the exercise of any right to the freedoms of speech, press, or assembly, which is intended to achieve a Federal right to equality.

Amend the Administration Bill to include a provision that would authorize Federal injunctions to stop discriminatory state prosecutions.

Commentary:

A strong remedy to protect individuals against illegal state prosecution is the termination of the trial itself by injunction from a Federal court. This is more severe than removal which contemplates trial in the Federal court of the state criminal charge. Nonetheless, there is a need for summary disposition of cases where the prosecutions are in direct conflict with plain or previously determined constitutional principles and motivated by hostility of the State to guaranteed Federal civil rights. Lawyers who have tried cases in the South are aware of incredible delays between arrest and disposition of cases in the State courts. One took as long as twenty months; many have taken over six months. During this period of time, defendants have been incarcerated or released on bond at great cost. Federal injunction of such prosecutions would foreclose the harrassing effect of these prosecutions. The Administration Bill has no injunction provision of this nature.

The Douglas Bill does contain provisions to allow both private persons and the Attorney General to enjoin acts and

and practices which would deprive individuals of Federal rights. The Kennedy-Javits Bill is more explicit and would authorize an injunction against a pending or threatened State court civil or criminal proceeding in certain specific situations. These situations are: (1) a determinative issue in the case has already been decided in favor of the defendant's contention in a similar case; (2) the state law on which the case is based has been declared invalid in another case; (3) the state law on which the case is based on its face violates the First Amendment; or (4) the case was brought for the purpose of discouraging the exercise of First Amendment rights.

III. IMPROVEMENT OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

(1) There should be a Federal program to improve police-community relations by assistance in the areas of recruitment, training, and organization.

(2) The states should be encouraged to participate in this process of improving police-community relations through the establishment of uniform state licensing and testing, training programs, and assistance in program development for localities.

(3) Local governments will continue to bear the major burden for improving police-community relations and should be encouraged to mobilize all community resources for the develop-

ment of a police department that enforces the law impartially, makes of police work a profession, has an effective community relations unit, and is equipped and organized according to modern method.

(4) Private groups must be impressed with the responsibility they have, along with official agencies, for improving police-community relations. All groups--business, labor, religious, civil rights--must be encouraged to participate in this effort.

Commentary and Detail:

The improvement of police-community relations must be sought through activity at all levels--through the efforts of the Federal Government, the States, local governments, and private groups. The Federal Government, in line with a recommendation first made by the Commission on Civil Rights in 1961, is now carrying out an experimental program aimed at improving the quality of State and local police forces, and other agencies of justice. The Office of Law Enforcement Assistance of the Department of Justice has the responsibility for administering this program. Its first appropriation for a partial year of operation was 7.2 million, and the President has proposed to increase this to 13.7 million for the next fiscal year.

The Administration of Justice panel at the Planning Session recommended an enlarged program of assistance, similar to the effort made by the Federal Government in the field of health, which has helped to revolutionize and upgrade medical practices. It seems doubtful that either 7.2 million or 13.7 million will be adequate, given the size of today's problems. Moreover, any such Federal program must expend greater effort and money on dealing with the urgent problems that have contributed to an explosive state of police-community relations in many Northern urban ghettos.

Federal Responsibility:

Specifically, such a Federal program must have the following objectives:

a) to improve techniques of recruitment screening thereby increasing the likelihood that policemen will be selected who can perform their duties on a non-discriminatory basis and who can be effective within the context of the myriad pressures that beset policemen in a time of social and legal change.

b) to alter the patterns of police organizations, advancement, and pay, so that more of our superior young people are attracted to careers in the police profession.

c) to improve police training, both at the entry and in-service levels in human relations, as well as in techniques of effectively enforcing the law when that law is so often subject to attack and change through decisions of courts.

d) to provide methods by which college-level training can be provided for police officers and by which college-educated persons may be brought into police forces at levels significantly above that of patrolman.

e) to assist police departments in modernizing their entire organization and administration so as to take advantage of modern business methods as well as the latest findings of science in apprehending offenders.

f) to provide grants and assistance to aid other individuals of government and private organizations in achieving the steps outlined below.

State Responsibility:

The states should recognize the historic responsibility they have had for regulating and improving the quality of service rendered by professions and trades within their borders. It is time that the police profession be recognized as precisely that, a profession, worthy of the concern of all State administrations. While the States may look to the Federal Government for financial assistance and support, this will not be enough. The States themselves must recognize those areas in which success will depend upon their initiative and their action in carrying through programs. Among the steps which the States might take are the following:

(a) establish minimum state standards for all police officers, enforced through uniform State tests and licenses.

(b) provide for periodic training programs in both skills and attitudes for all police officers.

(c) assist localities in developing better police forces, which assistance should include guidance in taking advantage of Federal as well as State programs in this field, e.g., it should help the smaller police departments in preparing applications for Federal funds and in helping its men to prepare to pass State licensing tests.

Local Responsibility

The major burden for improving police-community relations rests on the shoulders of local government, as it has in the past. There seems little likelihood such radical change in Federal-State-local relationships in the near future as to remove that burden from local governments. All of the Federal grant-in-aid programs or enlightened State programs that can be hoped for will not alter this responsibility.

Among the steps that might be taken by local governments are the following:

a) In those instances where the equipment and organization and physical facilities of the local police department are outmoded, as is often the case, responsible local officials must recognize that general obsolescence tends to contribute to aggravated relations between police and citizens, for it prevents the police from doing their job in an effective way. Accordingly, sufficient financial and other support must be given to efforts to improve the basic structure of the police department.

b) Local officials must recognize that in many instances the police department has come to be perceived as an enemy by large segments of the population and that often this is due to the nature of the leadership given the department by top officials. Therefore, an essential element in judging whether police leaders are qualified for their jobs is whether they can take positive steps to bridge this gap.

c) Local government must undertake an educational program for the community as a whole. This should be directed at better understanding of what traditionally has been expected of a police department and what many may covertly expect at the present time. In short, in many urban areas the white community is using the police department as its subtle weapon to keep the Negro in his ghetto and in his place, and to concentrate the apparent criminal elements in one segment of the community. We are at the point where this unpleasant fact must surface and where the entire community, led by the officials, must understand that they are criticizing the police for inefficiency and for their inability to keep crime off the streets while also expecting the police to carry the burden of the white community's unstated efforts to maintain a segregated society.

d) Every police department should have a community relations unit. The unit should be commanded by a line police officer who reports directly to the chief of police. The unit's personnel should be rotated periodically. Experience indicated that these units can be effective only where the policemen at large realize that the individual who is commanding the community relations effort may one day, in the near future, be commanding the precinct in which they may serve.

Private Groups:

Any analysis of remedies in police-community relations must consider both sides of that hyphenated phrase. Although it is essential that law enforcement agencies take all of the above listed steps, true improvement in this area cannot be made without concentrated supportive efforts by private groups and community organizations. Every community should have a broad-based, private police-community relations organization and one not composed only of representatives of minority groups on the one hand and of business and professional people desirous of "backing the police" on the other. Rather, an integrated organization is needed to work with the police and with the community in all phases of the problem--both improving the professionalization of the police and establishing an atmosphere in which the policeman and the individual citizen can relate to one another. The ways in which these organizations can best function is often peculiarly related to the nature of the individual community and the structure and personnel of the individual police force. However, it is clear that such an organization should be put together in every city in the country.

Business, labor, religious and other civic leaders, should also promote within their community support for a sufficient high scale of salaries and training for police officers to assure that superior individuals will seek law enforcement as a profession.

IN CONCLUSION

> No amount of legislation, no degree of commitment on the part of the national government, can by itself bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans. It must be joined by a massive effort on the part of the States and local government, of industry, and of all citizens, white and Negro.
>
> - From the President's Message
> to Congress, April 28, 1966.

No single document can anticipate the views of as large a cross section of American life as is represented at this White House Conference.

In submitting this Report to the conferees, the Council hopes that the action proposals contained herein will generate new ideas rooted in community experience and will mark the beginning of a more meaningful dialog in every home, neighborhood, place of business, state house and city hall - as well as here in Washington.

The time has passed when we can afford the luxury of discussing the "problem."

The business of this Conference is to chart a course of action, to stimulate the massive effort called for by the President.

The struggle for equality must indeed move toward a different battlefield - in every suburb - in every city.

There is no question that much remains to be accomplished on the federal level - by legislation and executive action. Precise recommendations on this unfinished business are included in every section of the Report.

But these recommendations should not blind us to the central issue. It is that the vigor of the national government's response to the compelling cry of the American Negro for justice and true equality has not been matched by state and local government, by business and labor, the housing industry, educational institutions and the wide spectrum of voluntary organizations who have the power to improve our society.

Only you and your organizations and institutions can make this come to pass.

That is why you are here.

As you discuss the recommendations in this Report, we hope that you will speak with candor and tell us where we have erred. More important, we look to you for fresh ideas and new approaches, for first hand reports on constructive programs which have worked in your community, business or agency.

We will not ask you to issue findings, pass resolutions or make judgments on project proposals or priorities. Every idea presented will be studied with care by the Council in the preparation of its Report to the President.

At the same time, we ask that you listen. Many of the proposals made, the experiences shared, may be applicable to your role in your own community. There is no necessity to wait for the Council's Conference Report before you translate the best of these approaches into action.

In our diverse society it is the citizen who leads. It is to this mibilization of spirit, commitment and resources that we must address ourselves.

The Council believes that there may be a need for some kind of broadly-based citizen mobilization for equality. The massive effort required to bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans will require a continuing focus for dialog between and among private and public groups across the country.

This stimulus can best be provided by a forum which is privately sponsored and directed, but which maintains the closest working relationships with federal, state and municipal government.

There is no desire that government assume this responsibility, for genuine citizen response is best evoked through our own efforts and, in the most part, through existing institutions and organizations.

We must find better ways for the varied interests represented here to pool their knowledge, energy and influence. Without this catalyst, we may find that everyone's business has become no one's business.

Existing federal agencies could make a more valuable contribution to this effort by broadening and improving the effectiveness of their present activities. Their programs would have more local impact if there was better interagency discussion and planning.

Among the agencies most directly involved would be the Civil Rights Commission, with its network of state advisory councils and clearing house responsibilities; the Community Relations Service, which works at the community level; the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; the Departments of Labor; Commerce; Housing and Urban Development; and Health, Education and Welfare, and others.

State and local governments should recognize the need to recapture the initiative and leadership they have lost by inaction. They must be stimulated to act on the many roadblocks which only they can clear in housing, education, health, the administration of justice and fair employment standards. State and city legislators and administrators must recognize the crises they face in the nation's drive for equality.

In the field of business, more leadership is of prime concern. Many of the larger corporations are assisting in the development of local merit employment councils, vocational and counseling services and motivational programs through Plans for Progress. But the bult of local business has not yet seen the stake it has in racial progress.

The goal should be the total involvement of the business community and the establishment of affirmative action programs as agenda item number one for all trade associations and chambers of commerce.

In housing, education, employment and other areas of our concern, there is the need to organize planning conferences and public campaigns on many subjects and in many states. Future public action will be most effective if it is keyed to solving specific priority problems rather than dealing with the all-encompassing area of civil rights. There now is general acceptance of the theory of civil rights but less understanding of the profound changes which must be made to accomplish our national goals.

In the area of voluntary action, civil rights, religious and labor organizations have played a major role in awakening the nation's conscience and in organizing opinion in support of badly needed legislation. To the battles in the courts and in the Congress a new dimension must be added...state legislatures, city councils and the executive agencies of both.

It is here that new allies must be found. Leadership must now include representatives of local businesses, labor unions, civic and veterans associations, neighborhood groups and organizations of men, women and youth; both urban and rural.

In this citizen mobilization, one fact remains constant. It is the need for a better informed public. Only through the mass media can we reach the millions of families whose support and commitment are indispensable. We ask the nation's press and broadcasters for support in presenting better and more authoritative information on civil rights issues to their audiences.

The Council was appointed by the President to organize this White House Conference and, after careful analysis of the ideas and opinions expressed in these two days of meetings, to prepare a report to the President. Before disbanding, it is prepared to assume responsibility for presenting proposals for an effective citizen mobilization to interested organizations to determine if adequate support exists for a privately organized and broadly-based effort in support of equality.

America has demonstrated many times the ability of its citizens to respond to challenge, to join forces in a common cause.

What is needed is a full understanding of the issue, a sense of commitment, a determination to find solutions.

This Conference should concern itself with the massive public effort that will be required if we, as a nation, are to "Fulfill These Rights."

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Council Report
Draft

1966

(2)

DRAFT

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

DRAFT REPORT
OF THE
CONFERENCE

COUNCIL MEETING
June 23, 1966

DRAFT

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION (Will be Furnished Later)

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

- I. ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE
- II. EDUCATION
- III. HOUSING
- IV. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED DURING THE CONFERENCE

SUMMARY OF

CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

ON

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The conferees were imbued with a keen realization that prompt progress in breaking down discrimination in employment, in upgrading job skills and occupational achievement, and in attaining a decent and secure living is essential to alleviate the pressing economic problems and social tensions of both urban and rural Negroes.

Although careful consideration was given to delineating overall goals and to identifying the Negro's complex economic security and welfare needs, the primary emphasis of the conferees was on action. Speaker after speaker stressed that action to implement programs and to solve problems was the most immediate objective. The call for tangible action was well reflected in the remarks of one speaker:

> "These are the things, it seems to me, which simply mean that the implementation of the principle is just as important as the expression of the principle itself, and, in fact, more important. Otherwise, you raise the hopes and then you dash them."

There was general agreement that the "help," "pressure," and "leadership" of the Federal Government are essential for implementing programs to meet economic and social needs. This reflected the feeling of superior strength and resources of the Federal Government, and a distrust of the willingness of some State and local governments, particularly in the South, to undertake favorable programs. However, the Conference adhered to the Council's report in delineating goals and approaches designed to mobilize all resources of the community. Major recommendations involved action by business, labor unions, church groups, and non-profit community welfare organizations. State and local governments were given a key place in the development of proposed goals and action. While underscoring the need for new and improved federal action, the responsibility of other sectors of the society for improving the Negro's economic status thus was placed in clear perspective.

In considering the Council's recommendations, the conferees were not content with mere statements of what should be done. A number expressed the view that there should be more specific recommendations for priorities, timetables, funding, and targets. Several speakers urged that specific estimates of the cost of proposed programs be included, and that an overall "price tag" be placed on the economic security and welfare recommendations. For example, one participant stated:

> "First--where does the money come from? ... I am increasingly disturbed that the Council's recommendations do not have any price tags attached. I think that we cannot discuss these realistically unless we talk about money."

The range of opinion varied from endorsements of the Council's proposals by such phrases as: "very useful," "candid," "in general accord," "in full agreement," "courageous" to allegations of lack of realism and excessive vagueness.

Several participants raised the point that the Council's proposals lacked sufficient emphasis on Negro women and teenage girls, in view of the large proportion of the Negro labor force they comprise. Although the Council recommendations usually apply equally to both male and female workers, it was felt that more specific attention to the problem of women would be helpful.

There was recognition of the fact that the problems of Negroes were closely related to the conditions of other disadvantaged groups and to the general level of national economic activity. Several participants stressed the need to maintain a full employment economy to facilitate the implementation of programs to help the Negro. Some felt that the Conference should have covered problems of disadvantaged groups generally, rather than Negroes alone.

Leadership participation and self-help by the poor were mentioned by some conferees as a counterweight to the technical and organizational approach of the Council's recommendations.

A detailed summary of the sense of the Conference is presented in the following pages. For convenience, the summaries are grouped under the same nine major headings utilized by the Council in presenting its recommendations on economic security and welfare.

I. ESTABLISH METROPOLITAN JOBS COUNCILS IN ALL MAJOR URBAN AREAS TO PLAN, COORDINATE, AND IMPLEMENT LOCAL PROGRAMS TO INCREASE JOBS

The rationale behind the Metropolitan Jobs Councils was generally accepted by the delegates. Mobilization of community leadership for planning and implementing local programs to expand job opportunities for Negro workers was recognized as of substantial importance. Some of the mood of the Conference is reflected in the following remark addressed to this point:

> "This Conference will have missed the boat unless it legitimizes the principle that the whole community - the local community, has the capacity to do their own planning and should be encouraged to do this with the available resources of Federal and private resources."

The role of private employers on Metropolitan Jobs Councils is exemplified in the comments of a business executive:

> "...we ought to change systematic exclusion (of Negroes) to systematic inclusion, which means that we have got to go a step beyond merely the elimination of discrimination to take affirmative actions that have been suggested in order to guarantee that Negroes do come into the job market on the basis of equality."

Several speakers noted that councils of a similar nature are in operation and are achieving results, such as the Milwaukee Council, and the O.I.C.F. in Philadelphia.

The need to clarify the recommendation for Metropolitan Jobs Councils was noted by several individuals. They expressed concern that action would become bogged down in bureaucratic red tape or that the proposed Councils would be dominated by persons who do not favor strong equal opportunities action--particularly in the South. The Councils, it was cautioned, should avoid overlap with existing organizations and programs, such as those sponsored by the Urban League. A number of specific suggestions were made with the objective of strengthing the Metropolitan Jobs Council proposal. They included the provision of guidelines and coordination by the Federal government, more specific guidance on the composition and selection of the Councils to ensure that their leadership is responsive to the needs of the Negro community, participation by Negroes and by poor people in Council decisions, involvement of churches and other nonprofit community groups, and the use of existing organizations to achieve Council objectives, were possible. Greater emphasis on counseling of workers in Council programs and on helping cooperating employers overcome problems which sometimes accompany anti-discrimination efforts was also suggested.

II. CREATE A RURAL JOBS TASK FORCE TO DEVELOP AND COORDINATE A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR RURAL NEGROES

Conferees highlighted the problems of small farm operators, particularly sharecroppers on large tobacco and cotton plantations who are being displaced by changing technology and by shifts of land to other uses. A number of speakers indicated that federal acreage and production stabilization programs had contributed to displacement of sharecroppers and other small farmers, while the benefits of such programs accrued to farm landlords and to large agricultural units.

The plight of Negro hired farm workers was also emphasized. The situation of the migratory farm laborer was described by one participant as follows:

> "I think so often when we talk about Negroes in the rural problem, we somehow figure it is all in the South. I want to call your attention to one aspect that is not in here, to develop this completely and thoroughly as it ought to be for the benefit of many Negroes and other minority groups engaged in agricultural labor on the lowest level: the migratory laborer. I think it is very much inadequate indeed.
>
> "This is just as true in New Jersey, New York, Michigan, and all the very urbanized states, as it is indeed in the deep South. If we are going to give some attention to the Negro who is most economically deprived, we cannot indeed forget the agricultural migratory laborer all over these United States who follows the crops, and from whom all of us benefit in terms of the kind of well-balanced diets we are able to consume."

Item 9 of this set of recommendations, dealing with ways to ease the economic and social adjustment of rural Negroes migrating to the city, caused uneasiness among some conferees. Although major agreement was expressed on the need for the proposed services in the transition period from rural to urban life, several speakers thought that this proposal could be interpreted as implicit approval of the exportation of southern Negroes to the city, and effort to retain the status quo by eliminating Negroes from their home areas, and a side-stepping of equal treatment among southern farm people. The conferees favored better balance of this recommendation, including emphasis on positive steps to create new job opportunities in rural areas, and more financial assistance for small farmers.

Conferees expressed strong specific support for these Council recommendations:

1. Technical and financial assistance to farmers for the formation of cooperatives to strengthen their economic position;
2. Increased availability of loans to small farmers on a long-term, low-cost basis;
3. Revision of agricultrural price support and production stabilization programs to reach small farmers, including sharecroppers;
4. Improved occupational training programs to adequately meet the

needs of the rural poor;

5. Stronger programs to help migatory farm workers.

III. DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE HUMAN RESOURCE PROGRAM TO SET GOALS, TO MEASURE PROGRESS, AND TO STRUCTURE THE ACTION UNDERTAKEN "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Although this recommendation did not receive intensive discussion the conferees gave general approval to the development of a Comprehensive Human Resource Program to provide a framework for sound planning, policy and program development, and effective action. Statements of support for this proposal included references to the need for definite priorities, timetables, targets, and estimates of costs and program resources.

The conferees generally favored the need for improvement of manpower information to assess the progress of Negro workers in improving their economic status and to identify the need for new action programs. However, there was general agreement that the collection and analysis of information must not take the place of immediate action. As one delegate expressed it:

> "We need no longer research. We've been researching for 100 years. We need work, not research.

IV. DEVELOP GOVERNMENT FINANCED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS ON PUBLIC WORKS AND SERVICES TO GUARANTEE THE AVAILABILITY OF JOBS TO ABLE WORKERS WHO CANNOT BE PLACED IN, OR PROMPTLY TRAINED FOR, REGULAR EMPLOYMENT

This recommendation, involving a guarantee by the federal government of the availability of jobs for able workers who cannot otherwise be promptly placed in or trained for employment, received enthusiastic and support from the conferees. Many speakers stressed the need to provide jobs, without delay, to absorb the excessive number of jobless Negro workers. Particular stress was given to the need for job-creation in chronically depressed rural and urban areas.

Conferees concurred with the Council's report that the public works and services to be provided through the proposed employment programs were urgently needed to fill serious gaps in the nation's health, welfare, educational, housing, and other essential facilities. There was agreement that the jobless could be usefully employed in rebuilding dilapidated urban ghettos, beautifying city and country areas, and to provide schools, hospitals, and other public buildings. Expansion of public services in the areas of health, education, and welfare was also emphasized, particularly since employment in the essential service areas can be provided without the long delays that are sometimes required for planning and initiating public works.

In discussing the implementation of the guaranteed employment recommendation, conference participants mentioned favorably the several types of approaches proposed by the Council. They includeded direct employment on public works or services by federal, state, and local governments; government-financed public work programs conducted through private construction companies; and public services provided through nonprofit welfare organizations.

Federal loans and grants for job-creating projects in depressed areas came in for special mention. A high government official received a favorable response to his agency's plans to require that companies or communities receiving such federal assistance give first preference in employment and training tothe long-term unemployed, and that they plan positive recruitment and upgrading programs for disadvantaged groups.

The need for careful planning in the implementation of employment programs was underscored in the following comment:

> "...it must have the vision, I am afraid, for more than ten years, or perhaps another two generations. It must attract people to areas of work. There must be built in provision for housing, transportation, movement from one part of the country to another, preparation for the types of living in different parts of the country, and perhaps high mobility in the many public works programs..."

Concern was expressed that Negroes be actively recruited and employed in federally supported public works programs. One conferee said:

> "I drive for hundreds and hundreds of miles and see highway construction and no Negroes in sight. Now this disturbs me no end, because these are projects that are directly controlled by the Federal Government. I, therefore, recommend to this conference that a through investigation be conducted on these public works programs and, in areas where there are no Negroes employed, that some direct action be taken."

V. MOUNT COMPREHENSIVE YEAR-ROUND EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, AND COUNSELING PROGRAMS FOR NEGRO YOUTH

Broad consensus was reached on the Council's recommendation for a concentrated effort to reduce the dangerously high rate of joblessness among Negro youth--both male and female--and to bring them into the mainstream of the nation's economic life. The conferees stressed the urgent need to improve training and counseling programs, to provide opportunities for employment and earnings, and to reduce the social tensions and symptoms of disorganization evidenced in such areas as Watts.

Emphasis was placed on expanding vocational training facilities in both rural and urban areas, gearing the training realistically to the requirements of employers and to those growing occupational fields presenting the best job opportunities for Negro youths.

The conferees widely endorsed the recommendations for improving counseling and guidance programs and stepping up the training of professionals in this area. Some were of the opinion that in addition to a concentrated guidance effort at the high school level, some useful counseling services could be provided at the elementary school level. One speaker noted that today's changing job structure makes it essential that the Department of Labor provide continuously updated information on job opportunities.

A number of speakers supported the Council's emphasis on the need to broaden the content of vocational training programs to take into account the social and personal barriers to employment that are often associated with minority group status. The need to motivate youths to develop and utilize their occupational potentials was stressed. More attention to the "drop out" problem was suggested, including centers to help youths overcome psychological problems hindering work adjustments.

There was general accord with the Council's recommendations for positive efforts by employers to recruit, train, and upgrade Negro workers. The voluntary "Plans for Progress" program, for example, was commended. One speaker indicated that the 300 companies participating in this program had made available over 125,000 permanent jobs for nonwhites since 1962, engaged in positive recruitment in predominantly Negro colleges, established special counseling programs, and provided scholarships for Negro students.

Specific Council recommendations for action by employers that received special support among conferees included the elimination of excessively rigid hiring specifications, a more flexible use of aptitude and ability tests, positive recruitment efforts, expansion of on-the-job training programs, special efforts to ensure equal promotion opportunities, and the employment of more Negroes in personnel offices and supervisory jobs.

The Council's recommendations on labor unions were less favorably received. A definite and recurring view was expressed that the Council's report did not go far enough in spotlighting discriminatory practices of labor unions. A substantial number of participants gave examples of such discrimination in their areas. While noting the efforts of some unions to combat discrimination, the general feeling was that strong action was needed to convince other labor organizations to provide equal employment and membership opportunities.

Specific criticism focused on craft unions--particularly in the building trades. A typical statement was:

> "Now in our State these unions practice total exclusion of Negroes. We have no Negro bricklayers, no Negro plumbers, no Negro sheet metal workers, no Negro iron fitters--you can go right down the list."

Local unions of railroad employees in the South were also specifically mentioned.

There was pointed criticism of discrimination in apprenticeship programs. The Council's recommendation that the entrance requirements, standards, and content of these programs be closely reviewed received strong endorsement among the conferees. Affirmative action was strongly recommended in this area--publicity on openings for apprentices, positive recruitment of Negroes for apprenticeship programs, pre-apprenticeship training programs, and reduction of entrance requirements. One or two speakers urged a complete reconsideration of the apprenticeship system, leading to the possible substitution of other types of skill training for craft workers.

To eliminate discriminatory practices by unions, the conferees agreed with Council recommendations for stronger enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the enactment and strengthening of state and local equal opportunity laws. Speakers urged the AFL-CIO to strengthen its anti-discrimination rules and to bring pressure to bear on its member unions.

Heavy emphasis was placed on proposals to encourage Negroes to become businessmen. There was general agreement with Council recommendations for Federal loan and training programs in this area. Incentives for Negro building contractors were urged as one means of opening up more job opportunities for minority workers in the building trades.

The conferees were in accord with the Council's statement that "The Government itself needs to become a model employer in every respect..." and placed heavy stress on Federal Government action. At the same time the conferees agreed with the Council's recommendations on action by private employers, unions, and by state and local government. They supported legislation and administrative action proposed by the Council to strengthen existing equal opportunity laws and regulations. Strong emphasis was placed on strengthening enforcement of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies; Title VI of the Act, which prohibits discrimination in Federally financed or assisted programs; and Executive Order 11246, which requires government contractors to provide equal employment opportunities.

In addition, a number of speakers called for an end to discrimination in the Federal Government's own installations. A number of illustrations of such discrimination were cited, particularly in the South.

Several individuals voiced support for special approaches. For example, one favored Federal tax incentives to encourage employers to train Negroes. Another urged Federal financial support for state equal opportunity agencies.

VII. INITIATE AND REINFORCE SUPPORTIVE SERVICES TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT OF NEGROES INTO JOBS

This proposal received generous approval by the conferees. The expressed feeling was that gains in breaking down discriminatory barriers in employment opportunities will not in themselves be sufficient to achieve the complete adjustment of Negroes to the demands of the job market. Training, remedial education, counseling, improved access to jobs and to information about job openings, and many other services are needed to help the Negro avail himself of new opportunities.

Significant support was given to the Council's proposal for federalizing the Employment Service. Conferees expressed the view that federalization would provide a more potent weapon in dealing with discrimination against Negroes in local employment offices, facilitate the movement of workers to areas where particular skills are in demand, and improve employment service personnel standards. Several individuals mentioned discrimination by employment service agencies in referring workers to jobs and in referring applicants to training courses. Federal funds for nongovernment employment centers were mentioned as a possible supplement for state agency services in some areas.

Expansion of programs of occupational training for both youths and adults, under the auspices of both government and private employers, received unanimous backing. Such efforts should aim not only to qualify jobless workers for employment, but also to help upgrade low-skill employed workers into skilled and technical jobs. Particular emphasis was given to on-the-job training as an effective means of teaching skills and securing employment for disadvantaged workers.

There was concern that existing Federally-financed occupational training programs were not reaching some communities because of administrative difficulties or discrimination among local authorities. Conferees suggested that special assistance be given communities encountering difficulty in obtaining manpower training programs through regular channels. A need was expressed for better coordination of Federal programs at the local level. One proposal involved the establishment of interdepartmental task forces in problem areas, with responsibility for providing all necessary assistance in setting up Federally-financed training programs.

The Council's recommendation of more adequate transportation services was considered by numerous conferees as a vital link for employment. Encouragement of business to locate in areas accessible to Negro workers was also urged. It was noted that financial aid to small business would permit, in many instances, continued operation of enterprises in such areas. For job opportunities dependent upon worker relocation, a proposal was made for expansion of Federal relocation allowance programs.

Expansion of day-care centers subsidized by government funds was generally stressed. This would enable unemployed mothers to seek employment and free working mothers from the problem of finding suitable baby-sitting services, often at a cost that cuts into already meager incomes.

Other proposed programs of supportive services receiving specific support were efforts to open avenues of work for the Negro in the professional, clerical, sales, and technician occupations; health services to improve job performance; adequate counseling, both in-school and in-home; and expansion of rehabilitative efforts for persons with criminal records.

VIII. STRENGTHEN INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS PROGRAMS

Participants in the Conference showed substantial interest in rectifying inequities and improving the effectiveness and coverage of existing labor standards legislation.

The Council's recommendations on improving the Fair Labor Standards Act received general approval. There was also support for raising the minimum wage beyond the limits of the Bill now pending before Congress, with a target of $2.00 per hour mentioned by some speakers. Also urged was expansion of FLSA coverage to service, agricultural, and other low-wage occupations in which many Negro workers are concentrated. One speaker suggested that Congress enact a formula for automatic increases in the minimum wage.

Strengthening legislation to expand collective bargaining opportunities and rights received major support. The point was emphasized that this is a vehicle by which Negroes may gain both direct wage increases and greater opportunities for occupational advancement.

The household service occupation was singled out as a special area where improvements in wages and standards would result in considerable betterment of Negro women workers. Several conferees supported recommendations for upgrading the status of household service as a career.

Improvements in the workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance programs were endorsed. Individual suggestions were made to provide all workers protection under unemployment insurance laws.

IX. RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE BENEFITS TO THE POOR

There was general agreement among the Conference participants that significant improvements in this area are required in line with recommendations of the Council. Most other proposals of the Council, directed at employment opportunities, would not raise the living standards of those unable to actively seek work because of full-time responsibilities in rearing children, old age, physical or mental disability, or other reasons. The delegates felt that this segment of citizens would be deprived of their share of the American heritage unless bold and creative measures were taken to change existing welfare and assistance programs.

Proposals to improve the Federal-State public assistance programs won near unanimous support. Many speakers supported the establishment of stronger Federal standards to eradicate the gap between Federal intent and actual service in public assistance programs, including elimination of discrimination in the treatment of welfare clients. The proposed provision for Federal operation of welfare programs in States not complying with Federal standards was also generally accepted.

The conferees looked upon the proposal to eliminate the variety of eligibility requirements, and to substitute the single category of "need" as the criterion for assistance, as a significant step forward in humanizing the treatment of welfare recipients. The dignity of the person on welfare was of immediate concern to the Conference delegates and numerous mentions were made of excessively bureaucratic treatment at the hands of administrators of local welfare programs. Many delegates supported improvements in the Aid to Dependent Children program in two specific areas: an immediate cessation of "midnight raids," regarded as serious invasions of privacy by welfare investigators, and availability of welfare payments in specified types of cases where an employable but jobless male is present in the household.

Strong support was mustered for eliminating residence requirements for public assistance applicants. The alternative of reducing such requirements was considered unrealistic in light of the significance attached throughout the Council's report to a high degree of worker mobility.

Wide recognition was given to the need for training social workers and other welfare personnel in more efficient methods and proper attitudes. Higher salaries were considered an essential part of the upgrading of personnel standards in this field. More Negroes should be included on personnel staffs, according to some speakers, both as professionals and as subprofessional aides.

Approval was also registered for expanding nonmonetary services for public assistance recipients; e.g., family planning services; day care centers for children of working mothers; a sound program of publicity to acquaint prospective welfare recipients with their rights; and an extensive program of consumer education in budgeting techniques, purchasing skills, and lending practices. One conferee urged the inclusion of life insurance for relief recipients.

The guaranteed annual income approach was singled out by numerous conferees as a means toward a real breakthrough in the vicious cycle of hard-core poverty. The Council's view, indicated in item 11 of the public welfare proposals, aims to guarantee income through an appropriate combination of job opportunities, social insurance, and public assistance. Several conferees expressed interest in other approaches to provide an income floor.

The Food Stamp Program received some criticism. Several speakers felt that it was administered discriminatorily in some Southern areas, or that restrictive requirements are imposed. There were calls for federal investigation and administration of the program in local areas.

There was considerable support for supplementing the Council report with a new recommendation on consumer credit. This involved local and federal legislation to regulate interest rates and to expand reliable sources of consumer credit for ghetto residents.

"War on Poverty" programs providing welfare-related services under the Economic Opportunity Act received significant comment. In general, such programs were viewed as catalysts for introducing creative new approaches in the welfare field. As in the Council report, stress was placed on the need to improve the administration of the programs in some localities, and to take steps to expedite their availability to local areas. It was suggested by one conferee that the consent of State and local government officials be dispensed with in federally financed anti-poverty projects to be operated by nongovernment organizations.

SUMMARY OF
CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS
ON
EDUCATION

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

The dominant view of the conferees was clearly that state and local failures in education have been so prevalent that solutions must be found in increasing use of national authority, both in terms of finance and in the enforcement of policies of equality.

> "As long as we approach this problem on the basis of Federal supplementation, Federal bailing out or Federal arm twisting on locally run educational patterns, we will be pursuing this issue at a conference a decade from now."

In many panels there was enthusiastic support for the Council's recommendation that the President issue a strong call for more sincere and overt leadership on the part of state and local officials, on behalf of a policy of equality as a fact and as a result. Some conferees felt that such an overt identification of national responsibility and aims in education would make their local goals more attainable.

Some advocated the further step of establishing national standards in the realm of per pupil expenditure, and asked for a Federal pronouncement, with a timetable and priorities firmly set, on the suggested goal of $1000 per pupil. National minimal standards in curriculum, teacher training, laboratories, and building facilities were also suggested -- in short, a national accreditation system, to which all local systems could aspire. Some suggested that Federal grants be conditioned on evidence that districts were striving to meet these national standards.

Others felt that progress could be made within the bounds of state control, using Federal funds as leverage and incentive. And some felt that the Federal bureaucracy would not be any more reliable than local and state bureaucracies; citizens should depend instead on political action to improve their local situation.

A second major issue occupying the conferees was a related one; that is, the concern with means to insure that school boards promote rather than thwart the best interests of all members of the community. Many delegates cited instances in which their local boards had blocked community interests or demonstrated insensitivity to the needs of all the children. Such inadequacies are seen as major frustrations, since so many of the relevant decisions about school district boundaries, student transfers, transportation systems, and the quality of education, are in the hands of local boards.

> "It is quite disgusting to hear educated men, men who have had every advantage in the field of education, trying to find some way to keep from doing the right thing."

For most conferees, the general answer to this problem was to be sought in Federal action affecting the makeup of school boards. Some advocated national appointment of Board members, or national requirements that Boards be integrated:

> "If the Federal Government would say that your boards of education have to be integrated, it would be understood."

> "In order to qualify to spend Federal funds there would have to be some integration, and certainly I hope something can be done whereby the people that represent the Negro communities on boards will not be those who are chosen by white people, but Negro groups in the community will have a say as to who represents them."

> "Maybe we can set up some kind of national standard of grading school boards . . . and special attention should be given to suburban districts that have become beachheads of bias."

Some advocated forcing or persuading board members to comply with national policy:

> "If the Federal Government is really going to help us, somehow you are going to have to find a way to insist that these Boards of education and superintendents and others who have to do with shaping and carrying out policy there will be made to toe the line."

> "I want to suggest that there might be some national planning and training sections for school board members in modern management methods, resources which are available to them, that would in some way strengthen the effectiveness of school boards."

Some advocated citizen political organization to elect better board members:

> "We ought to utilize the full facilities of our respective service organizations in the interest of eliminating from the scene those persons who are representatives on the boards of education that are contrary in thinking in regard to making democracy work in the field of education."

Others concentrated on ways to circumvent school systems which are exercising their prerogatives in detrimental ways:

> "Funds should be provided for a person right under the board of education who would go out into the low income, deprived areas, find out what parents think are wrong with the schools, and feed this up into the policy-making arm and get away from all of this distorted information."

> "We happen to be in a community where the school board has refused to accept the primary and secondary education act funds. These funds are very badly needed. We have approximately 20% of our population who are considered illiterate, who don't have a fifth grade education. We feel that if a greater degree of cooperation between the Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity could be brought about, where the local governing boards do not see fit to avail themselves of funds that are presently available, they can possibly be used in the community."

> "Wherever the Federal Government finds a school board blocking the funds, the result being disadvantage of any minority school, that the blocked funds shall be under the control of a federally appointed administrator, and shall be available to the disadvantaged school."

II. EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT

There was general agreement with the suggested goal of $1000 per pupil as the kind of investment needed to bring all schools up to the level necessary to provide decent education for all children. There was considerable concern, however, with the sources of these funds -- some suggesting that federal income taxes be turned back to the states and cities for educational purposes, and some suggesting that the Federal Government increase its appropriations through existing and new legislation.

One conferee cautioned that the amount recommended "may strike the public in general and the American taxpayer in particular as so unreasonable and so unattainable as to completely discredit our deliberations and conclusions," but others felt that the public must quickly be educated as to the cost of adequate education for all, and the even greater cost of the alternative.

It was pointed out, for example, that the average per capita cost in a juvenile detention home is $4,300, as contrasted with the average annual cost of a university education of $1,000. The gross national product can be increased by insuring through appropriate investment that people do not end up on the public welfare rolls. For example, a delegate pointed out that an investment of $5 billion in the G.I. Bill of Rights has yielded some $20 billion to the nation in increased earning power and production.

Conferees felt that new legislation made possible many necessary reforms, but expressed the following concerns:

1. Legislation should not be passed unless it can be promptly and fully funded, as expectations are raised and resulting disappointments increased when acts are announced that cannot be carried out.

> "Last summer at the White House Conference we heard that we could go back home and make plans for Federal money under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for a three year period. Eight months later our Administration told us we should plan on 85% of what we had expected."
>
> "The Elementary and Secondary Act had authorization for funding for three to five years for some of it, but the funds were only set for one year. No school board can effectively plan for a long term meaningful program when we have such a little time to plan and continue."
>
> "Ask Congress to pass nothing that it does not intend to fund and support, because each thing they pass that is not funded and supported further alienates the people."

2. Some conferees also asked that the matching requirements of Federal grants be reexamined. It was pointed out, for example, that predominantly Negro institutions are often unable to meet Federal matching requirements.

3. A recurring theme in the discussions was the need for improved public information on Federal funds available for education. Conferees asked for the establishment of a Federal office to coordinate and supply information on request. (There appeared to be little awareness that the Office of the Disadvantaged in the Office of Education has a function of this kind.) They also asked that information about new legislation be disseminated more promptly. The uncertainty over qualifications for Title III grants under the Higher Education Act, and the difficulties of non-accredited colleges in receiving aid, were mentioned as examples. It is clear that much more remains to be done by local organizations in disseminating information about Federal programs.

III. REDUCTION OF RACIAL CONCENTRATION

The primary recommendation of the Council in this area -- that Federal funds be made contingent on the development of workable programs covering metropolitan or "regional" areas, in which education and housing and economic planning would be coordinated -- occasioned relatively little discussion. There was wide recognition, however, that problems of education interact with problems of housing and economics, that the civil rights question is, in fact, the "seamless web" of disadvantage.

> "It is impossible to separate programs on education, housing and economics, because where you live has something to do with your education, and where you live is determined in large measure by your economic position, and your economic position in great measure is determined by your education."

A number of conferees expressed the belief that the educational park or plaza is the most promising device for meeting this problem. And many expressed the opinion that "the neighborhood school is as out of date as the one-room school house." As one conferee put it:

> "The neighborhood school today, and all the problems connected with it, are like the one-man grocery store. We all love it, but where do we take our business? To the supermarket. Until we do that sort of planning we cannot establish a total school or exemplary programs, to meet the needs of all the kids. Education being fluid has the tendency to take the shape of its container, and our containers just aren't right the way they are."

It was suggested that educational centers should be located on the periphery of large cities, should be inclusive in terms of the age of persons served (from pre-school through adult education), and should be of high quality, including demonstration classrooms, electro-magnetic laboratories, outstanding libraries, museums, and the like. There was strong feeling that we should "expand neighborhood school boundaries to the political boundaries of the city, and into the next phase of regional planning."

Among the major concerns of participants was the current use of school building funds by local systems to promote rather than reduce racial concentration. Several examples were cited, including one in which legal action is being taken against a school board.

One suggestion was that national review boards be established to investigate "municipal bond issues for the construction of public schools to determine whether or not these bonds are issued in complete conformity with the require ments of the Federal Government" and that "school districts should be penalized with measures in addition to the withdrawal of Federal funds when they do not comply." It was further suggested, in this same vein, that "in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare a bonding review committee be established.

If all of our local communities contemplating bonds would have to submit these bonds for review, we would then be in a position to make factual determinations to tell you exactly what the community is going to do."

It was a virtually unanimous sense of the discussion groups that high priority must be given to explicit national measures to combat _de facto_ segregation. Among the specific proposals were:

1. Systematic examination of judicial actions which would provide a basis for constitutional construction of the 14th Amendment that would require correction of racial imbalance in the schools.

2. Special Federal incentives and funds to states which, like Massachusetts, have declared a public policy of mandatory correction of racial imbalance.

3. Incentive payments to districts which take affirmative corrective action, as provided by the bill S. 2928 now before the Senate. Others felt that a double system of incentives for corrective action, combined with sanctions against failure to act, as proposed in H.R. 13079 now before the Congress, would be more effective.

4. The provision of Federal funds to help those school boards which have decided to provide transportation to deal with _de facto_ segregation.

5. Special scholarships for students going to schools in city ghetto areas, and summer work for these students in the poverty areas to supply extra credits.

Regardless of the methods suggested for coping with the problem, nearly all the delegates felt that the impact of segregated schools "is the same whether it is _de jure_ or _de facto_." The "same stigma of inferiority, the same scar that a Negro gets in a _de jure_ segregated school" is present in the _de facto_ segregated school. Many conferees rejected the notion that good education necessarily means getting Negro children into a white school, maintaining that real correction requires "integrating the predominantly Negro schools in the inner city with white children" as well as integrating the suburban schools. This was recognized to depend on increasing the availability of funds to improve the quality of education in inner-city schools.

Some conferees referred to the often expressed fear that "we pay a price in excellence for equality when we first combine pupils from what have been predominantly poor and Negro schools with pupils from what have been /predominantly white and upper middle class schools." They suggested that we need both research and new incentives to hasten progress in this area. It was proposed that colleges agree to admit or give special consideration to students who volunteer to go to inner-city schools, regardless of their quality, for the sake of integration.

At the same time, it was urged that Federal enforcement power needs to be brought to bear on systems which practice violations of the Civil Rights Act within a supposedly *de facto* situation. Conferees spoke of the example of Chicago, whose federal funds were restored in spite of serious charges of discrimination. In short, it was agreed that it is necessary to establish under national legislation and policy the illegality of *de facto* segregation.

IV. ENFORCEMENT OF TITLE VI

Each of the twelve committees passed a resolution expressing dissatisfaction with the pace, scope, and significance of Federal action to desegregate the public schools of the nation, both North and South. One panel expressed the common sentiment:

> "We note that in the twelve years following the Supreme Court Desegregation Decision and two years after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, no more than 10 per cent of all minority group children are attending integrated schools. We note with horror the increase in Northern segregation. It is our firm belief that dynamic and consistent Federal effort could do much to remedy this situation."

Conference discussions were studded with examples of illegal and inhumane practices, as illustrated by the following statements:

> "I am aware and experienced about this thing, because I have a house and it looks just like a polka dot dress with shots. This is what happens, and .... some of these people (from Washington) come down there, they won't even go close to the school."
>
> "In my county there was not a single Negro in the previously all white school, and they all give the same reason, fear. Of eight Negroes that went to (the Junior College) one man had his brains beaten, and another man was shot at."
>
> "In one county there have been 300 people who applied for transfer under the freedom of choice, and only one went because we are so exposed, we cannot hide. Everyone knows what everyone else is doing."
>
> "Now in Mississippi they don't call it integration, the people they call it sending your kid to the white school, because that is exactly what it amounts to and they all wonder what this means to their children, you know, psychologically and otherwise."
>
> "My son was the only Negro boy in the high school, and I am certain that even Shakespeare's wordpower to write could not put into words the anxiety, the heartaches, and the dark hours they have passed through. On any afternoon when my wife would come back from getting our son, I was almost afraid to look at her."

Over and over, the conferees asked for stricter enforcement of the guidelines, and protection for the children who take the first steps. Harassment and violence persist, and the rate of desegregation is discouragingly slow.

Many conferees asked that freedom of choice plans be eliminated as an accepted method of compliance. Many pointed out the ineffectiveness of complaint procedures where complainants cannot be found because of intimidation. Some suggested better procedures for full and prompt hearings and for duplicate transfer request forms to be made public so that all may know how the school boards are dealing with these requests. Some advocated that the guidelines require school boards themselves to be integrated in order to assure adequate representation of Negroes in policy decisions.

> "The guidelines we are presently living under that exempt the school board itself from the responsibility of making its plan work is a real farce, because the choice plan that is now in the HEW guidelines actually places the responsibility on the Negro [child] and the Negro parent to effect a Federal law or a Federal guideline....It would be much better if the guidelines required that children in segregated areas would have to attend a certain school. Then you would not be in a situation where the Negro parents could be victimized because they chose themselves to break with the status quo and incur the hostility of the white community from the standpoint of jobholding, income reprisals, and even bombs."

The credibility of the Federal Government is still regarded as in question. Many conferees asked if the Government is going to take a firm position in holding to the guidelines, or "yield as it did in Chicago."

A national insurance program was suggested for "adults who are put out of work because they enrolled their children in schools, or because they take a part in fulfilling their constitutional rights and for persons that are intimidated, harassed, and otherwise because of their civil rights activities."

The firing of Negro teachers by school boards for racial reasons was also presented as a serious issue in many localities. Conferees objected to boards discharging teachers who are graduates of non-accredited institutions without giving them a chance to gain the necessary qualifications.

The dilemma of the teacher who wants both to do a good job of teaching and to participate in winning constitutional rights came up many times.

> "Although we teach, we are afraid of economic reprisals. We are also afraid that we will not be able to even touch those children that we have been able to touch, to get into them some of the knowledge that you have now. And we can't do that when we are fired."

It was suggested that the Government appoint representatives to umpire such teachers' cases, "to determine immediately the issue between the school board and the teacher rather than letting the litigation work its tortuous way up to the Supreme Court and meanwhile the teacher loses two or three years."

In spite of these discouragements and the feeling that improving the Negro schools was the least difficult way to make progress, there was applause and approval for those who expressed a determination to make integration work:

> "That is the only thing that is going to do away with segregation in Mississippi, to let the young ones grow up playing, eating and studying together, because the adults, where segregation is soaked into their bones, into their hearts and in their minds, they have to die to get it out."

V. QUALITY EDUCATION

Not all of the conferees were in agreement that the same emphasis and expenditures should be applied to integration as to the achievement of quality education. This was one of the main issues of the education discussions.

Some felt that emphasis on quality would produce desegregation in time, a point that was made several times with respect to the Negro colleges. Some expressed the opinion that whites flee the cities not so much because of integration as because of inferior schools, and that if the inner city schools were improved the prospects for successful integration would be greatly enhanced.

Others felt that integration was not necessarily a priority goal, but that the main task before the nation is to give minority children the skills they need to become economically independent and thus free and mobile members of society. They held that this is a Federal as well as local responsibility and that we need a national commitment to insure that quality education is available to every child regardless of race or the degree of integration in the school.

Some conferees, chiefly from the South, described the penalties imposed on their children in newly integrated schools, ranging from psychological strain to physical danger. Some of these parents would prefer to see the Negro schools improved rather than subject their children to such harassment. In contrast, however, there was a substantial feeling, as expressed by one discussion panel, that there should

> "be no distinction between quality education and integrated education in view of the fact that integration is a necessary component of 'quality' education."

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

Delegates strongly supported the Council's recommendations on the need for more kindergarten and pre-school programs for development of better materials, curricula, and class rooms for rural schools, and for a closer relationship between the school and the community in cooperative undertakings. They agreed that more flexible hours or seasons of schooling would enable students to combine study and employment more satisfactorily and eliminate the flooding of the job market over the summer. Another proposal called for Federal aid in the provision of supplementary services -- by social workers, health workers, child guidance specialists, and others -- "to help implement the learning skills of the public school child."

But on the whole, participants seemed to feel that the more technical solutions to curriculum and schedule innovations should come from the professional educators, and they concentrated instead on the areas of major concern discussed in the following sections.

VI. TEACHER EDUCATION"

The committee discussions fully spported the Council's recommendation that there be critical and widespread changes in the training and clinical experiences of teachers. They agreed that the existing conventional programs of teacher education are wholly inadequate to train teachers for integrated classes or classes of students from varying cultural backgrounds. They stressed that courses and practice teaching should be directed to a better understanding of the environment of minority groups, of the teacher's own attitudes toward these groups and toward his students.

> "We have just a little bit of integration in our school but we have a lot of harassment from our white teachers on those Negro students. If the teachers are going to join in with the white students in picking on the little Negro children this is bad, and we think this is something that ought to go into the records."

Courses in teacher education schools in the ethnic background, culture, and history of minority groups, as well as courses dealing with the personal attitude of the teacher, were recommended. More in-service training programs for teachers to familiarize them with methods of handling newly integrated school situations were also called for, as were supplementary materials to compensate for the inadequacies of textbooks in this area.

There was some criticism of the hold-up of funds in the House appropriations committee which would have made more Federally funded training institutes possible.

The quality of teachers in the inner-city areas was recognized as perhaps the most important element in educational opportunity. Both by those who were concerned uniquely about the quality of ghetto schools and by those who spoke to the need for attracting white families in order to keep the cities integrated, this was seen as an important issue.

> "You build good schools and put sound teachers in them,...and I don't mean check-receivers, I mean teachers...and there will not be the massive flight of whites from the community, because if I were a white person, I tell you the truth that I would not want my child to go to some of these schools, because as a Negro person I don't want my child in them."

Considerable controversy developed, however, as to the best means of getting the best teachers into the schools traditionally considered difficult. Some suggested incentive pay, maintaining that it is harder to teach in the inner cities and the extra effort ought to be rewarded To accomplish this, some suggested that districts develop differential pay scales, others that the Federal Government provide subsidies for teachers who are willing to go into the slums.

Many conferees expressed an opposite view, however:

> "I would like to oppose this recommendation. I think if we want to develop a cadre of educational mercenaries and further stigmatize the children who live in the ghetto, this is a perfect way of doing it. I remember the so-called incentive pay that was provided for teachers in double shift schools, which, of course, were all in the Negro ghetto. Unfortunately many teachers who opted for double shift schools did so because of financial inducements. This did not create better education. It may have created more affluent teachers."

Other proposals for retaining the best teachers in the ghetto schools included keeping the good teachers out of administrative jobs and making special scholarships available to students who wish to prepare themselves to teach in the ghettos. The majority of the conferees felt that the central problem lies in training and that Federally funded courses would be necessary for pre-service and in-service courses. There was wide support for the promise of the National Teacher Corps, and many expressions that Congress should fund this program adequately and promptly.

An additional concern of some conferees, not mentioned in the Council report, was the need to attract more male teachers into the school systems.

Related to the training of teachers was the issue of using volunteers more effectively in the schools. While delegates agreed that this could be useful, there was much criticism of the use of neighborhood and parent volunteers.

> "People in poor communities have always been hung up on the fact that everybody wants them to volunteer for things. I think that in the report the areas of work needed could have been defined in terms of new careers in education and ancillary kinds of services needed in the educational process, to provide the opportunity for many people to get into the educational field."

VII. NEW LEARNING MATERIALS

Each of the twelve committees discussed the need for new learning materials and curricula in the schools, related to changing people's attitudes about the Negro and the Negro's image of himself. Materials used today often cause problems for the minority child, alienate him from other children, rob him of his American heritage, and degrade him. They should rather reflect the Negro's contribution to American culture, and his participation in jobs that range from technicians to professionsl.

> "The Negro people have no image of themselves as being decent, respected people and equal to anyone else."

The participants supported the Council's recommendation that new materials should deal with Negro contributions to America's development, be geared to the needs of children from varying backgrounds, and be sensitive to new developments in technology as well as in the social sciences. They also expressed concern about the use of textbooks that further prejudice and discrimination, especially in the South.

In many states there are still two separate lists of textbooks for Negro schools and white schools. Typically, the textbooks make no reference to Negro individuals and their participation in American society in other than subservient roles. It was proposed that, since Federal funds are used to enlarge library resources, these discriminatory practices should be covered by Title VI and challenged by national authority.

> "I know that the question of curriculum and text books is a hot potato on the matter of the Federal Government's censorship in control of these text books, but something must be done to break up the vicious propaganda mill that does exist in the southland to promote inferior concepts about the Negro."

One delegate pointed out that when Negro children transfer to "white schools in one Deep South state they "have to turn these books back that were marked for colored and purchase the books that were marked white."

An additional problem is the high cost of textbooks, which must be borne by the students even in the poorest counties. One participant spoke of an extra charge of $10.00 in elementary school and $35.00 a year in high school in a county where half of the Negro families earn less than $2,000 a year.

> "It is not surprising 'he said,' that many Negro students, as well as whites, attend school without any or only a few books."

The county does not provide free books or even a rental system to reduce the cost to students.

Another conferee recommended that OEO adopt a program which would provide $25.00 worth of books to poverty homes where children are required to purchase their own, or where they are required to use segregated textbooks.

VIII. SCHOOL FOOD PROGRAMS

The discussions of school lunch program amplified on the recommendations in the Council Report. It was charged that discrimination in the administration of these programs is common. Some pointed out that the program of hot lunches is too expensive for the really poor schools, and that only schools which have some affluent children can afford to provide free lunches. Others observed that a Negro parent who could not pay for the hot lunches furnished in the white schools in the Deep South had one more reason not to try to transfer his child into that school. Still others critized the difference in the menus provided in the Negro and white schools in the South.

All agreed that a more uniform method of providing lunches, which could not be used to discriminate against poor or Negro children, should be provided. The use of Title I funds to provide regular lunches was suggested, and some were in favor of providing breakfast in this way as well. There were some expressions that in urban areas the school lunch program needs to be widely expanded.

IX. TESTING

A subject of discussion not mentioned in the Council Report was the discriminatory effect of current school testing procedures. Most conferees accepted the need for some kind of testing to evaluate students, but were concerned about tests which result in "Negro children being automatically placed in slow learner categories." The problem persists up to the higher education level, where "entrance exams cause problems for students from disadvantaged schools, so we are widening the disparity at the higher education level. Something must be done to get to a clearly objective standard for admission, without at the same time lowering the overall standards."

The selective service examination was also severely criticized as discriminating against the educationally deprived youth.

X. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Several major problems were stressed in regard to vocational training, the first being that much current instruction is irrelevant to real job opportunities.

> "(Our city) has a growing industrial situation. We are not furnishing the types of people for this that fit into the economic security programs. We have not had enough vocational education and we have not trained our young people. We are unable to furnish the necessary skills and craftsmen for these trades."

> "We have many progrms now...that are so outdated that when these children finish the course they still can't get a job. They are training them for something they are not even using today."

There was broad agreement that schools need to coordinate their vocational training program with the businesses and industries in the community that offer job opportunities, by organizing local businessmen and industrial employment specialists to advise school systems, students, and guidance counselors.

A second problem is discrimination in vocational education, particularly in apprenticeships.

> "In our town the unions have an apprenticeship program that is being funded by the Government and yet Negroes are not permitted to go into the trade unions."
>
> "Our programs are intended to educate white and white only. The major apprentice programs don't include more than half a dozen Negroes."

Discrimination was reported in vocational guidance as well: "The Federal government now issues certain announcements. To a Negro high school, the graduating class, they issued the announcements for janitor, while to the other schools they gave applications for jobs, summer work, and work within the Federal system in the particular area."

GUIDANCE

But perhaps the greatest frustration in making vocational education effective was felt to be poor guidance. Many of the conferees related the question of vocational guidance in the high schools to the problem of guiding children into high education.

Participants advocated a comprehensive revision of the structure beginning in the junior high school, including additional and better trained guidance counselors, who can interpret to minority children opportunities in financial aid, in choices of employment and in opportunities for higher education -- and the relevance of high school education to all of these. Basic to this was the feeling that better secondary school curriculum would in itself attract and stimulate students, and that better teachers in all areas would raise the sights of students higher.

> "Kids are smarter by having dropped out than by having stayed through an educational system which does not prepare them."

> "The courses given to them now are lowly ones...they feel the children would only be able to work in labor courses, just the mechanical labor, instead of giving them courses that will prepare them for colleges."

Here again the question of teacher expectations is crucial. It was observed that the attitudes of guidance counselors, like those of teachers, have to be improved so that they do not think automatically of Negro students in stereotypes instead of individual aptitudes. Guidance counselors need the same kinds of courses in the history and contribution of minorities and the same kinds of background in behavioral and social sciences as are recommended for teachers. Conferees pointed out that this training is as necessary for Negro guidance counselors as for white, since many of them are so removed from the economic circumstances of their students that they do not recognize the aspirations or motivational problems of students.

> "Many of our own blacks look down on our children in the poor communities. They accept the youngsters from the housing project because they apparently have a steady income and they dress a little better."

Once again the question of relating school programs to the community came up frequently. Conferees recommended the use of community advisory panels to discuss with students the range of technical and professional jobs available, and to relate the need to complete their education with the possibilities for employment. They suggested career conferences using resources from the community, especially representatives of minority groups and persons without advanced degrees. They suggested "Career Clubs" for a semester at a time, in which students could study and then participate in junior jobs, where possible on a paying basis, to experience wider opportunities and see the need for more education to achieve a visible goal.

This last suggestion was echoed in a variety of ways in reports that even with adequate training students could not get decent jobs because of their lack of experience. It was suggested that students while in school, under program sponsorship, "actually get a job in some industry in the neighborhood where he is living so that he could demonstrate his ability to do the job. I think it would tend to break down the resistance."

Additional suggestions were made to involve the parents more closely in discussions of vocational guidance, to make them aware both of the school program and the opportunities in the community.

XI. HIGHER EDUCATION

As in the discussion of vocational guidance, a large part of the discussion of higher education focused on ways to expose Negro students to the opportunities even now available to them, to the financial aids they can take advantage of, and to the tutorial help which will enable them to acquire the tools which inferior schools do not provide. Evidence was put into the record of the successes of students from inadequate schools, regardless of their academic records in the past, when given reasonable attention and specialized teaching.

The discussions emphasized the Federal programs that now demonstrate how effective extra-curricular programs can be. The Upward Bound program was frequently cited as one of the most imaginative and successful programs in this area, and many delegates called attention to examples all over the country of ways in which "drop-outs," have been stimulated to try for college and have done well, such as Project Discovery in New York. Resource consultants called attention to the new Federal program under Section 408 of the Higher Education Act, which contracts with organizations to spread knowledge of such programs and informs students about college possibilities.

There was widespread agreement that funds for special tutorial programs should be increased. Some of the participants felt that they were most effective when run outside of the normal school structure, and suggested that action groups such as the civil rights organizations be funded for such purposes "because the kids have faith in them." The programs need to be related to people "who have the ear of the common people who need an educational program outside of the system that has already failed to produce."

In addition -- some conferees called attention to the effectiveness of programs in which students in one grade tutor students in a lower grade. Others recommended summer programs which would include whole families in study and recreation camps, for people who "never get out of these ghettos even to the edge of town -- for both students and parents, covering home management, job applications, reading and everything."

It was emphasized often that these programs should not be tied to the grades students have been making, as it has been adequately proven that even the least productive students in a conventional system can show unexpected development.

One of the continuing problems seems to be the restriction of special help to students who meet the standard means test, amd there was much comment in favor of raising the eligibility levels to include families of somewhat higher incomes. This was held to be necessary not only for community action programs, but for participation in work-study grants and in Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs. Some conferees expressed their discouragement over the fact that schools and community programs are not adequately funded even to provide special services for the children whose family incomes are less than $2,000, and called for recognition of the amount of money and commitment the necessary increase would entail. Conferees also called for better community centers of information about such help as is available.

The central problem in achieving more opportunities for higher education for Negroes, then, was seen by most of the conferees as one of making high school students aware of opportunities through better guidance programs, broadening the new kinds of tutorial programs (both within and outside traditional school structures) which can compensate for deficient schooling and increasing knowledge about resources for financial aid programs.

XII. ADULT EDUCATION

The Council's recommendations on adult education were frequently criticized as insufficient. Conferees proposed the expansion of existing programs provided by the Economic Opportunity Act and the Higher Education Act, and urged support of the Hart Bill in the Senate and the Basic Education Act of 1966 to expand and enlarge this effort.

Some suggested further that adult education programs be strengthened by the provision of subsidies for those participating, on the model of the STAR program funded by OEO in Mississippi. Others spoke to the need for better consumer education at the adult level. Others were concerned that adult vocational schools be formed in rural areas, where people have little opportunity to overcome illiteracy and become economically self-sustaining.

XIII. NEGRO COLLEGES

There was some disagreement over the sense of the recommendations regarding Negro colleges and whether or not the preservation of their segregated status should be made an issue.

Some confusion over the development of Title III programs for developing institutions was also expressed; information about this program is only beginning to be known. Questions were raised about the problem of non-accredited colleges which need a statement from a regional agency that they are making "reasonable progress" toward accreditation; conferees in several discussions stated that these agencie are unable or unwilling to make such a guarantee, and this prevents the developing institution from closing the gap.

Some conferees advocated that the smaller institutions, especially Negro colleges, should gain a fair share of government research and other contracts, and thus develop their capabilities to serve their communities. They criticized the concentration of research grants in a few major institutions. Resource persons present suggested that such colleges form consortiums to strengthen their ability to maintain research projects, and apply to national organizations such as the National Council of University Research Administrations, which provides its members with information on how to raise funds.

SUMMARY OF
CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS
ON
HOUSING

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The discussion groups' prognosis on housing was: if present trends are not reversed, slum conditions--urban and rural--will worsen and existing racial concentrations will intensify and expand.

Under existing programs--Governmental and private--we are falling far short of (1) meeting the housing needs of America's minorities and low income population, and (2) creating racially and economically inclusive communities.

The Council's recommendations for action were endorsed in their entirety. The Conference suggestions and resolutions were generally supportive, adding specific amendments or, as one delegate said, supplying "flesh" to the "skeleton."

Impatience with planning was widespread as delegates sought ways to translate hopes and goals into the "brick and mortar" of actual houses.

The suggestion that negotiations on open occupancy were possible with housing industry organizations, particularly with the National Association of Real Estate Boards, was considered by many to be, at best, wishful thinking. They maintained that progress in the private sector can only follow law and the uniform enforcement of that law--namely, Federal law. "...There is no one who believes in community action more than I do, but when community action is not forthcoming, either through fear or unwillingness, then some outside pressure has got to be exerted, and the only pressure that I can see is Federal pressure."

No matter what route was charted,--private citizen action, state and local governmental action, industry or religious or civic action--the consensus was that the initiative, incentive, and moral and financial leadership must come from the Federal Government.

Some confidence was expressed in the beginning of a Federal commitment to provide for low and moderate income families, to revitalize the inner core of America's cities and to break the "white noose" surrounding them through the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the rent supplement program, the proposed Federal fair housing law, and the Demonstration Cities Program. But it was unanimously agreed that implementation of existing laws must be substantially strengthened to have any meaning and in addition, their provisions must be expanded and funding vastly increased. Extension of the Executive Order was also recommended.

Discussion at this point inevitably arrived at the chicken and egg conundrum: which comes first--government action or the express will of the people?

> "We haven't mobilized the American people into understanding that only as we are prepared to allocate adequate resources to do these other things will we be able to make the kind of progress that technologically we are now capable of making."

How to mobilize this public support, win over the "power structure," and get massive housing programs under way was never definitively answered. It was agreed that the problem in Southern communities is more difficult than elsewhere in the country.

A major concern of the conferees was to find the means to break the hold of the slumlords on powerless tenants. Inasmuch as the Council did not deal with this aspect of the housing problem, the discussions and suggestions opened new areas for analysis, which are discussed at length in the section on revitalizing the ghetto.

Spokesman after spokesman rose in each meeting to urge his fellow delegates to muster support in their communities for the proposed Federal fair housing law with the recommended additions, and other legislation aimed at increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing. They also urged organization of groups to sponsor the building of housing for this underhoused group.

Perhaps the most eloquent statements were made on behalf of the rural Negro, who is facing the bleakest prospects in all areas. Massive efforts are necessary to produce housing, jobs, and other life essentials.

The tragedy of the Watts riot has not ended. The very housing problems that contributed to its happening are being exacerbated. Housing improvements and even maintenance are being frustrated because institutions refuse to make loans, write insurance, and so on. It was the clear sense of the discussions that we must break this vicious circle if we are to achieve the objectives of the Council reports which, with additions, are now those of the entire Conference.

I. FREEDOM OF CHOICE--THE OPEN MARKET

The magnitude and variety of obstacles barring Negroes from access to white neighborhoods and communities make the area of equal housing opportunity the most complex of civil rights problems. Federal action, state and local laws have not made significant inroads into the established racial residential patterns. The impact of housing segregation--of separate white and Negro communities--is felt in all related fields--education, employment, and the political process.

As one conferee said, "Every school ought to be a cross section of America in order to have the splendid diversity in all of its wonderful exciting forms, and the only way you can do that is to build the city in which you can get economic and racial integration."

Role of Private Industry

Who and what is that "power structure" which operates to bar Negroes and low income persons from suburbia? Builders, lenders, realtors, Federal, state and local governments, and the white and Negro private citizens share the responsibility. One segment of the housing industry--the National Association of Real Estate Boards--was credited with giving "birth to this organized program of discrimination in housing." NAREB was roundly castigated throughout the housing discussion.

Advocating voluntary action with a self-policing mechanism, local real estate boards are fighting fair housing legislation at every governmental level. The absence of tangible accomplishments leaves this commitment to voluntary action in doubt. Where legislation has been successfully passed, several local boards have initiated referenda to repeal them, as in the case of California's Proposition 14, recently declared unconstitutional by that state's Supreme Court.

The boards' effort is now directed at blocking passage of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1966.

> "(In May,) NAREB voted $300,000 to fight the Federal legislation on housing. And they sent out some 750,000 pieces of literature to their local boards, and they are now organizing a national campaign as well as a local campaign in every community throughout this nation to fight what they call forced housing...Therefore, I think that when we start talking in terms of implementing any resolution of this type, we have to begin to fight fire with fire, both on a national and a local level."

A participant asked if there was any legal basis for NAREB's contention that homeowners have the right to discriminate. A lawyer on the panel answered, "There is no such thing as an absolute right. Rights are conditioned by society for the social welfare."

In view of the fact that the "housing industry with few exceptions is the one major industry in the United States that is not tuned up for integration," a leader of a national organization working to open housing opportunities noted that "some of the recommendations for private industry seem to be pretty unrealistic..."

Another conferee similarly observed that the Council's recommendations that "the local real estate board and local banking and savings and loans and insurance companies...publish policy statements...that trade officials... enter into intensive dialogue with leaders in civil rights...is completely unrealistic."

Other segments of the housing industry are not guiltless.

Lending institutions do not extend mortgage loans to Negroes on the same terms as they do to white borrowers. Higher down payments, shorter term loans, and higher interest rates are the rule regardless of the credit, income, and other qualifications of the Negro applicant. Law should require equal standards regardless of race.

One solution offered in several committees was that the Federal National Mortgage Association be authorized to make direct loans, (in addition to its secondary market operations) to meet the needs of minority group persons denied loans because of race. It was estimated that Negro companies account for only one percent of all mortgage lending and, therefore, cannot make a dent in segregation.

Another delegate called for the appointment of a Negro to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the formation of a national savings and loan association with regional organizations "to give and make available financing to groups that are being denied it in the various communities." By creating this competition, such an association might well induce other savings and loan and lending institutions to follow its lead.

In distinguishing among the various parts of the housing industry, the homebuilders as a national group were considered to have become more responsible of late. As an example the adoption of an open occupancy policy by the Wilmington, Delaware, homebuilders was cited.

The Federal Role

Time and again the discussion returned to the role of the Federal Government. As one conferee put it: "Let us not look to the community and say if you respond with action then things will happen. Let us say to the government, stop perpetuating, stop expanding it, and then we will help you break it down." The conferees left no doubt of their view that all Federal programs must not only be applied without discrimination, but must work together to reduce segregation and promote integration.

Disappointment and frustration with the "soft" implementation of the Executive Order and Title VI permeated the housing discussions: "How does the Federal Government propose to get the cooperation of the housing industry? Do they not in fact have many tools with which pressure could be brought?"

"Every effort (must) be made to ensure that Federal funds shall not be used to initiate, intensify or perpetuate segregated housing." And again, "Urge the President and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to exercise all their powers against discrimination by builders, renters and financial institutions where Government funds or credit is involved."

The Federal Housing Administration operating in support of the private housing market has not effected noticeable change in racial housing patterns. Mainly, it was noted, the problem is that FHA is not "consumer-oriented, but banker-oriented."

One proposal would require builders who are subject to the requirements of the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing to advertise to that effect.

Another specific area suggested for investigation is the procedure by which area brokers are appointed to handle reacquired FHA properties. Constant checks are necessary to assure that these houses are offered, in fact, without discrimination. If not, it was proposed that FHA should sell or rent these properties directly. It was further suggested that minority rights would be better protected if more Negroes were employed in FHA regional offices.

A recommendation directed to all Federal departments would require them "to affirmatively seek integrated, open occupancy housing for their employees. Federal agencies should stipulate that they will contract only with open occupancy landlords or realtors in finding housing for their employees." Another suggestion was that the Conference "urge the Federal Government to encourage Federal contractors to provide integrated housing for their employees."

The Defense Department was called on to make use of the military "off limits" procedures to ensure that developments and other available housing around Federal bases are rented and sold on an open basis.

It was recommended that the Conference "strongly urge the United States Congress to enact this year a Fair Housing Act of 1966 which (a) prohibits discrimination based upon race, color, religion, national origin, in the sale, rental and financing of all private housing, land and commercial space; (b) establishes an Equal Opportunity in Housing Commission; (c) empowers this Commission to initiate and receive complaints from individuals and organizations and provide for fiscal year 1966 an appropriation of $8 million dollars for this Commission's operation and staff."

Conferees warned that this legislation faces a hard fight and needs expressions of citizen support. One conferee advocated active pressure on realtors, builders, and bankers who are opposing the bill.

In addition to Congressional action, extension of the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing was recommended "to cover all housing, new or existing, and the financing of such housing, where Federal mortgage insurance, deposit insurance guarantee, underwriting or financing has been or is involved."

Lack of confidence in the enforcement of these provisions was evident as the Conference searched for assurance that these laws, regulations, and guidelines would be more than words.

State Action

It was noted that the Council report included no statement on the need for the adoption of state fair housing laws where there are none and the fact that weak laws should be strengthened. Constant policing was urged on the grounds that gentlemen's agreements among brokers and other industry members successfully maintain segregation despite fair housing laws.

The discussions elicited support for the Council's recommendation that state licensing laws be applied to require realtors and brokers to offer housing without regard to race or color.

Another means suggested to secure freedom of choice was to couple with every zoning ordinance a "freedom of residence ordinance."

A massive, substantially financed effort to "popularize the value of integrated living" was urged. This would take the form of a Federal educational program on housing integration and Federal financing of voluntary private groups organized for this purpose.

The resistance in the white community and the need for the majority population to be prepared for changes were acknowledged. So was, conversely, the fact that the Negro population is so conditioned to the absence of choice and white hostility, that an equally energetic program to encourage Negroes to seek housing in white areas is necessary.

More specifically, resolutions were passed urging "widespread initiative and private involvement and support of open occupancy in housing" and a recommendation that "individuals and managers of institutional funds act on the concept of involvement whereby at least 10 percent of the invested funds are committed to the service of integrated housing and related activities."

Citizen participation in the form of community action programs was endorsed to "foster integration as a social goal in housing and to mobilize community support in the white communities for this goal."

Debate on the use of "benign quotas" to stabilize integrated neighborhoods was brief but lively. Ideally, it was pointed out, if the goal of an universally open market were achieved, there would be no need for such controls. But until that time, it was agreed, such a policy would mean hardship to Negro families in most communities.

Private employers were viewed as a potential force for housing integration. Some conferees maintained that they should be held responsible under Title VII for extending housing assistance in suburbs to Negro employees. In cases where personnel are transferred, industry can acquire and negotiate the sale or rental of their houses on an open occupancy basis. Several industries already act for their employees in instances of transfer.

Resolutions, comments, and other observations were not always applicable to all sections of the country. In the South, segregated housing is becoming more prevalent. "Atlanta, in another 10 years (is) going to have another Watts...State and local governmental action, no less citizen action, will not be forthcoming for integrated housing in the South. Pressure from without, that being the Federal Government, is the only means."

II. HOUSING SUPPLY FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES

Two of the most pressing concerns of the participants were the elimination of existing substandard, squalid housing in both urban and rural settings and the inadequacy of programs to provide low income housing through both new construction and rehabilitation of substandard units. Participants, in accord with the Council report, said present programs in both areas are too limited to keep pace with growing need. More money, expanded and new programs and techniques were called for to provide the necessary housing within a market offering free choice to all regardless of race and income.

> "We have got to recognize that the American economy that can turn out ten million automobiles ought to be able to produce two million houses for the American people. And until we begin to get that kind of concept into this housing field we are just going to continue to piddle on the outer fringes of the basic housing problem...We have got to use the tools of the Twentieth Century technological revolution."

Who in the American economy, it was asked, is going to fill this need and where will these houses be built--in the inner city or in the outlying suburbs--in rural communities where employment opportunities are lacking? There was apparent agreement that improving housing in the ghetto and dispersion of low and moderate income housing were compatible objectives.

There was general agreement that private industry has not done the job and that present Federal policy--relying chiefly on providing inducements to private industry to build housing for that part of the population now underhoused and, often, unhoused--will not make up the difference.

While, on the one hand, Federal programs offer resources and incentive for low and moderate income housing, on the other hand, Federal programs such as highway construction, urban renewal, and other public works are actually reducing the number of low income housing units. It was recommended that "any program which involes a net reduction in the volume and amount of housing available to low income people should not be given any kind of Federal aid." A companion recommendation would condition "Federal assistance for community facilities and services...on...programs that will provide for low and moderate income housing commensurate with the needs of the metropolitan area of which they are a part..." A further resolution would require that any subdivisions of government seeking Federal assistance "establish an agency...to conduct and maintain a current inventory of all available housing whether for sale, lease, or rental and to catalog and make available to the public all such information...."

One participant observed that the best of the Federal housing programs, such as urban renewal and FHA-insured and VA-guaranteed mortgages, are beyond the means of the poor and even moderate-income family. However, the discussions and recommendations for increasing the housing supply reflected the opinion that the Federal Government is the one instrumentality with the resources and authority to create housing at this income level. There was consensus that existing programs such as 221(d)(3) and rent supplements can generate housing production and rehabilitation; that, given appropriate controls, amendments, and sufficient funding, they can enable more and more poor families to obtain decent housing.

Among the suggestion relative to 221(d)(3) and rent supplements were the following:

"The Administration should direct the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to give top priority to housing programs for the poor in our major cities, by encouraging and funding the administration cost of non-profit housing corporations designed to make creative use of Federal programs such as the 221(d)(3) /program/ and the rent subsidy program...and revolving funds...available to such corporations...to allow efficient operation in the competitive field of land and property acquisition."

A plea was heard to help non-profit groups in 221(d)(3) projects as opposed to package builders who are not interested in the principle of the program.

It was also urged that the 221(d)(3) program be amended to include widows and/or single persons in these moderate income housing projects.

It was held that site location on the edge of the ghetto creates additional problems such as further burdening an already overcrowded school system, and that strong criteria for site selection are therefore needed.

Rent Supplements

Under present law, rent supplements are available to eligible families only in new projects built or substantially rehabilitated under the 221(d)(3) market interest rate program. (A small experimental program covers below market interest rate projects.) This narrow base was severely attacked on several grounds.

Were rent supplements to apply to all housing, "local or Federal governments could select appropriate housing that is on the market and preempt the purchase of that accommodation...and place qualified individuals in that housing and supplement the rents or low income families would be given the rent supplement directly and permitted to find their own housing, provided of course that it is decent, and in the context of an open market."

Others pointed out that under the proposed system, the burden would once more be on the individual; but that by extending the program to cover housing not under 221(d)(3), freedom of choice would be a fact for low income families.

Frequently proposed was a broad Federal program to enable low income families to purchase as well as rent homes. At present, there is no systematic approach to subsidizing low income home ownership; yet, it was pointed out, 50 percent of low income families have equity in housing. Such home ownership could be extended under 221(d)(3), as the Council recommended, with purchase as well as rent subsidies.

One suggestion was the self-help housing plan as a means of creating decent low income housing: "Self-help, low-cost housing should be encouraged and assisted by the relevant agencies of government. Millions of dollars of loan funds, properly guaranteed, are available from union trust funds and should be used."

One means of increasing the total supply of decent housing, of course, is rehabilitating salvageable buildings. High labor costs and unrealistic building codes in urban areas have retarded this process substantially. It was suggested that using "the two-third/one-third urban renewal formula in acquiring old housing and reselling it to a non-profit organization" would reduce these costs to make rehabilitation feasible and rents lower. (This is a feature of the pending Demonstration Cities Program.)

Another suggestion was the creation of a development corporation by the Federal Government which would work in the field or rehabilitation.

In all of these designs, the difficulties in getting under way were pointed out. A conferee asserted that FHA has not been aggressive in taking care of people as against banking corporations and cited the lack of FHA-insured rehabilitation loans outside of urban renewal areas. He called for reevaluation of FHA policies and practices to increase the number of FHA insured mortgages (for purchase and rehabilitation) in older residential areas which are the major sources of Negro housing, on the one hand, and integrated areas struggling to remain so, on the other. In some FHA regional offices, it was charged, personnel are ill-informed or unenthusiastic about new and often complicated programs.

To reduce housing costs, a conferee urged greater utilization of mobile homes, while another insisted that the price of land is forcing housing costs up and that zoning density regulations must be reevaluated.

Others observed that the present tight money policy is curbing housing construction and that the Federal Reserve Board should consider and deal with this adverse effect in the critical area of housing. Whereas every effort should be made to reduce housing costs, trends are in the opposite direction.

Yet another problem was seen in those communities which refuse to accept Federal aid for low income housing while enjoying other Federal benefits.

> "The concentration of people (in my neighborhood) is just about out of hand. It's two and a half times that of any other part of the city with no added schools, no added city services, and it's making for us what could develop into the situation we have at Watts."

This conferee asked: "How do we encourage local city fathers to get Federal aid to give relief to these people in the low income bracket?" A panelist recalled the Council proposal that all Federal assistance should be conditioned on the provision of low and moderate housing.

Another related problem is the failure of communities to expend funds already appropriated. New legislation to deal with this matter was urged.

Rural Housing

The Conference discussion on the crisis in rural housing was extensive.

> "We can develop programs, including building one million rural houses... repairing a couple of million rural houses...building some tens of thousands of water systems so people can have inside plumbing, and don't have to use privies or the bushes, or go out and look for a stream to find drinking water...Many of the people who are Federal employees, whose job it is to help the people use these programs are in collusion with property owners in local areas to prevent people from getting the benefits of law and Federal legislation and authorization of money which we taxpayers put in for all the people."

A recommendation made in several committees called for the extension of the Council recommendations to cover all low income and "no income" families, not merely the elderly and agricultural labor.

"OEO does not feel it can move in terms of providing brick and mortar for housing. We need money that could be donated or Federal monies that could be put in a revolving fund and then coupled with a very long term FHA loan...We have a chance to do something in the area of housing in these black belt areas, especially throughout the rural area..."

But what about the sharecroppers replaced by machines in Mississippi who are losing their almost uninhabitable huts? One spokesman estimated that there are now 30,000 homeless Negroes in the Mississippi Delta. A Federal official explained that the Government is trying to work out a program combining jobs, training, and housing and, more immediately, trying to get trailers for those badly housed or not housed at all.

The ineffectiveness of Federal programs was criticized·

> "Your Farmers Home Administration, they lend money there to build houses. We have some folks there, maybe they have two acres of land...I've been told if they go to make a loan, you got to pay five and six hundred dollars down before you get a loan. Well, the fellow says if I got six hundred dollars, I would build my own house."

It was reported that at a hearing before the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, "a Farm Home Administrator said that he had no sympathy for the new program in self-help housing when the Farmers Home Administration is committed to the financing of that program..."

Another difficulty in obtaining assistance from FHA confronts long-time residents who cannot establish clear title to the land and consequently are unable to secure loans to put in plumbing and other improvements.

As one participant observed--the question is shelter--basic, minimum shelter.

It was recommended that the "Federal Government should provide the means to construct one million new rural houses and the major repair of two and a half million dilapidated ones during the next ten years. This should create 250,000 new jobs annually."

III. SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES AND NEW TOWNS

The inaccessibility of white suburbia was accented by the paucity of suggestions on how to break down the barriers of race and income. It was pointed out that racial discrimination and economic inability have removed these communities from the experience of the vast majority of Negroes.

The intransigent stand of the real estate industry and the discriminatory policies and practices of the other members of the housing industry, as discussed in the section on Freedom of Choice, were seen as determining factors in maintaining white suburbia.

One participant called for Federal enabling legislation to permit the creation of metropolitan type governments. However, others pointed out that this is within the province of the states; the Federal Government can offer inducements to local governments in the form of grants and loans or apply sanctions such as the withholding of such benefits where no such plan exists.

Disenchantment with the effectiveness of the second method was expressed.

> "Withholding Federal funds is not the answer. The alternative is to make it possible to have court actions against the individuals, groups or organizations which are perpetuating closed housing or segregated housing."

> On the other hand, "We can't permit a community to pick and choose in this day and age those things they particularly want and turn away things that are really socially necessary for that locality as well."

> Another conferee observed that programs for highways and urban renewal "as they are presently implemented, do not help the Negroes and other minority group members or our poor citizens. They grant almost exclusive benefits to the white suburban community...I think we should consider...the possibility of an immediate cessation of (these) programs."

Nevertheless, metropolitan planning and the need for various local jurisdictions to cooperate in a total plan were viewed by many as essential.

The use of zoning regulations to keep out minority group members and low income persons was advocated. Methods of accomplishing this objective were not proposed except for the sanction of withholding Federal aid.

It was stated that economic pressures and persuasion can be instrumental in the suburbs as industry and government increasingly establish plants and offices there, since the community suffers monetary loss when Negro employees are unable to reside near their place of employment: they spend their dollars elsewhere. Where industry, the Federal Government, and labor unions are located in various parts of the country, they must be consistent. "It's not good enough to have a pious declaration of the head office."

The question was raised whether or not under Title VI Federal assistance to highways could be withheld if housing in the community is segregated. One panelist said it is not now being done but could be done administratively; another disagreed.

Emphasis in this area was clearly on the Council recommendation that Federal assistance to suburban communities be conditioned on their implementation and adoption of programs which, in the words of a conferee, "would provide for a wide spectrum of housing which would tend, of course, to solve some of our educational problems--some of the problems of de facto segregation--as well as putting an end to the horrible monotony of the all white suburb."

IV. REVITALIZING AND INTEGRATING THE GHETTO

Public housing and urban renewal were bitterly criticized by many conferees as the Federal tools by which local authorities perpetuate the ghettos.

Reforming these programs and cutting off the flow of profits to the slumlords were urgently demanded, while revitalizing the ghetto was called a "long range goal of first priority."

Eliminating slum conditions is literally a matter of life and death, according to a physician at the Conference. Infant and maternal death rates among Negroes are rising in the ghettos "because housing is so related to health--with problems of colds in infants,...to the elderly;... to the general dangerous environment of broken glass and rotting houses and vermin."

These dire conditions are in part products of the failure to enforce housing codes. "Anytime that you get a census that has more than 50 percent nonwhite residents, you can multiply by five or ten the amount of housing code violations."

Other forces cited as accelerating deterioration are policies of lending institutions and insurance companies which do not service ghetto areas. One conferee stated that recent events in Watts make it impossible to secure residential loans or insurance protection, particularly in that part of Watts designated as the "riot area."

Projected urban renewal was described as still another contributing factor. In one community, a slum area was designated for clearance and, for at least three years, no one was concerned with maintaining or improving the housing. Two children died in a fire there because "the city did not have to worry about it."

Landlord-Tenant Relationship

Many participants at the Conference were critical of the absence in the Council report of the landlord-tenant relationship in the nation's slums. Basic changes to create equitable rights and responsibilities of the parties were strongly advocated.

To place these parties in more equal bargaining positions several courses of action were proposed: (1) the formation of tenant unions to negotiate contracts with landlords; (2) the institution of tenant suits against landlords for housing code violations; (3) rent strikes or the withholding of rents during which a Negro agent would collect the rents until the landlord made improvements.

A fourth suggestion was based on the premise that "one of the problems... with the slums is...that there is a continuous resale of property because it is one of the biggest money-makers we have. We will begin to take the profit out of it by prohibiting the sale or rental for occupancy of the property until it is brought up to standard."

Whether or not the property owner will find it financially worthwhile to bring the structure up to standard was seen as a big question. One conferee was pessimistic: "When rent is reduced or other action taken, slumlords walk away and people are still left in those conditions. It is still a firetrap. It is still a rat trap..." His answer was to have the government acquire and rehabilitate it and let the tenants become cooperative owners.

A major source of rental money for slum property is welfare and other public assistance payments. In one large city, a delegate said "the welfare department, using city, state and Federal money is the largest supporter of the slum structures."

The money now spent on inferior housing could buy decent housing, according to a conferee:

> "We have an architect who has just put together a decent house at $12,000 which you could have financed at $88 a month...which is the basic price given to ADC mothers in Chicago...This $88 goes to a slum as it now exists. It would then be going as equity to the persons in the property who are involved in a cooperative venture."

Public Housing

Public Housing projects built in massive, high rise conglomerations dominate and symbolize the ghettos in most of the large northern cities. In some southern cities, they were the first form of systematically segregated housing. Authoritarian and paternalistic management policies and managers complete the image. In addition to the task of desegregating existing projects and creating new integrated housing, local policies of a more general nature were demanded.

First, the Council's proposal for scattered sites was endorsed.

> "The Federal Government should scatter vest pocket units of housing rather than continue the construction of economic and sometimes racial ghettos by building massive public housing developments which tend to perpetrate de facto segregation."

Further, the local public housing authority was to be "encouraged," as well as enabled, to function on a metropolitan basis.

Much debate centered around Federal control over site selection. Leaving it to local authorities was viewed as totally unacceptable and there was a good deal of skepticism concerning PHA's determination to exercise its prerogative--"I am talking about the fact of sending an investigator into the community and then receiving a letter from the Department of Housing; you know, the matter has been looked into and that the Department is satisfied that the local housing authority is in compliance with the guidelines."

It was suggested that occupancy of a project solely be members of one race should be *prima facie* evidence of non-compliance.

What about existing all-white and all-Negro projects? It was maintained that only tenant selection policies can change the established patterns:

> "Freedom of choice is all backwards. For ten years now we have been struggling in Virginia with little children--the more courageous parents taking it upon themselves to desegregate the schools, and now people are saying that community leaders or a private person should take upon themselves the burden of desegregating public housing. To me it's perfectly ridiculous...public authority should require that tenants be assigned to break the racially segregated pattern."
>
> The speaker recommended: "That the government has the full and immediate responsibility of desegregating every existing housing project which government operates;
>
> "That freedom of choice be recognized as totally incompetent for the desegregation of existing housing projects;
>
> "And that the public housing authority in each city should be required to assign every applicant for public housing in such manner as will aid in the desegregation of the city's public housing projects."

The application in Louisville, Kentucky, of this recommended procedure was described by a Federal public housing official:

> "I regret very much to say that [Federal] PHA had no role in the change of policy. The Louisville housing division was purporting to comply with Title VI, changed its policy from freedom of choice and placed its burden of achieving integration to one of first come, first served.
>
> "Louisville attempted to bring about that dispersion of families. They have done it. The occupancy patterns have held very well and we are hopeful that more authorities will adopt such policy."

It was recommended that the Federal Government enforce its housing policy through a process similar to that provided for in the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Another conferee called for a law to penalize local officials for conspiring to segregate public housing in violation of Title VI.

Other local housing authority policies working inequities on the Negro were described. Mentioned repeatedly was the barring of unwed mothers from public housing:

> "Public housing...would and do evict unwed mothers for giving birth to children out of wedlock. This strikes me as being one of the most heartless and...cruel instruments or forms of punishment. It actually denies a woman who has made a mistake the right to decent housing. This seems...to turn these people back into the slums to be victimized by heartless landlords."

Rules respecting income limits also mean hardship. "[People] get into the public housing. Their income suddenly goes up a couple of hundred dollars and they say they are in the middle class. Then you put them out. Where do they go? Back to the slums because they don't have any freedom of choice...They have become accustomed to these appliances, hot and cold water, nice floors. Why throw them out in the slums?" It was argued that children of public housing tenant families should be permitted to hold jobs without affecting the amount of rent or occupancy conditions.

The point was made that the typical architecture and landscaping support the institutional atmosphere of public housing and the knowledge that these apartments are publicly subsidized; poor maintenance and lack of community pride contribute to the overall picture of just another slum.

Displacement of persons for public housing construction raises problems comparable to any public construction--highways, etc. It was recommended:

> "that prior to providing monies for public housing development, the Federal Government should insist that all housing and building codes be strictly enforced before the funds be made available to the community requesting the funds; that plan in depth be made in the area of relocation. Also in order that a ghetto will not be perpetuated, the communities seeking funds for public housing development must produce a definite plan of rehabilitation of substandard housing along with its plans for the construction of public housing."

Urban Renewal

In the view of many, if not most, of those at the Conference, urban renewal has aggravated the severe housing shortage for Negroes and persons of low and moderate income. The allegation that urban renewal is "Negro removal" was frequently heard.

A resident of a Missouri city reported that urban renewal was removing all the Negroes from that community because no housing was available to them in that city. He declared that citizens who have written letters to HUD have received answers, but no action.

One of the protections against such injustices is the requirement of citizen participation in the workable program. There was a consensus that this requirement was in name only: that, in fact, advisory committees are not even consulted.

It was suggested, therefore, that the advisory committee or council members should affix their signatures to proposals indicating approval or disapproval. Members who disapprove the proposals should attach a statement of their reasons thereto. Under this plan, the responsible Federal agency in the region would be required to make on-the-spot inspections and interviews of community leaders in the affected area.

Redevelopment of urban renewal sites has been prevailingly for middle and upper income families. The Southwest Washington project was cited as an example of the replacement of low income substandard housing with expensive high rise apartments and townhouses.

One factor cited as contributing to loss of faith in Federal action is the participation in urban renewal programs of companies which are knowingly discriminating in their other operations. One case in point is in New York where seven allegations of discrimination are pending before the State Commission against a real estate company which is a co-developer of urban renewal housing.

Relocating displaced families, usually Negroes and other minority group members of low income, into decent and desegregated housing is destined to fail so long as the supply is inadequate and the market discriminatory. Many families are owners of standard and decent homes. As Negroes, who have probably paid inflated prices because of discriminatory practices, they are not awarded a sum representing the replacement value. Consequently, they do not have the funds to buy on the existing market. To preclude these deprivations, it was recommended:

> "that the Administration declare a moratorium on additional urban renewal or other Federal grant clearance such as highways until construction of low and middle income housing can in fact meet the legal and quantitative requirements for relocation."

The Council's concern that the Administration's Demonstration program advanced desegregation by race and income was taken up by the conferees. It was recommended that construction and rehabilitation allocations should be made throughout the city and not limited to the neighborhoods designated for improvement.

The scope and funding of this program was deemed far short in terms of the objective.

> "The U. S. Government cannot afford to talk about some demonstration pilot projects in housing. This is fantastic in a nation which has a gross national product of $600 billion. The major question is one of priorities. Are we concerned with people and the way they live?"

The process of selection of cities was questioned as well. "According to the Secretary of HUD we are to select cities 'with most imaginative, greatest ideas'. Absent from all of this are the ones with the greatest need..." A panelist responded that "this is a demonstration that will lead the way." We will "find solutions by giving it to cities who can use it well."

> It was also recommended: "that an integral part of the demonstration cities program, plus other cities so designated because of the obvious need and size of public housing, be the implementation of supplementary grants and/or outright appropriations coordinated at the Federal level for the provision of the locally based social service centers in all public housing projects affording a wide range of necessary and needed health and welfare resources."

It was also suggested that existing programs can and should be used to revitalize the ghetto. For example, FHA financing should be made available for old, deteriorating (not slum) housing where it is especially needed.

Conferees maintained that, if the ghetto is not to be perpetuated, locating public housing and using rent supplements outside the area and attracting people of different races and incomes into the area should be pursued in parallel fashion.

Ghetto residents must participate in the entire process. For example, a participant referred to the Citizens Care Committee in Harlem which "approaches local authorities in doing such things as renovating existing structures and providing play space for children."

Agreement was expressed with the Council's statement that there are valuable and tangible assets in the ghetto which should be preserved. The forces of deterioration and blight--physical and social--must be turned back so that we can as Americans enjoy the richness and excitement that is life in the city.

SUMMARY OF

CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

ON

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The conferees were in basic support of the aims and positions set forth in the Council's Report and Recommendations. While there were a number of proposals which the delegates wished to add, they were intended to supplement the Council Report rather than oppose it.

The delegates did express their sense of urgency in the need for federal, rather than state, action to make use of powers already existent, especially under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and to vigorously enforce available criminal sanctions. The conferees wholeheartedly supported the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1966 but, at the same time, placed heavy emphasis on the necessity for aggressive implementation of existing laws and intelligent revision of existing policies.

COMMENT ON THE COUNCIL REPORT

I. PROTECTION OF NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS FROM INTIMIDATION

Support of Title V of the Administration Bill

Title V met with general approval; beyond the summary of its terms presented to each chamber of conferees by a member of the resource panel, its separate provisions were only briefly discussed.

Federal Legislation to Assure Compensation to Victims of Racial Violence

Where the Council Report was directed at compensation for loss suffered through racial violence or while exercising those rights specifically defined by Title V, discussion by the delegates suggested that such a remedy would have to be broadly drawn if it was to cover the broad spectrum of possible injury which, though not caused by direct violence, might nevertheless result from civil rights activity or assertion of constitutional rights. Some conferees reported that large bail bond premiums or exaggerated charges of misconduct were part of a general police program of reprisals against those engaged in lawful picketing or exercise of First Amendment rights. One delegate suggested a remedy of immediate appeal to challenge exorbitant bail. There was widespread concern for the need for federal assistance for those evicted or discharged from their jobs as a result of their civil rights activities. Provision of court costs and attorney's fees for those involved in criminal or civil litigation to implement or protect civil rights was also considered.

The conferees were most concerned with the general goal that those persons suffering injury should have a prompt and effective federal remedy rather than the actual form of that remedy. Therefore, no preference was expressed between the suggested alternatives of a civil right of action or an administrative remedy. There was, however, favorable mention made of the Douglas-Case Bill provisions. Some conferees recommended that if the Federal government made payment to injured persons it should then, in turn, have a cause of action against those who were responsible for the injury. One delegate expressed the hope that the assurance of an effective Federal remedy might diminish the reluctance of rural Negroes to make complaints. If counties and municipalities were also held jointly liable for the acts of their officials some believed it might strongly influence them to raise their standards for the hiring and training of local police.

Effective Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws

The delegates were deeply concerned with the effective enforcement of civil rights laws already on the books. The Council had recommended greater Federal involvement in local law enforcement where racial violence occurred, mentioning specificially the recent Guest and Price decisions and the Administration's support for Title V, and noting approvingly the President's request for funds to employ more FBI agents. In recognition of this increasing Executive concern for the problem, the Council added to its brief summary a suggestion that a large, well-trained compliance force would be needed to enforce Title VI.

The conferees were more emphatic and pressed for more specific Federal action. In every section delegates rose to describe recent violence or open defiance of the 1964 Act committed in the presence of Federal officials or reported to them either at the time of the acts or shortly thereafter.

A mother from South Carolina summed up the anguish of the Southern conferees:

> ". . . my house has been shot in several times--we have been shot at--in fact, our life was in danger.
>
> We called the FBI, and when they come in and take notes, he said that . . 'it's not in my hands; I can't go out and investigate this thing. The only think that we are supposed to do is just take notes of what happened.'
>
> Why I'm speaking as I am is because the same thing that has happened in the past is continuing to happen right now, and in my county even my mail is being destroyed. I call the FBI and even tell them who are doing these things, and they say: "Have you notified the local authorities?"

The conferees' consensus was that existing law is not being adequately enforced. Several panels heard speakers call for Federal assumption of responsibility for local law enforcement either temporarily through military occupation, by substitution of U.S. marshals for state or local police, or, through constitutional amendment, by creation of a permanent Federal police force. The Department of Justice was criticized repeatedly for failure to bring prosecutions where evidence indicated official misconduct.

The Council's proposal for raising the number of FBI agents prompted a number of delegates to attack FBI arrest practices as well as the attitudes and behavior of FBI agents. The delegates indicated awareness of the need for coöperation between the FBI and local law enforcement officials in much of their non-civil rights work, and acknowledged that under certain circumstances, FBI agents would be outnumbered by the local law enforcement officials whose conduct might justify arrest. Nevertheless, they repeatedly asked for prompt action by the President or the Attorney General to reverse the existing Department of Justice policy against on-the-scene arrests for violations of civil rights laws. Conferees complained of FBI unconcern and apparent lack of sympathy for Negro problems. They asked for statistics on the number of Negro agents employed by the FBI, demanding that racial data on FBI employment be published separately from the total Department of Justice figures and Negroes be recruited to fill a substantial portion of the hundred new agents' positions requested by the President.

One delegate suggested police-community relations conferences between the FBI and the citizens who had lost confidence in the agency and another, that FBI agents receive psychological testing to determine racial prejudice.

A few conferees asked for the resignation of J. Edgar Hoover, congressional investigation of the FBI, or that the criminal sanctions against violation of civil rights by state officials be made applicable to Federal officials.

Others called for the creation of a new civil rights investigation force which would supersede the FBI in investigation of facts related to civil rights controversies.

While discussing Title VI enforcement, the conferees were informed that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has had more than $900,000 of its request for funds to support its civil rights enforcement efforts stricken from its budget for fiscal year 1967 by the House of Representatives. They called for the President to use every effort to obtain restoration of the funds, and for Congress to allot sufficient funds for all civil rights enforcement.

II. EQUAL JUSTICE

Support for Legislation Requiring Non-discrimination in Jury Selection

Delegates generally concurred with the aims and procedures of Titles I and II of the Administration bill, but a number took exception to the requirement of literacy as a qualification for jury service. Some delegates noted that under existing practices in many states, literacy is not a requirement.

A delegate from Mississippi said:

> "It really isn't funny, when you consider illiterate white people have served on juries for a hundred or so years, and carried out their true form of justice.
>
> Illiteracy rate is very high, extremely high, and Negroes, illiterate Negroes, were never considered for jury duty. And I repeat . . . justice was being served to them by illiterate whites for a very long time. I think we really ought to think about this. What does it take to serve on a jury?"

There was considerable anxiety that, if literacy were allowed as a qualification for jury service, the low median education level of Negroes, in some states with a history of segregated education, would become a congressionally endorsed barrier against jury participation by Negroes.

During discussion of Title II there was some support for the enforcement provisions of the Douglas-Case Bill which would permit the transfer of state jury selection procedures to a Federal official for a limited period of time. One conferee noted that in a pending jury exclusion case, a Federal District Judge had already indicated a willingness to use a Federal referee to conduct jury selection.

Federal Legislation to Secure Equal Justice in Areas other than Jury Selection

The Council proposal would permit removal from a state to a Federal trial court in any criminal prosecution or contempt proceeding where the defendant is a member of a group which suffers discrimination or where the activity occasioning the litigation is one protected by the Constitution or Federal statute.

Several persons requested that where Federal District Courts in the specific state are not satisfactory tribunals for cases involving racial issues provision be made, by constitutional amendment if necessary, for change of venue to the District Court of another state or the District of Columbia in order to obtain both fair treatment of defendents and effective prosecution of persons accused of crimes of racial violence.

Though a number of delegates expressed concern over the failure of the Federal Government to prosecute police brutality under existing laws there was little discussion of the Council recommendation to permit injunctions against state criminal proceedings or to provide additional criminal sanctions against state officials who deprive citizens of due process of law.

Legal Representation for Negroes and Civil Rights Workers

While some conferees felt that the Council seemed primarily concerned with problems in the South the Conference discussions themselves dealt with lawyers' refusals to represent Negroes and civil rights workers and failure to provide adequate legal aid service for the poor in all parts of the country.

The Council asked Bar associations and law schools to encourage lawyers to appear on behalf of unpopular causes and clients. Several delegates emphasized the use of public funds to provide these defense as an alternative to reliance upon the Bar. Delegates chided those organized Bar associations and legal aid agencies which opposed neighborhood legal service centers. The Council suggestion of Federally supported legal aid centers was favorably received as was an alternative proposal that the Federal Government contribute substantially to the several private agencies for legal assistance that have traditionally supported minority groups and unpopular causes.

There was general concern with inequities in the administration of justice as it affects the poor. A suggested remedy was that all defendants in a criminal proceeding be represented throughout by public defenders. Delegates were also concerned that legal assistance be available in civil matters as well, such as landlord-tennant and domestic relations problems. Such assistance might be extended in the South to Negroes dealing with Federal administrative agencies such as SBA and FHA. One delegate drew attention to the basic landlord-tennant structure which generally allows summary eviction proceedings for nonpayment of rent but does not allow the tennant to raise the issue of failure of service by the landlord.

Legal scholarships for students willing to practice in neighborhood law offices for a number of years were proposed. Some delegates requested Federal legislation to set uniform bail standards for specified offenses while others supported pending Federal and State legislations intended to expand the practice of release of prisoners under their own recognizance. Similar support was manifested for the issuance of summonses for minor crimes rather than making arrests.

Criminal procedures were criticized. It was proposed that criminal defendants be given the same opportunity for pre-trial discovery against the prosecutor as is available to civil litigants - and that legal services to the indigent defendant include the services of investigators as well as lawyers. Some conferees recommended that the Federal Government provide by statute for expunging the criminal record of first offenders after some reasonable period of time.

"No-knock" and "stop-and-frisk" laws, vagrancy laws and arrests for investigation were opposed as denying due process as well as serving as legislative protection for discriminatory law enforcement procedures. A Federal code regulating all search and seizure procedure was suggested.

III. IMPROVEMENT OF POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS
FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN RECRUITMENT, TESTING, SELECTION, TRAINING ORGANIZATION AND PAY

There was considerable support for the Council's proposal for establishment of Federal standards for police conduct and eligibility for police work.

Conferees mentioned the need for improved teaching, especially in the area of human relations. Some suggested withholding Federal funds available under these programs unless there was an adequate training program and a civilian review board. One delegate noted that police departments are severely limited in the funds available for employing civilians instructors in police academies. Another proposed that every police cadet should serve an internship in a slum area to gain an insight into the underlying economic and social problems and individual needs of the residents. Human relations training for older office supervisory personnel was also urged.

Steps to be Taken by States

The Council proposals for state action concentrated on the recruitment of Negro policemen. The delegates voiced repeatedly their concern with the exclusion of Negroes from all levels of police work.

Steps to be Taken by Localities

(1) Upgrading of police organization

Several delegates said that raising the pay standards of police officers was among the most urgent of the preliminary steps needed. Draft deferment was proposed as a possible means of assisting police recruitment.

(2) Establishment of an Adequate Complaint Procedure

At least one delegate in each panel attacked the Council's qualifying phrase "In instances it may be necessary" which begins the last sentence of this section. A civilian review board was considered an unqualified necessity by almost all who voiced their views except those few who were concerned with an even more fundamental redesigning of local police departments.

Delegates were also concerned that such a board should be adequately staffed with civilian employees for which Federal financial assistance was suggested. Several conferees proposed establishment of an office of ombudsman or some equivalent to ensure adequate prosecution of complaints. Others were concerned with the need for drawing the membership of such boards from all economic and social groups.

(3) Definition of the police department's role in the community.

Several of the panels heard opinions that a basic change was needed in order to overcome existing attitudes of mutual suspicion and increasing alienation existing both in the Negro community and in the minds of the police themselves. As a delegate from a large Northern city put it:

> "I would suggest the type of change we need in our police force is in the role the police should play in today's society. First, they should de-emphasize the military structure of the police force. I'm sorry to point out that some people think of the police as an occupying army, an enemy. The role this type of enforcement agency should play in our society is that of service, their role should be broadened and we should emphasize police services rather than police force. Essentially what I'm calling for is some integration of enforcement officials into a broader organization of community services, community services which cover medical services, welfare services, psychological services, some core of people which serve the people in this city and in the rural areas and across the nation . . . as individuals they can't get and as human beings they have a right to have . . There should be no community-police relationships, there should be community-community relationships."

The assistant chief inspector of police from a major city confirmed that, in fact, most policemen's time is spent in rendering community service while apprehending and arresting law violators occupies a comparatively small proportion of police work.

(4) Establishment of a community-relations unit.

While there was no opposition to this proposal, some delegates felt it would be important to involve ranking police officers in the command of such a unit, others felt that civilian leadership was necessary to ensure that the operation would not be reduced to a mere publicity office.

The Need for Change in Police Attitudes Toward Civil Rights Activity

A delegate from a Northern city indicated that police opposition to civil rights activity was not limited to Southern law enforcement officials and called for Federal action to remedy the problem:

> "I listened to my brother from Mississippi on the conduct of police southern style, and I can give him some consolation in that we have some harassment by the police northern style. We have had ... all kinds of interference from the police. This takes various forms. One is to have pictures taken of everybody that is demonstrating; where the police have a photography department; where the men taking the picture comes very close to each individual demonstrator, ... the police chief ... admitted that the pictures were taken by his orders. The police also in uniform methodically go about taking the auto license of people who drive up in the station wagon bringing people to demonstrate or demonstrating themselves. We have what is called ... the subversive squad, and there are teams of plainclothes policemen who come to the Civil Rights meetings and sit down and conspicuously take notes when various people are discussing matters or making motions. In addition to this pattern the telephone of several of the workers ... have definitely been tapped, and it has been reported to the telephone company and they say they have no control over it."

Intensified Federal Attack Upon Dual Standards of Justice

One delegate stated that he was bewildered to see the Council's report describe Southern problems in terms of denial of equal protection and Northern problems as those of police-community relations. What concerned some conferees from the North was the absence of concern by the Council with the fact of denial of equal protection in the North. A delegate from Watts expressed his apprehension that the conference would only result in requests for further Federal spending but no concrete decisions to help the urban poor:

> "There is a lot can be done. But when I go home and tell those people what I heard, all I can say is that they gave out a lot of loans, which was understood from the beginning, and gave promises, which was understood from the beginning. And at this point they ask 'How about us,' I am just going to look at them for once and say, 'I didn't hear a word, I didn't hear a word.'"

There was concern voiced that, at every step of law enforcement and the administration of justice, from the police officer stopping a driver for a traffic violation on through to the parole board which releases a prisoner from his sentence, there is a difference in the way Negroes and whites are treated. Delegates asserted there are differences in the way Negroes are spoken to, handled during arrest, and sentenced, in the bonds that are set for them, in the cells to which they are assigned, in the prison jobs they are given and in the length of time they serve.

One delegate asked that the United States Commission on Civil Rights undertake or sponsor comparative statistical studies of bail amounts, rates of conviction, sentencing and parole of Negro and whites charged with similar offenses. Others wanted more Department of Justice prosecutions for police brutality.

Federal Government Should Establish a National Police Cadet Training Corps.

One delegate suggested that as a part of the effort to raise the number of Negro young men qualifying for police positions the Federal Government should include compensatory academic training in this program wherever necessary. Another delegate said that arbitrary arrests gave Negro boys youthful offender records which barred many who were interested in police work from applying for it, and that any absolute disqualification because of previous arrest or conviction should be lifted.

Private Action

One panelist suggested that, in order to begin improvement of the police force, the Negro community must encourage young Negro men to enter police service despite the distaste which they, their families and friends might have for the police. There was criticism in several committees of the Council's failure to express the need for a fundamental change in attitude on the part of all citizens respecting race in all circumstances ranging from marriage to law enforcement.

NEW MATTERS RAISED BY THE CONFERENCE

Participation of Negroes in Law Enforcement and in the Administration of Justice

Many delegates expressed disappointment at the failure of the Council to mention the exclusion of Negroes at all levels of State and Federal law enforcement and administration of justice. There were numerous illustrations of the problem as it affected Negroes in the North and the South, both in the state and Federal systems.

A number of proposals were discussed. There was broad support for the Council proposal to extend Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to cover state and local employment.

The delegates sought not only to see Negroes placed on state and local police forces in the South and given the power to arrest white malefactors, but also to end the assignment of Negro police only to Negro districts, and the apparent barriers to promotion, within Northern police forces.

The delegates saw little likelihood that there would be Negro judges and Negro prosecutors in Southern state courtrooms in the near future. But they were anxious to end immediately the all-white Court House staffs of stenographers, clerks, and baliffs with which the southern judiciary now operate.

With respect to Federal courts in the South, there were repeated and emphatic demands that the President nominate Negroes as judges, United States attorneys, marshals and clerks.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS
PRESENTED DURING
THE CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

In using this summary, certain matters should be noted:

1. In the interests of both time and space, the summary does not reproduce the exact language of the resolutions except in a few instances where such language is identified by quotation marks. In several panels, the resolutions, in any event, were edited and often summarized by the chairman or a resolutions committee. In other instances, it was necessary to deduce the sense of the resolution from what was essentially no more than a statement.

2. The "whereas" clauses or other statements preliminary to a resolution itself have not been summarized, and are only occasionally referred to where the preliminary statements sparked considerable discussion. In several panels, the chairman announced that in voting on a resolution the membership was not approving or endorsing the "whereas" clauses or other preliminary statements.

3. In most cases, the resolutions were adopted unanimously or with no indication by the chairman of any substantial dissent. In those few cases where the issue resulted in a substantial division of view within the panel, the the words "majority vote" are used.

4. Resolutions which were defeated, as well as those which were approved are included and so noted. Resolutions which were submitted, but never presented to the panel for a vote or an expression of its views are not included.

5. Unless otherwise indicated the reported resolution was passed by only one panel.

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

INTRODUCTION

Add to page 6, next to last paragraph, the thought that "a full employment economy is essential to all of this."

Amend the preamble to include as a goal "economic security for all disadvantaged people."

I. METROPOLITAN JOB COUNCILS

That such Councils be created only under Federal charter with adequate provision to ensure representation of Negroes and other minority groups in policy-making positions.

That such Councils be established only when they will not be duplicatory of existing agencies.

II. RURAL WORKERS

That Negroes be given preferential treatment in rural post office jobs and all other government agencies. (Discussion rejected (1) a quota system in proportion to population, and (2) implication that qualifications for jobs be downgraded.)

That the Federal Government face up to the problem of rural farm workers and begin to provide basic and technical education to enable them to meet the challenge of automation. Also provide housing and welfare services, such as medical care.

> (Similar resolutions in 2 panels. In another panel, the preamble had a reference to U.S. burning of villages in Viet Nam, which proponent of resolution refused to remove, and the resolution was defeated.)

That the Federal Government supply trailer homes for tenant farmers.

Create a rural jobs task force, and reorganize the Department of Agriculture arrangements in all States, especially the county agents.

Clarify paragraph 9, p. 15, to make clear that it does not suggest any **encouragement** of rural workers to migrate to urban areas.

That a program be undertaken in rural areas (1) to build one million new houses and repair 2.5 million dilapidated ones in the next 10 years; (2) desegregate Southern hospitals and build new rural ones; (3) rebuild 30,000 sewer and water systems; (4) build 50,000 new rural classrooms; (5) encourage self-helf, low-cost housing; (6) on a crash basis begin to up-grade skills of Southern Negro professionals; and (7) make use of mobile units in all government services.

(A motion to do the same things in urban areas was also adopted.)

III. GOVERNMENT FINANCED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

That the Federal Government assume not only the responsibility for training workers, but for creating jobs, with equal employment opportunities, in the public sector.

That the Federal Government initiate for the unemployed a massive public works program under direct Federal management, and open State, county and municipal jobs for equal employment opportunities (stated to be directed to the Alabama situation).

That a "TVA" be set up for economically deprived areas, to coordinate public works projects and human rehabilitation.

That the President declare Watts an "economic disaster area" and appoint a Federal coordinator to expedite programs there and in similar areas.

That a "CCC" be established in Watts for its restoration and rebuilding.

That the President immediately initiate WPA and CCC programs in depressed urban areas to relieve unemployment.

That the President issue an Executive Order declaring a 1966 national job crisis, and fund work programs in Los Angeles, New York, Chicago and other areas where clearly required.

(Passed by 2 panels.)

IV. COMPREHENSIVE EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING AND COUNSELING FOR NEGRO YOUTH

That the program of education and training for deprived youth be further extended, and a program be instituted to rehabilitate youth who get into trouble early.

That financial incentives be provided to encourage wider participation in training of people by industry, labor and government.

That skilled workers be used in vocational training programs, rather than only certified teachers.

That a program like OIC in Philadelphia be adopted and promoted by the Federal Government, as it has Head Start, and OEO grants to cities be made contingent on the setting up of such a program.

That Federal, State and local governments, private employers and colleges take affirmative action to bring under-educated youth into professional positions.

V. AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS TO PROVIDE JOBS

That penalties be provided which will in fact discourage discrimination in employment at all levels of government and by unions and industry.

That the Government must be effectively restrained from using economic sanctions against persons exercising their civil rights, and be vigilant in preventing use of similar sanctions by private organizations or individuals.

That the Federal Government negotiate with common carriers regarding their discriminatory practices, and if they don't stop invoke Title VII.

That the Federal Government establish a task force to recommend to the President methods and procedures by which more effectively to get Negroes into business ownership and management. (majority vote)

That the Federal Government establish a task force to investigate the employment opportunities in Miami, Florida (this is related to Negroes having to compete with the flood of Cubans.)

That the coverage of Title VII be extended to State and local government employees, and EEOC be given the power to issue cease and desist orders.

That EEOC examine State FEPC enforcement procedures.

That immediate attention be focused on the recruitment, training and employment of Negroes and other minority group members in HEW programs.

That both Government and private industry should be encouraged to employ persons with arrest records when the circumstances of the police record and the nature of the job suggest no real risk.

VI. INSTITUTE SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

That a Department of Consumers be established, with Consumer Education and Assistance Officers in economically depressed areas (some panels made similar proposals under "Education," which are summarized in that section).

That day care centers be subsidized on a national basis by Federal and State funds, and legislation be enacted "covering maternity care and job security" (the mover indicates he wants the OEO program implemented on a national basis).

> (A second panel's similar resolution on day care centers stated that funds should be available for construction as well as operation.)

That the implementation of the employment provisions of the Council's report be put in the hands of EEOC, rather than the Department of Labor, and the EEOC budget be expanded accordingly.

That a national clearing house of employment opportunities be established in the Department of Labor (explained as not inconsistent with, but a different way to express, Council's recommendation on federalization of employment services).

That special attention be given to the education, counseling and job opportunities for Negro women and girls.

That a structure be created to coordinate the work of HEW, Labor and OEO for manpower training.

That the non-discrimination regulations of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training be enforced.

That special attention be given to personnel and classification officers in the Federal Government, particularly HEW, to explore and correct the subtle means by which discriminatory practices operate.

That USES be examined to rout out discrimination and violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

VII. INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS

That the pending minimum wage bill be enacted. (passed by 2 panels)

(Other resolutions in support of strong minimum wage legislation)

That on page 29, in VIII, 2, add:

"(d) establishing federal minimum standards for unemployment compensation programs concerning benefits, duration, coverage and disqualifications to provide an above-poverty income for workers who lose their jobs."

"(e) improving state workmen's compensation programs, including payments of attorney's fees, to make them a realistic means of providing a decent standard of living for workers who are injured."

(Another panel passed a resolution to establish Federal standards for unemployment compensation.)

That (1) household service workers must be covered by State minimum wage laws, (2) must receive social security benefits, and (3) training programs should be developed for such workers to upgrade skills and provide steady employment. (A substantially identical resolution was adopted by 5 panels.)

That provisions be included in Chapter VIII dealing with the need to protect migrant workers, including portal-to portal pay when traveling between farms, and pay during machine breakdown.

That Federal labor laws be amended to afford protection and encouragement of the rights of all workers to organize and bargain collectively (related to needs of agricultural workers. (A similar resolution in favor of extending labor legislation to farmers was adopted in another panel.)

That a program of guaranteed minimum income be established with the family the unit of service.

(Another resolution approved serious consideration of a minimum income allowance).

VIII. WELFARE

That No. 5, p. 31 be amended to eliminate words "reduced or," in relation to residence requirements.

(Resolutions favoring no residence requirements adopted by 2 other panels.)

That eligibility for welfare should be established by application and affidavit only. (2 panels)

That nocturnal raids be penalized.

That rent ceilings, where appropriate, be established for slum housing, with reduction of rents proportionately as housing is substandard.

(A similar resolution was defeated in another panel.)

That the Federal Government supervise the use of Federal funds to ensure the economic and political freedom of welfare recipients.

That welfare services be made available to all children, and the failures of the known father to support the children should be no bar. (2 panels)

That the Federal Government establish a budget and contract directly with agencies to provide welfare services where they are not provided by local governments.

That the report of the Council on Economic Security and Welfare be approved except as modified by other resolutions.

(The sense of this was implicit in all Panels.)

That OEO hire the people it is supposed to help and give them more and better training.

That bills by Congressman Hawkins and Farbstein now pending in the Public Works Committee be supported to make the Economic Development Act meaningfully operative for Negroes.

That the Federal Government should

(1) refuse new and cancel old contracts wherever discrimination against Negroes exists;

(2) extend the Fair Labor Standards Act to eliminate the discrimination now existing against Negroes and other working Americans;

(3) establish a $2.00 minimum wage now;

(4) extend National Labor Relations Act to every worker, including non-profit agencies and agricultural workers;

(5) repeal Section 14(b);

(6) spend $50 billion more in the next 10 years on needs of housing, health, education, community service and job training.

That birth control services should be available to all women, and the OEO policy changed.

That all legal barriers to interracial marriage, adoptions, foster home programs and all personal relations be eliminated.

That there should be built into every poverty program features to eliminate and penalize segregation and discrimination.

That private agencies contracting for Federal services should be required to sign non-discrimination in employment affidavits.

That the Federal Government should make every effort to remove political control from programs designed to help the poor, and Mayors and Governors should be excluded from chairmanships.

EDUCATION

Resolutions are generally grouped under the three sections of the Council's report, with a number of general ones, and ones that do not otherwise classify, in an "Other" section at the end.

That the Council's recommendations on education are endorsed, except as modified by other resolutions.

(This was implicit in all panels.)

I. EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT

That the Federal Government establish a "triggering point" for the flow of funds to substandard schools, irrespective of the wishes of the local school authorities.

(Similar resolution, adopted by 2 panels.)

That the Federal Government expend funds for education outside of the existing formal educational establishment (proponent urged that schools are doing a poor job, and funds should go to civil rights organizations).

That school boards should provide flexibility in order to make equally available to all children the community's specialized programs.

That the Secretary of HEW should have discretion to reduce or waive matching grants in States which are financially unable to meet the requirements.

That the Federal Government, through HEW, assume responsibility for the quality of education in all parts of the United States (explained that in some areas it is deliberately poor).

II. REDUCTION OF RACIAL CONCENTRATION

That Title VI be amended to apply to desegration in public education of non-certified personnel.

That the Federal Government take steps forthwith to eradicate the almost total absence of Negroes in administration and policy-making positions in the educational machinery (original language of resolution "with all deliberate speed" amended to "forthwith").

(Similar resolution adopted in 2 panels.)

That the recommendation of the Council on page 40 regarding special efforts to integrate teachers be expanded to include "on a college and university level."

That the Federal Government promote programs to correct the firing of Negro teachers on the grounds of race, and help discharged Negro teachers obtain employment.

That Title VI be expanded to provide extensive in-service training for teachers and counselors.

That the President instruct HEW to require strict compliance with Title VI, and use his own powers to the maximum extent possible to secure these rights.

(Resolutions in 8 panels expressed concern that Title VI was not being adequately or strictly enforced by HEW; and, in some cases, that more funds were needed.)

(The resolution was accompanied in several instances by long "Whereas" statements, setting out a picture of non-enforcement, etc. There was often considerable discussion of the "Whereas" clauses.)

(In one instance the resolution was amended to specify that funds should be withheld from any school that refuses to accept the HEW guidelines. In another instance, a resolution to withhold all funds from a city or State that refused to desegregate its programs was, after much discussion, withdrawn.)

That the Department of Justice be urged to initiate a "crash program" to see that school districts comply with court desegregation orders, and use or get authority to direct schools to comply with HEW guidelines.

(Resolutions in 6 panels urged that compliance with HEW guidelines be required.) In 3 panels resolutions specifically opposed "freedom of choice." Two other panels asked guidelines include _de facto_ segregation.)

That the Panel expresses its dissatisfaction with the pace, scope and significance of Federal efforts to integrate schools, especially the actions of HEW.

That the Federal Government fund some of the self-help programs like Operation Exodus in Boston.

That HEW send down guidelines which will facilitate the changing of grade designations in community schools so that total integration would come into effect automatically and immediately.

That the Federal Government should examine changes in the enrollments of private schools after integration of the public schools to determine whether it should continue any subsidies.

That the Federal Government support Sen. Edward Kennedy's amendment to provide funds for schools that wish to provide transportation to end segregation.

That Federal funds be available to local school districts through the States on general rather than specific conditions, so that faster and more effective integration can be achieved.

That the Office of Education make the eradication of discrimination and segregation its No. 1 priority.

That the President endorse integrated education as a national goal.

That Congress should pass a law like that of Massachusetts relating to the imbalance of educational structures and make Federal assistance contingent on integration of educational institutions. (2 panels)

III. QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

That the Federal Government, in connection with State and local boards, set up seminars to give teachers orientation for teaching in ghetto or newly - integrated schools.

That all teachers should take a course in human relations, including teaching and living in mixed and culturally deprived areas.

That the Federal Government, in cooperation with State and local school boards, set up seminars to prepare teachers for special problems of ghetto and intergrated schools. (A similar resolution in another panel asked expansion of Title VI to provide such in-service training.)

That all teachers be given psyshiatric tests. Tabled

That the National Teachers Corps be fully funded.

That appointed or elected school board members should be only those who favor equal educational opportunity for all, reduction of racial concentration, and improvement in the quality of education.

That local school boards be urged to use textbooks that reflect the total history of all people. (2 panels)

> (Similar resolutions, that funds be made available to publish textbooks that include Negro contributions, and for a bibliography of Negro history and life to be put in all school libraries and that history textbooks be revised to reflect noteworthy deeds of all peoples, adopted in another panel.)

That guidelines to prevent dropouts be established.

That all States establish a compulsory school attendance law until 18 years of age.

That major emphasis be given to providing two years of post-high school education; that a compulsory school attendance law should cover up to 20 years of age.

That the Federal Government support post-high school compensatory education to enable more Negro children to go to public colleges and universities.

That educational parks are endorsed.

That increased attention be given to vocational guidance, as well as to vocational programs, at the elementary, secondary and college level.

That the statement on pre-school education should be more strongly worded.

IV. OTHER

That the Federal Government be more flexiable in funding private and community agencies that are trying to reach drop-outs and force-outs.

That in view of the multi-faceted attack on educational problems of the Negro in ghettos and in the South a national coordinating committee with paid staff be established to (a) coordinate Federal activities, and (b) foster cooperation among private agencies.

That the President should create a standing Presidential Commission for integrated education to work with Federal, State and local authorities and private groups to promote integrated education without waiting for change in residential patterns.

That the President call a special conference of educators to discuss ways of implementing the Council's educational recommendations.

That there should be greater dissemination of information about existing programs.

That the Federal Government should provide funds to implement existing programs as rapidly as possible.

That National Student Defense loans should be continued on the same basis as originally conceived (explained as opposed to a recent amendment).

That the Federal Government should reestablish the unused portion of G.I. education.

That the Federal Government should make a more careful check on the use of educational funds allotted to local governments (discussion explained that funds were not always used for the purposes for which they were allotted.

That a Department of Education be created;(carried by a narrow margin).

That educational testing standards, especially those used for ability grouping, be examined to eliminate those which tended to favor certain parts of the community.

That the Federal Government give assistance to leisure education and recreation.

That HEW introduce programs of supplementary education to use child guidance, social, and health workers to enhance the learning skills of public school children.

That the President and the Federal Government take steps to see that more Federal funds go to smaller colleges, especially Negro colleges, rather than to "the big 25".

That a section be developed in the Council's report on consumer education, with special courses on buying food and furniture, and on the conditional sales, with special emphasis on adult training.

HOUSING

Resolutions are attempted to be grouped under the appropriate chapter headings, with "Others" at the end.

That the Council's report on housing be approved except as modified by the resolutions adopted (Specifically adopted by 2 panels).

I. FREEDOM OF CHOICE

That Title IV (Housing Title of pending Civil Rights Bill) be strengthened by providing for administrative enforcement (3 panels).

That Congress be urged to enact a Fair Housing Act of 1966 (1) prohibiting discrimination in housing, (2) establishing an Equal Opportunity in Housing Commission, with power to initiate action on its own, and with $8 million in funds.

That the Federal Government enact legislation to guarantee:

(1) equal opportunity in purchasing a house:

(2) the same treatment for all in renting (except in two-family dwellings)

(3) equal treatment in securing mortgages:

(4) equal treatment for all while living in their homes:

(5) equal treatment from real estate agents;

(6) punishment for those who aid or incite to violations.

Also establish a National Commission with State, County and local units to enforce the federal housing laws.

That the President and HUD exercise all their powers against discrimination by builders, renters and financial institutions where government funds or credit is involved.

That the present Executive Order be amended to cover all housing now existing where a Federal mortgage guarantee is involved.

> (A similar resolution in another panel made it clear that the Panel also endorsed Civil Rights Act of 1966.)

That Fannie Mae should become a primary lender for Negro mortgage loan applicants (2 panels).

That the President call a national conference of religious leaders to broaden support for "Project Equality" and the investment of church funds and the funds of individuals and nonprofit groups in integrated housing.

> (Three other panels approved resolutions calling businesses and individuals who believed in integrated housing to put some of their funds in it.)

That the Panel endorse and encourage the community action programs recommended by the Council in paragraph e, page 62.

That the Federal Government encourage the leadership of local communities to foster integrated communities, and insist that all workable programs include plans for this.

That the Federal Government continue to promote legislation to enable minority groups to move into all-white communities.

That the Federal Government bar as an urban developer anyone who discriminates in housing anywhere in that locality.

II. HOUSING FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES

That the Rent Supplement program be fully funded (2 panels)

That HUD and OEO fund the administrative costs of non-profit housing corporations using 221(d)(3) and make revolving funds available to such corporations.

That 221(d)(3) be extended to widows and/or single persons in FHA mortgage insurance moderate income property erected by private concerns.

That a purchasing subsidy, in addition to a rent subsidy, should be made available.

(A similar resolution with reference to
passage of the "Sullivan bill," was approved
by another panel.)

That there should be a program to lease housing for low and moderate income families.

That paragraph 7 on page 66, dealing with rural housing, not be limited to migrant workers and older persons.

That a massive Federal housing program construct one million new rural homes and repair two-and-a half million others during the next 10 years.

That the Demonstration Cities Bill of 1966 be promptly enacted, with provision for relocation of all displaced families in or outside the city.

III. SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES AND NEW TOWNS

That there be added to paragraph 1, page 68, "according to a timetable approved by the Federal Government."

That No. 6 page 69, read "be encouraged and enabled"

That the recommendations of the Council's report on aid to suburban housing be conditioned on the provision of a wide spectrum of housing, including public housing.

IV. REVITALIZING AND INTEGRATING THE GHETTO

That paragraph 3, page 73, be endorsed except that the Federal Highway Program should be specifically related to the relocation requirements.

That immediate steps be taken to stop concentration through high-rise public housing; that all public housing be in scattered sites; and that immediate steps be taken to reduce the concentration of Negroes in public housing projects.

(Another similar resolution, suggesting assignments to public housing to reflect the racial proportion in the community. Another would give an administrative agency power to bring action if necessary.)

That in Demonstration Cities, and elsewhere, there be provision for social services in public housing projects.

That the Federal Government should insist on strict enforcement of health, housing and building codes before funds are made available to any community.

That no funds under Federal housing laws be made available to any community if discrimination is causing a housing shortage and unless it establishes an agency to keep an up-to-date inventory of all housing available.

That a National Housing Conference be called.

That industry be encouraged wherever possible to provide integrated housing for its employees, and that the Federal Government encourage Federal contractors to do so.

That DOD through its Base Commanders make use of off-limits power to ensure that open housing is available.

That the Federal Government expend funds for housing "outside the existing formal housing establishments," and funds should go to existing civil rights groups.

That the civil rights organizations be asked to stage a second "March on Washington" in support of open occupancy (Defeated).

That the Federal Government address itself to local laws that are used to prevent residential integration, such as large-lot zoning (Defeated).

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Resolutions are grouped under Chapters, so far as possible, with "Others" at the end.

I. PROTECTION OF NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS

That needed legislative or administrative action be taken, authorizing and requiring FBI agents to arrest for violence against civil rights workers (2 panels).

That the panel is concerned at the failure of the Department of Justice to prosecute Southern local and State law officers who brutalize and harass citizens; that the force of Federal law officials be expanded: and that the President investigate the constitutional possibility of the existence of Federal police power.

That the FBI hire 100 additional agents to enforce civil rights laws and that Negroes be hired among this group.

That no person be allowed to serve as an FBI agent in his home State, and no assignment to any State shall be for more than three years.

That J. Edgar Hoover be fired; that more Negroes be hired by the FBI, and that Congress investigate the number of Negro agents in the FBI and its enforcement policy regarding civil rights laws. (Passed by a majority vote).

(Resolutions calling for Hoover's resignation were tabled by a majority vote in the panel, and a resolution to remove him lost in another.

That the President ask for $2 billion to enforce civil rights laws.

That in suits for damages for denials of civil rights, counsel be provided at Government expense, cost to be paid by the defendant.

(Similar resolution that lawyers for poverty clients in civil rights cases be paid by the Federal Government (passed by another panel.)

That the provisions of paragraph 1, page 83, should be changed to permit the victim, including an organization such as a church, to be compensated by the individuals responsible, or, if that is not possible, by the Federal Government.

That Section 1983, Title 43, should be amended to make a city liable for damages caused by its officers who deprive persons of rights protected by Section 1983 and any other rights protected by the Constitution.

II.. EQUAL JUSTICE

That the President should appoint Negro judges and court officials in Southern Federal courts.

That when, under Title II, there is a pattern of discrimination discovered, this should trigger Title I.

That when Negroes are defendants, proof that the prosecution has invariably exercised its peremptory challenges to strike Negroes should be enough to trigger application of the Administration's jury discrimination bill.

That item 2, page 90 should be broadened to include other types of legal assistance.

That jury duty should not be denied on grounds of sex, as well as race (2 panels.)

That Section 201 of the 1966 Civil Rights Act be amended to read: "It shall be unlawful to make any distinction on account of race, color, sex, religion, national origin or economic status in the qualifications for service and in the selection of any person to serve on grand or petit juries in any state."

That (1) lists from which jurors are drawn should be made available to all counsel well in advance of trial; (2) that the rights of counsel to examine jurors be substantially extended: and (3) that information on the race and sex of jurors be made available to counsel.

That literacy tests for jurors be prohibited, except when judge rules it necessary in a particular case (Defeated).

That appointments of judges be conditional on psychological tests of their attitudes, etc. (Defeated).

III. POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS

That (1) the Federal Government make available resources for the professionalization of police work: (2) that it see to the hiring and upgrading of Negroes in the enforcement agencies under its jurisdiction: and (3) that it investigate whether membership by a policeman in racist groups is a violation of the civil rights of minority groups.

(Approved by 6 panels. One panel amended (2) to include "other minority groups." On panel item (3) of resolution was withdrawn on objection that it implied guilt by association.)

That the President should call a conference of law enforcement officials and community leaders and take steps immediately to "soften the encounters between the people in crisis areas and the police" (4 panels).

That the Federal Government call a conference of Chiefs of Police and other law enforcement officers to encourage a positive attitute toward the provisions of Title III.

That the President should encourage police departments to adopt positive programs of police-community relations, and discourage a "get tough" policy, including police dogs.

(Similar resolutions in 2 other panels asked local government to institute programs in human relations for recruits and staff: and the Federal Government to provide funds for workshops in human relations for police and community groups.)

That all-civilian police review boards be established.

(Another panel added a provision that board have independent power of investigation. Another asked "grassroots" representation on all police boards. Another asked that citizen complaints require investigation by a Police Board.)

That there be an elimination of police police practices and procedures which discriminate against the poor and the disadvantaged, such as stop and frisk, arrests for investigation, improper arrests for vagrancy and loitering, improper search and seizure, and inadequate representation by counsel (2 panels).

That the duties of the police, including the FBI, should be expanded to include community services, and the military-type structure of police departments should be abolished.

That the good offices of the Federal Government should be invoked to provide a study of the proper function of the police in contemporary United States.

That police training should be improved.

That standards be set up by states for recruitment and hiring of police.

That there should be better police, with a decent salary (over $5,000).

That the Federal Government seek to expunge the police records of first offenders who have "over a reasonable period of time" complied with the law.

IV. OTHER

That the Federal Government establish guidelines for the use of summons rather than arrest procedures which require bail or bond in the case of minor crimes and misdemeanors.

That the use of the release of prisoners on their own recognizance be substantially extended.

That juveniles receive due process in substantially the same manner as adults.

That the case of every prisoner now in jail be reviewed to see which are illegally confined, and all jails be integrated.

That people in Mississippi be authorized to carry arms and to have them in their homes (Defeated).

That the Council's report on the Administration of Justice be approved, except as modified by other resolutions.

(Implicit in other panels.)

That Home Rule be granted the District of Columbia. (Adapted by eleven panels.)

That Congress strengthen the 1966 Civil Rights Bill by: 1) providing indemnity for those who suffer injury in the cause of civil rights: 2) making jury provisions more automatic: 3) providing administrative enforcement for the fair housing provisions: 4) applying the equal opportunity provisions of the 1964 law to state and local government employment.

That the $927,000 cut in the HEW budget be restored.

That government departments take more affirmative action to cut off funds from institutions that discriminate, and to assign voting registrars under the Voting Rights Act of 1964.

That the President direct the planners of the Conference to redraft the report of the Council and set priorities, a timetable, a budget, etc.

(This resolution was offered in several panels. It was approved in 5 defeated in 2. In one other panel a substitute resolution was approved to ask the Council to develop a budget figure for its programs.)

That the President be strongly urged to use all of his powers to guarantee an end to discrimination.

(Similar resolutions approved by 5 panels.)

That the President emphasize the principle of the maximum feasible participation in Federal programs of the members of the community to be served.

(Same resolution approved by 4 panels.)

That the President be requested to work with Governors, in cooperation with religious and private groups, to have State conferences to formulate specific plans "to fulfill these rights."

(Similar resolutions adopted in 4 panels. Others asked a similar conference in each of the 50 States and D.C. in autumn of 1966: that statewide, local and regional conferences "to fulfill these rights" be held using Council's report as basis, and sponsored by the Federal Government if State refused: and that conferees try to set up similar local conferences, and involve business leaders.)

That the President be urged to itensify his efforts to bring Viet Nam war to an honorable end so that a greater level of Federal funds can be devoted to fulfilling these rights.

(Resolution that United States withdraw from Viet Nam rules out of order, voted down, tabled and voted out of order in 4 panels.)

(Resolution that U.S. make equal opportunity for minority citizens its No. 1 priority (passed in 2 panels); that the space program be given a lower priority than the program to fulfill these rights; that the rise of defense expenditures must not be used to postpone, reduce or deny expenditures to fulfill these rights. (In 3 other panels.)

That the report of the Council be endorsed, recognizing that its recommendations are neither precise, inflexible or exhaustive.

(Similar resolution passed in 7 panels. By implication passed in all panels.)

That the United States Commission on Civil Rights organize a permanent National Conference on Civil Rights, to meet periodically in sections on specific problems and annually in general session, the secretariate to be supplied by the Civil Rights Commission.

That the U.S. Civil Rights Commission be made permanent.

That the Council be retained as an on-going body to implement action of this Conference and that the President, in cooperation with the Council, call special conferences of selected groups to report what they will do to implement the Council's recommendations.

That the planning Council remain in session for one year to receive responses to recommendations .

That another similar conference be called in one year and delegates to this one be deputized to implement its recommendations on the local level.

That more women be added to the White House Council.

That a further report on the Conference be mailed to all delegates.

That each conferee be mailed answers on what the Federal Government plans to do to eradicate its continued participation in discriminatory practices.

That the President appoint a post-Conference Committee to report in one year on programs in implementing the Council's report (Adopted by 2 panels.)

That the Council's final report be more specific in defining which Federal agency has the responsibility for taking the initiative.

That the President delegate to the Vice President the responsibility for coordinating and expediting Federal civil rights programs.

That the President should establish the necessary enforcement agencies to ensure that the conclusions of the Conference will be enforced on the Federal, State and local levels.

(Another panel adopted a similar resolution urging that the best and most effective means for carrying out the Conference recommendations be pursued.)

That the Conference seek goals of equal opportunity for all disadvantaged minorities.

(Another panel resolution express concern over the limitation of the Conference to Negroes.)

That the panel registers its disappointment at the conspicuous absence of high-level representatives of big business in conference policy-making, and that the President should call on business to do more to achieve its goals.

That programs for health and welfare for minority groups be strengthened, and the Federal Government intervene directly when necessary.

That Title VI be vigorously enforced as applied to health associations, and a national conference on health of Negroes and other minority groups be called.

> (Another panel resolution asked that provision of greatly expanded health facilities get greater emphasis in the final report of the Council.)

That enforcement of Title VI with respect to discrimination on account of sex is as important as discrimination on account of race.

That an all-out effort be made through all communication media to have acts of discrimination be viewed as criminal acts destructive of respect for law.

> (Four panels asked for activities of this nature. One asked that the Federal Government assume responsibility for a vigorous program of public education toward a national policy of equality for all. Another panel resolution asked the Government to inform people about civil rights. Another asked large amounts of funds for public relations activities to achieve equal opportunity.

That each conferee dedicate himself to see (1) that violation of civil rights be promptly reported: (2) that their communities become concerned: (3) that local efforts are increased prefaced by statement that the goals of the conference are not only the responsibility of the Federal Government .

That because the Conference recommendations will involve tremendous manpower needs, a crash program to recruit and train such people be started.

That (1) poverty funds be channeled into areas of need even if local authorities object, (2) that jobs created be filled by the unemployed, train the trainable and channel more poverty funds into the lives of the poor, and (3) provide housing, job training and economic assistance to those forced off farms.

That the Federal Government investigate the Seward Luggage Co. of Petersburg, Va., and, if it does not end its discriminatory practices, invoke Title VI (close vote).

That the Civil Service system be investigated, because incapable people can't be fired.

That the President appoint a commission to oversee all programs in Mississippi, and give it power to act in cases of discrimination.

That the Federal Government should make an effort to involve the total metropolitan community in obtaining equality of opportunity in jobs, housing, education, civil rights, etc.

That the Federal Government enforce its own laws, and believe in them.

That the Administration and Congress fortify the rights of direct and concerted community action on the part of victims of social injustice.

That civil rights agencies be investigated to see how many Negroes are employed in policy-making positions.

That the Senate should ratify the Genocide Convention (two panels) and the 1965 Convention on all forms of Racial Discrimination.

That a U.S. Museum of Negro History be established.

That Negro art be given emphasis in cultural programs.

That the Conference express its outrage that the American Medical Association suggests that Medicare patients may be treated on separate days and in separate offices, and that legislation be enacted to prohibit this discrimination on account of economic circumstances.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

1966

SUBJECT FILE White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Economic Security
And Welfare

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

May 6-7-8, 1966

CONTENTS

Page

Introduction 1

A Human Resources Development Plan. I-1

Create Job Opportunities for Minority Groups Through Training Programs, Supportive Services and Relocation of Men and Jobs II-1

Eliminate Discrimination in Employment by Both Public and Private Employers III-1

Expand Economic Opportunity for Rural Workers and Owners. IV-1

Develop and Implement an Effective Program to Prepare Disadvantaged Negro Youths for Productive Jobs. V-1

Strengthen Income Maintenance and Labor Standards Programs. VI-1

Strengthen and Restructure Public Assistance and Related Welfare Programs to Provide Constructive Benefits to the Poor. VII-1

INTRODUCTION

The income and employment problems of the American Negro cannot be approached as a pure question of economics. The Negro may be poor, but he is also -- and perhaps first of all -- a Negro. Solutions for poverty that may permit the disadvantaged white person to enter the mainstream of American society often do little for the Negro beyond raising false hopes. The familial and societal supports that can carry the white A.D.C. mother up and out of dependence are rarely available to the Negro mother in her effort to scale the wall of the ghetto. Solutions for her problem must go beyond strictly economic measures. They must invoke a calculus of social, political, and psychological dimension if they are to break the unholy embrace of race and poverty

If the Negro's economic problem is a mixture of race and poverty, it has many other demensions as well. There is no need to detail the endless intermixture of race with poverty, poverty with ignorance, ignorance with joblessness, and all with each other in what historically has been a stew of misery for the Negro in this nation. What must be emphasized is that we are making little progress in what has been aptly termed a war against the very sources of the problem. Despite the successes scored by the civil rights movement and the earnest efforts of government and the private sector, life for the Negro poor in the eye of the ghetto or on the farms of the South is unchanged. Negro unemployment continues twice that of white. While white per capita income has skyrocketed the Negro's gains have scarcely made a dent -- particularly in the areas of hard core poverty. Most ominous of all, the porportion of Negro youth who are neither in school nor employed stands at 18 per cent. Many thousands, indeed, have given up hope of finding decent employment and have withdrawn from the market -- with all that means to our society.

The Negro's problems do not of course end when he gets a job. He is still -- if he is typical -- at the bottom of the job scale in terms of wages and working conditions. He faces all the brutal and subtle barriers to advancement that inhere in a race conscious society imprisoned still in the social bonds forged by history.

What can this report recommend as a solution for such enduring problems? Certainly there is no single nor simple panacea that will carry America on a straight road to a color-blind society. However, the many and varied techniques for harnessing private and public power which are mentioned in this report can provide a balanced attack on the root sources of the Negro's problem. They should be tried, and those that work should be retained and emphasized. Others should be the object of experiment as they appear.

Finally, if this massive effort toward economic justice is to have any realistic hope of success, this can only be in an economy of strength and progress. It is crucial that we make and keep a commitment to full employment. In that setting the hope of justice for the American Negro, despite the many hurdles, embodies the kind of realism that can make free men enjoy the battle.

I - A HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Even the most cursory examination of the statistics released each month by the Department of Labor describing unemployment in the United States provides cause for genuine alarm. Something is outrageously wrong when in today's booming economy the unemployment rate for Negroes is still nearly 8 percent--more than twice the rate for whites--and the gap between whites and nonwhites is even greater for married persons and heads of households who are most in need of jobs to support their families; when Negroes comprise only eleven percent of the nation's labor force, but make up more than twenty percent of the nation's unemployed; when fully 18 percent of out-of-school Negro youths aged 16 to 21 are unemployed, while only half that many white youths face the same dismal prospects: when the percentage of the nonwhite unemployed who have been out of work for fifteen weeks or longer is fully 5 percent higher than the percentage of white unemployed who have spent that long without jobs.

These statistics are alarming and they cry out for action to change the situation. But they are only statistics--faceless statistics which describe only the total economic picture of a demand for jobs in the Negro labor market which appears to exceed the available supply. The inevitable conclusion is that what we must do is to immediately set about creating more jobs. While this is undoubtedly true so far as it goes, it is a painful fact that the creation of more jobs--important as that goal is--simply won't solve the whole problem without more. We are reliably told by manpower economists that unemployment among those groups in which it is most serious--especially younger workers and minority groups--is unlikely to be substantially reduced below present levels by any foreseeable economic expansion. The necessary improvement will have to come from measures aimed directly at these particular areas of concentrated unemployment, especially at the increased preparation and training of those who have been left out of the general educational and employment opportunity patterns.

But even this kind of attention towards the most critical problem areas is not enough to make significant inroads here and now. The emphasis is still upon the total economic picture; the thinking is about unemployment in largely economic terms and the unemployed as a mass of nameless statistics. The whole approach to date has been to start from jobs and work back to people. What must be done to make immediate progress--in addition to being concerned about the total requirements for more jobs and more training--is to start with the particular unemployed people--all of whom have names and faces--and to match them with particular jobs. And this must be done whether it requires re-tailoring the jobs to fit the people or equipping the people to fit the jobs.

What is needed is a Human Resources Development Plan with some or all of the following characteristics:

A. Communities must get down to a case-by-case, person-by-person treatment of unemployment--finding out who the unemployed in the community are, by name and address, what their abilities and employment experience are, and what training they have had and what additional training they need as individuals to make them useful to themselves and to the community.

This is a big, but by no means impossible, undertaking. There are many techniques--some obviously more comprehensive than others--by which such a roster of a city's unemployed could be compiled. State Employment Services or city governments could initiate the compilation of such data with the cooperation and technical assistance of the Department of Labor's Bureau of Employment Security. Full Employment Councils with the participation of business and labor organizations as well as state and local governments could be formed to jointly undertake such programs. Or, if states and municipalities failed to take the initiative, chambers of commerce, union joint councils or other local organizations, acting either individually or collectively, could begin programs to more adequately identify the unemployed and their problems.

The completeness of the undertaking would depend, of course, upon the extent of participation. Ideally, such a program would result in a complete identification of all people comprising the unemployed in a given metropolitan area with periodic revision and up-dating of data. Less comprehensive private programs would nevertheless be useful to gather such information in smaller identifiable areas of chronic unemployment in a city. Even more modest programs might at least provide for the collection of such data without canvassing whole geographic areas by simply processing such information for those who would voluntarily register at job centers or other existing institutions.

The availability of this kind of information about the unemployed, however comprehensive, would be invaluable in taking first steps to get training and jobs for individual persons. The arrangement of programs in the abstract for hypothetical people is never so effective as having the individual unemployed worker at hand and setting about to solve his particular problem.

However useful this kind of census of the unemployed would be without more, real comprehensive planning would require a second step in the Human Resources Development Plan.

B. Employers must compile accurate and complete information on presently available jobs, by firm, by job description and by statement of existing requirements for employment. At least as important, accurate projections must be made available as to future employment needs, indicating estimated numbers of employees that will be required to fill new jobs and the kind and extent of training needed to prepare workers to obtain such employment.

Once again, the degree of usefulness of the data will depend upon its completeness. But, as is true with respect to information about the unemployed, first steps can be taken to compile similarly detailed data about jobs by state and local governments, business organizations, and other groups, working together or individually. Matching up men and jobs requires all the information available about the complete needs of employers, but some progress is possible simply by having this data from the largest employers or the employers, of whatever size, who are willing to make it available.

Merely having accurate data, however complete, about the needs of individual employers and employees obviously does not provide paychecks for those who need them. Therefore, the most important part of the

Human Resources Development Plan comes when the effort is made to start matching up the unemployed workers who have been described with the jobs that are, or will be, made available. The remaining steps in the Human Resources Development Plan are suggestions as to the productive uses that might be made of the information compiled. Others can be devised through the creative efforts of the local governmental units or private groups that undertake the Plan.

C. At the most immediate level, presently unemployed individuals can and must be matched--even at existing levels of skill--with presently existing jobs.

The ready accessibility of rosters of presently available unemployed workers, with accurate descriptions of their abilities and experience, would make it possible to efficiently place many individuals in presently available jobs, also catalogued in accessible form with comparable pertinent detailed information. One of the serious difficulties in reducing unemployment is that lack of communication often makes it impossible to get particular workers and employers together even when each has a service that the other wants and needs.

It would be a mistake to raise hopes as to the number of people who might be helped by this simple matching process; but it would certainly produce some jobs for some people. A pilot program of this kind funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity resulted in the placement of substantial numbers of workers in existing jobs. For example, an employer who needed steamfitters, but who had been unable to find them in his city and assumed none were available, found twenty-seven qualified steamfitters through the data bank of names and addresses which had been compiled for this purpose. The point is that some new paychecks can result from this process and it is worth the effort even if the numbers are small.

D. The re-writing of job descriptions would bring about measurable progress in employing the unemployed--especially if the project were undertaken with accurate information about the particular positions to be re-described and the individual unemployed workers for whom the descriptions would have to be re-written.

Far too many employers, and labor unions as well, set unrealistically high requirements for jobs that could be performed as well at lower skill levels and absent other formal requirements. For example, the fetish of always insisting upon a high school diploma often bears little relationship to the work to be performed. One member of a bricklaying crew may need to know something about the chemical composition of mortar, but for two of his helpers it should be enough that they can carry bricks and set them in place.

The individualized person-by-person approach to combating unemployment would make it possible to re-tailor job descriptions to take advantage of available skills rather than viewing the task with regard to hypothetical people and abstract lists of jobs.

Employers and others participating in community Human Resources Development Plans must begin to re-write job descriptions with the express purpose of placing a given number of identified unemployed workers in a comparable number of specific jobs. It would be possible to make progress in such an undertaking if a partnership of governmental agencies, businesses and labor unions, working jointly in a Development Plan, were simply to decide that they would find jobs for a specified portion of the workers identified by the detailed roster of the unemployed.

In addition to the job descriptions that are technically overwritten, some set arbitrary standards, not because of a misapprehension as to the skill level really required, but because employers believe they must demand high school graduates and employees without criminal records in order to assure reliability and reduce the likelihood of turnover. A detailed list of particular individuals, with information about thier past experiences, would reveal that there are many reliable workers who have not finished high school or who have been in trouble at some time in the remote past. When these workers are identified, the job descriptions should be re-written to permit them to be employed.

Bonding programs, funded by the group undertaking the Human Resources Development Plan or through government appropriation or foundation contributions, could be made available to bond potential employees with criminal records so that employers could hire them without undue fears about their reliability.

E. At a different level, the availability of the kind of information about people and jobs that is contemplated by the Human Resources Development Plans would permit better planning of educational and training programs to help those people who cannot be matched up with jobs even through conscientious effort and re-drafting of job descriptions.

To be most effective, vocational training programs, on-the-job training projects, employment counseling and many other manpower programs should and must be geared to the particular people who will participate in the programs and to the particular job needs the programs are established to meet.

The use of accurate lists of available jobs and projections of likely future needs of employers would prevent one of the common inadequacies in vocational counseling. Much of the energy expended on vocational training is wasted because counselors urge potential workers to train for jobs for which there is not sufficient demand. Similarly, curricula in vocational and trade schools and in comparable programs are too often established without consideration of the specific needs of employers, both for present purposes and projected to the time when the trainees will complete the prescribed courses. The kind of information about jobs that is to be collected in the Human Resources Development Plans should be made available to avoid misguiding potential workers into training that will not result in actual employment and paychecks.

At the other end of the spectrum, the unemployment roster should be used to identify the individuals to be recruited into the training programs. State Employment Services should make extensive use of this data in locating the people who could best be helped by Manpower Development Training Act and on-the-job training programs. And the Employment Services should actively counsel and recruit these people to make certain that they are in the programs. Employer and union initiated programs should make similar use of the data about the unemployed that is gathered by the Human Resources Development Plans.

F. Supportive services for the unemployed could be markedly improved through the effective use of data about the people who need help and the direction they should be given if they are to obtain the jobs that will be available.

State Employment Services often provide valuable assistance to the employers they assist, but they seldom do an equally adequate job for the employees who most need their assistance. The orientation of these governmental services, as well as similar private services, should be expanded to include the recruitment and counseling of unemployed workers who do not bother to come to the services to register. The availability of data describing the individuals who need help, with names and addresses, would provide the starting point for more effective performance of a service to the employees themselves.

Knowing more about the people who need help, extensive counseling services should be provided, either at existing job centers or through special counseling programs to be set up under the Human Resources Development Plans. These counseling services should be designed to elicit more detailed information from persons with difficult employment problems after they have been initially identified through the unemployment rosters. They should then go on to provide detailed counseling to match these men with the jobs that are located through the Plan or to assure that they participate in meaningful training programs developed through the use of employment information and projections also obtained by the Plan.

This list of characteristics of a Human Resources Development Plan is not exhaustive. Other and more productive uses could be made of the data that the initial inventories provided. But it is only through a person-by-person, job-by-job approach that many of the so-called "hard core" unemployment problems are going to be solved. Just as the suggestions made here for the Plan do not exhaust the possibilities, neither is it essential that a Plan be even so comprehensive as here proposed. Programs could be undertaken, encompassing some of the characteristics described above. Much of the long-range planning that is contemplated by use of the data could even be accomplished through sampling techniques that gathered the essential information about worker and job characteristics, but did not identify workers by name or jobs by firm. This would at least be useful for more meaningful planning of programs, even if it did not have the advantages of the individualized approach that an actual unemployment and job roster would provide.

What is necessary is that first steps be taken. It is not so important what the program is called, so long as it accomplishes some of the objectives envisioned by the Human Resources Development Plan. One of the dangerous illusions of society is that its problems are so large as to render trivial in appearance the first steps that are taken towards finding solutions. But every new job that is found reduces by one the lists of the unemployed. The compilations of these statistics will remain forever outrageous if we are content merely to view with alarm and allow ourselves to be so demoralized that we cannot at least begin to find the answers.

II. CREATE JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITY GROUPS THROUGH TRAINING PROGRAMS, SUPPORTIVE SERVICES AND RELOCATION OF MEN AND JOBS

Discrimination, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, relegation to low-skill jobs, and poverty have left their mark on the Negro labor force. A relatively high proportion of Negro workers lack the educational attainment and occupational skills needed to compete for many of the jobs in today's increasingly complex economy. This is especially true of white collar and technical jobs. The problem is made more severe by the migration of hundreds of thousands of Negroes from rural to urban areas, often without the kinds of vocational skills demanded for nonfarm work, and often lacking adequate knowledge of city life and services. Many of these people were persuaded to move to cities by employers and city officials during periods of labor shortage, such as World War II, and they suffered substantial unemployment and underemployment in subsequent periods of reduced manpower requirements.

There is a crucial need to make available occupational training and related basic and remedial education to help prepare jobless Negroes for employment. There is also a need for training to upgrade Negroes who are working below their skill potentials. In many cases, existing training or educational programs are of inadequate size, inconveniently located, and not geared to the needs of disadvantaged groups. On-the-job training by employers has also been relatively limited for Negroes.

Formal training is not enough to assist Negroes at the lower end of the economic scale, where proverty is often accompanied by cultural deprivation and social disorganization. People in this group require a variety of supportive services to ease their adjustment to the demands of the job market. They need specialized help in solving health, family, housing, and welfare problems which interfere with their success at seeking and holding jobs. Those who migrate from the countryside to the city often need help in adjusting to their new environment. Many disadvantaged people require counseling and related services to develop effective work, job-seeking, and human relations attitudes and behavior patterns. New institutions to rehabilitate persons with especially severe adjustment problems must be developed.

Training programs and supportive services must be ready to meet these urgent needs. Steps must be taken now to strengthen government services, and to utilize the facilities and experience of nongovernment organizations. We therefore recommend:

A. That programs of training and upgrading designed for the disadvantaged worker be developed and implemented through private initiative.

However ominous the unemployment statistics may bode, it is a documentable fact that the United States has an undersubscribed labor market in which literally thousands of jobs go begging. That this should be the case when hundreds of thousands of people -- the underemployed as well as the unemployed -- would like to fill those jobs, is due in large measure to the high incidence of technical unpreparedness and lack of basic skills among those who need employment.

But the problem is not exclusively government's,any more than it is the sole concern of the victims of this condition of "structural unemployment." It is also the problem of businesses that must have qualified employees to provide the goods and services that the consuming public demands. While industry has begun to recognize that it must invest in specialized educational and on-the-job training programs, it has not yet done nearly enough.

More programs initiated by business associations, in cooperation with labor unions and other organizations, are needed to provide technical assistance to individual enterprises and to acquaint businesses with training programs that have been tried successfully.

Project "MIND" (Methods of Intellectual Development), undertaken by the National Association of Manufacturers, is an example of a research and development program designed to show employers how they can economically and feasibly improve the basic skills and provide the technical instruction needed by available workers to fill vacant positions. Utilizing new and highly efficient training and educational systems, MIND has completed two pilot programs -- one giving basic educational instruction in the three "R's" to high school dropouts, and the other providing typing instruction to high school graduates to bring their skills to the level where they can be employed in stenographic positions. Both programs have been highly successful in showing that dramatic results can be achieved at dramatically reduced costs in materials, equipment and administration. While the number of persons actually placed on payrolls as a result of these programs is small, the programs have provided technical knowledge which can now be employed on a massive scale by employers throughout the country.

Many more such programs must be undertaken by private enterprise to develop the same kind of technical data for training programs in literally hundreds of occupations. And the data must be disseminated and effectively used to actually place significant numbers of workers in good-paying jobs with potential for upgrading.

Still another N.A.M. program, "STEP" (Solutions to Employment Problems) has resulted in the distribution of 150,000 case studies describing successful training problems initiated by businesses throughout the country to meet special needs for skilled employees. One such case study emplains how a business can set up a work study program to employ potential high school dropouts. Under the program, the worker acquires industrial skills while at the same time continuing to seek his diploma; if the student drops out of high school he loses the opportunity to remain in the program and earn the reward of a useful job with advancement potential.

Far more programs such as STEP are needed, not only to explain techniques for training programs, but also to see that such programs are actually carried out. Having this kind of information, businesses must be prepared to put it to use. Gains from rising productivity should be reinvested in such programs of training and upgrading.

While much of the cost can and should be borne by the businesses themselves, greater advantage should be taken of assistance available under such federal programs as the Manpower Development Training Act. Other tangible incentives should be provided by government to encourage more and better training programs in the private sector. For example, the contracting authority might be employed in various ways. In making awards, preference could be given to bidders engaged in training programs in a manner analogous to small business or surplus labor area preference: such preferences could involve the allowance of price differentials covering portions of the training costs. This latter may require amendments to the Armed Services Procurement Act and other procurement legislation.

Nor is business the only part of the private sector that must be involved in training and upgrading programs to help disadvantaged workers. Labor unions, private foundations, community organizations and other similar groups should mount campaigns to provide educational and training services in geographic areas of chronic unemployment rather than on the base of a particular industry.

More programs are needed like the Opportunities Industrialization Centers, started in Philadelphia and now operating in the Watts area of Los Angeles with an initial program that will provide 1,400 Negroes with motivational and attitudinal training while teaching them job skills. With each local center completely run by indigenous leadership, OIC has begun or has plans for centers in more than thirty cities; these centers begin with counseling and recruitment services, provide job training and educational programs, undertake placement and continue with follow-up services after the initial job has been done. In future programs, OIC plans to train not only workers but entrepreneurs, providing managerial training to encourage Negroes to create their own businesses. Funding comes from a variety of sources including private foundations, business, labor and government.

The creation of Negro owned businesses is a direct and dramatic remedy for minority unemployment. Federal loans, grants, and technical assistance should be available for this purpose in whatever amount is necessary to meet the demand. Such legislation as Title IV of the EOA of 1964 and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 provide such services but need to be substantially increased. The multiplier effect in such programs make them a primary source of economic betterment -- and not merely for minorities. It is obviously not the purpose of such programs to create economic units that employ only Negroes.

Private initiative has only recently begun to make significant contributions in the massive task of education and training to secure jobs for people. Through partnerships between government and all parts of the private sector, much more must be done.

B. That the training program for unemployed and underemployed workers under the MDTA be modified and expanded.

The private sector -- business and labor -- should cooperate in establishing MDTA on-the-job training programs to help Negro workers find employment or advance to more skilled jobs. States must act affirmatively to include Negro trainees in the program and to develop programs geared to their special needs.

The federal contribution in this area should be many sided. The recruitment, testing, and selection process should be liberalized to include more Negro trainees. On-the-job training should be stressed, plus closer contact with employers regarding job requirements and placement of trainees. Training allowances should be more flexible permitting raises in courses of long duration and reducing the eligibility requirement of two years of work experience to one year, thus allowing more youths and adult women to qualify for allowances.

The MDTA should also be amended to establish an extensive program of vocational guidance and occupational training for inmates of federal, state, and local penal institutions. Experimental and demonstration programs should be expanded and expedited. These should include programs to help ex-convicts obtain surety bonds needed to qualify for employment. Workers who are unemployed and moving to out-of-area jobs should also be provided financial and other assistance.

C. That a massive attack be mounted against illiteracy and other basic educational deficiencies which reduce employment and occupational training opportunities.

An immense variety of techniques and resources are available for this purpose and should be harnessed. The encouragement of volunteer tutors by the provision of appropriate surroundings and recognition is desirable. Local agencies have at their disposal a powerful incentive in public assistance programs which should be used to induce disadvantaged persons to enroll in programs of literacy, basic, and even more advanced education. This may be done either by conditioning present benefits upon participation, or, more appropriately, by providing additional benefits for courses successfully completed.

Education programs must be reexamined for their relevance to the needs of the disadvantaged and their methods of instruction. They must also be greatly expanded -- an end to be jointly assisted by federal, state, and private resources.

D. That services to minority groups by public employment agencies be strengthened and modified.

The public employment service currently is operated by state agencies although financed entirely by federal funds. It should be federalized. This would have a number of beneficial effects. First, it would create an employment system adequate to deal with an employment market which is national in scope. Such a market is subject to rapid shifts and demands with which a state oriented system finds it very difficult to cope. For example, a national system is in a better position to deal effectively with inter-regional movements of persons shifting from farm to city. Furthermore, for a growing number of occupations such as engineering and other professional and technical jobs, the labor market is truly national in dimension. If manpower plans are to be implemented by the kind of Human Resources Development Program outlined in Part I, the employment service must be prepared to perform on a national scale.

Federalization should improve program standards and counseling services and, hopefully, eliminate racial discrimination in its placement operations. It should likewise reduce the discrimination within the service itself--a serious problem in a number of states, and one which demands powerful affirmative action. With the considerable role played by these offices in the federal manpower programs--e.g., selection of enrollees--the need for assuring that such reforms will be effected is apparent.

E. That a large scale program be implemented to facilitate the economic and social adjustment of rural Negroes migrating to the city.

No more crucial task faces the state and local communities, and private agencies, than the provision of gateway and transition services and assistance to disadvantaged people migrating to the city from rural areas. Reception centers should seek out the new arrival, orient him, assist him in locating decent housing, determine his special needs and counsel him on the potential sources of assistance in meeting them. If he has a child in need of special medical care, the proper referral should be made. If he is in an immediate financial crisis, the center may expedite his application for public assistance or even advance him emergency cash.

The functions of the reception center should not necessarily terminate after the first crisis ends. If the new arrival has been assisted at the center, he is likely to feel more at ease there than any other place in the city. The location of other longer range services in the center relating to such matters as employment, training and health is, therefore, indicated.

Provision of analogous services should also be considered in the rural "sending" areas. The need here is for advance arrangements in the receiving city for housing and jobs plus vocational and personal counseling for the migrant before his departure. It is unlikely that a center for such an area could be very effective beacuse of the low population density. Rather, mobile centers should be provided that could come to its clients rather than vice-versa.

Substantial federal resources should be provided for sending and receiving programs of this kind. Temporary quarters for immigrants should also be established with federal assistance in the receiving cities.

F. That new jobs be physically accessible to minority groups through selective location and/or improved transportation.

Residential concentration of urban minorities reduces physical access to jobs. Cost of transportation to the job aggravates the difficulty for these workers. Typically they are the least able to bear these costs. Further, jobs are daily being transferred to the suburbs, remote from these potential workers.

Several remedies should be applied. At the local level businessmen and local government should cooperate to locate and retain businesses in the city. A range of city functions can be guaranteed to make this attractive to business. Police, housing inspection, highway departments, public school administrations, welfare offices, and private agencies can plan together to ensure the conditions necessary to attract and keep job-generating business in the city. Federal and state resources can assist in this and can be even more useful in providing subsidy and technical assistance to ensure adequate transportation into the city for outlying and suburban workers. Tax credits and other incentives should also be employed to retain business in the city.

At the same time, travel from the city to outlying jobs can be facilitated for minority group workers. This should come through modification of routes, fares, and facilities -- coupled with travel subsidies for the very poor.

Finally, new federal and state facilities should be located in areas of accessibility to urban minorities.

III. ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT BY BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYERS

Racial discrimination in employment has had a long and shameful history in our country. From the nation's point of view, it has barred the Negro from making his maximum contribution to the productive life of our society. From the viewpoint of the individual Negro, it has served as a barrier to the full use of his human potentials--often relegating him to low-paid, low-skill jobs offering the lowest levels of economic security and occupational dignity.

Recent years have seen the development of new legal tools to combat discrimination. Of greatest potential impact is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies. Other titles of this Act, Executive Order 11246 banning discrimination in government contract work, state and local fair employment practice laws, and recent rulings of the National Labor Relations Board are also of great significance. These tools need strengthening and effective and rapid implementation. The recommendations in this section provide for modification and effective use of federal government powers to end discriminatory practices.

At the same time, and of equal importance, the foles of private employers, labor organizations, state and local governments, and community groups are stressed. The recommendations constitute a community-wide effort to make equal employment opportunities a reality.

We therefore recommend:

A. That the private and public sectors--government, employers, and unions--strengthen efforts to eliminate discrimination in hiring, assigning and upgrading employees.

Private employers should issue and enforce policies of affirmative action to eliminate both overt discrimination and the more subtle kind which takes the form of simple lack of initiative in hiring and upgrading Negro employees. Although "color-blind" neutrality may be all that is required by the nondiscrimination laws, experience shows that unless measures are taken there is little improvement in the alteration of long-established patterns of exclusion.

What is required of private employers is that their policy statements must be more than public relations gimmicks. The commitment of top management to effectively implement an equal employment opportunity program must be made explicit. When this position has been clearly annunciated as a matter of firm company policy, the same sophisticated methods must be applied to overcome bureaucratic lag that are employed for other managerial functions. Specific goals must be set based upon realistic estimates of conditions within each operating unit, and there must be follow-through on results--just as these steps are employed in the implementation of any policy decision inspired by the profit motive.

Affirmative recruitment must include hiring persons for their potential and investing time and money in their training. Psychological tests, as presently designed and applied, tend to be irrelevant to job requirements and to disqualify some applicants for the wrong reasons. Such tests should either be eliminated altogether or be limited in their use and used in connection with other selection devices.

Employers should actively encourage nonwhite employees to take advantage of existing opportunities for advancement. Where the problem is one of inertia and lack of motivation, management should assume the responsibility for helping such employees overcome their emotional blocks by involving them in special educational and training programs.

While many firms have demonstrated readiness to aggressively recruit nonwhites for entrance-level and highly technical jobs, nearly all companies seem reluctant to take affirmative measures to upgrade. Action of the latter kind should not be misinterpreted to mean that Negroes are to be advanced out of turn, whether qualified or not. By being less literal-minded and more creative and imaginative, it is possible for employers to appreciate the special disadvantages that long-existing patterns of discrimination have wrought upon their nonwhite employees, and to take compensatory steps that are at the same time fair and just to everyone in the work force.

Most of what has just been said is applicable to the sophisticated techniques that are required to bring about equal employment opportunity in large businesses. While large employers account for by far the largest portion of the nearly 52 million persons working for non-governmental employers, perhaps the fewest inroads have been made in the case of small employers. In smaller firms, complicated systems are not so necessary to improve the lot of nonwhite workers. But what is desperately needed is the personal commitment of owners and operators of small businesses, openly and directly communicated, simply to hire more

Negroes and to upgrade them the same way they have always taken care of their white employees.

Labor also has a responsibility to make sure that equal employment opportunity is achieved. Unions, in their capacities as *employers*, have the same obligation to affirmatively foster the hiring and upgrading of Negroes as do the businesses with which they deal. As representatives of *employees*, unions must not impede the ability of businesses to improve the lot of nonwhite workers through arbitrary seniority rules and similar requirements which have the effect of guaranteeing the continuation of long-established patterns of Negro exclusion. Insistence upon and enforcement of non-discrimination and affirmative action clauses in collective bargaining agreements should be standard union policy.

While the private sector has much to do before real equality is achieved in employment, government itself is far from a model employer. The Federal Government is the largest single employer in the United States, employing two and one half million people, and yet the number of Negroes in policy-making, supervisory, and super-grade Civil Service positions is as disappointing as the tally of nonwhites in comparable positions in private industry. The commitment of the Civil Service Commission as the arbiter of equal employment within the Federal Government must be greatly expanded and communicated to departments and agencies at all levels. And appropriate measures must be taken by the Commission to measure progress and enforce the stated equal employment policy.

If the Federal Government has failed to abide the exhortation it addresses to private employers, state and local governments have been perhaps the worst offenders. Employing nearly eight and one fourth million persons, units of state and local government -- in even the most progressive of states -- have paid little attention to their responsibilities as employers to affirmatively maintain programs insuring equal employment opportunity. More states should follow the lead of Kentucky in enacting legislation aimed at eliminating discrimination at all levels of state government.

B. That Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 be strengthened.

The prohibitions and sanctions of Title VII should be extended by Congress to cover employees of state and local governments, private clubs, educational institutions, and employers and unions where any of such entities has eight or more employees or members. The equal Employment Opportunity Commission at the same time should be empowered to issue "cease and desist" orders and monetary awards to persons injured financially by employment discrimination.

The EEOC should develop guidelines for evaluating employment tests. It should make increased use of complaints initiated by the Commissioners to strike at basic patterns of discrimination unlikely to be affected by private complaints.

C. That state and local fair employment practice laws and programs should be enacted and improved.

Obviously the state F.E.P.C. programs are an important element in the entire program and should be promoted. Powers should be given to each commission analogous to those suggested for the EEOC under Title VII. It would be well, however, in drafting each statute to declare the legality of affirmative action by employers to make up for past deficiencies in hiring practices. Otherwise, such laws can become an impediment to integration instead of an aid.

D. That appropriate steps be taken to eliminate discrimination in state or local programs financed by federal funds.

Title VI prohibitions should be enforced fairly but effectively through development and publication of firm and specific riteria by which to assess compliance with the Civil Rights Act and the Constitution. The training of state and local staff in the application of these criteria is essential because of their inevitable complexity. Local staff should be encouraged to lead in inducing area employers to take affirmative action to integrate their work forces.

One problem of peculiar severity arises in the area of apprenticeship training. The malodorous practices of many building trade unions and the cooperation of local public school systems is at the heart of the matter. In cities such as Chicago these practices have historically excluded Negroes from public institutions of training; the cities have in effect delegated to unions and employers the administration of apprenticeship training programs, and the unions have excluded Negroes. The programs are possible only because federal funds support them. They should no longer support them. Indeed their use is presently in violation of the standards of Title VI. These funds should be withdrawn forthwith. This will not of itself help to train Negroes, obviously. Indirectly, however, it may result in the reform of the entire system which result, from experience, appears to be the only real hope. Indeed the Labor Department should be directed to prepare plans for replacing the present system with a viable alternative in which non-discrimination is assured.

E. That the programs of non-discrimination under government contracts be continued and strengthened.

The already effective federal program under the contracting power should be strengthened by an increase of compliance budget and staff. This will permit compliance reviews prior to the award of contracts which

F. That the acute staffing problem in public assistance agencies be relieved.

The needed increase in case workers must be stimulated by increasing salaries and reducing case loads toward a target of 60 per worker. Non-professionals should be used for routine tasks and as "expediters" to locate and inform the poor of available programs and help them to utilize services.

The federal government may contribute by stimulating the recruitment and training programs and by ensuring higher salaries comparable to other skilled and arduous professions. Analysis of potential roles for sub-professionals and their recruitment and training should also be a federal concern.

G. That new approaches be explored to assure a minimum level of income.

The use of the tax system to guarantee a minimum income to all persons is a subject of enormous complexity. The task force has no hard recommendation beyond the earnest suggestion that the many avenues to the goal of minimum income be explored. In addition, a system of family allowances based on the number of dependents deserves serious study and consideration.

reviews should be undertaken. To the extent possible specific performance criteria of affirmative action should be established and their observance insisted upon in the review of contractor's performance.

State procurement agencies should adopt similar practices, drawing upon federal experience in developing their programs.

F. That purchasers in the private sector place their business with suppliers who have demonstrated affirmative action to integrate their work forces.

In establishing purchasing policies the model for the private sector should be "Project Equality", the program of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. This program is national in scope and has the support and participation of many Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, and Protestant institutions and organizations. In design the program is similar to the federal program under Exective Order 11246. Each participating institution not only adopts a policy of affirmative action to integrate its own staff but undertakes to determine which potential suppliers of goods and services (above a certain size) do likewise. Each supplier is asked to report his present and intended employment practices in detail. If these practices meet an appropriate standard, and the supplier wishes, its name is entered on a list of suppliers then made available to the cooperating institutions. Future purchases are made from this list. Compliance reviews are conducted to assure continuing adherence to the standard. Publicity is given to the award of large contracts to such suppliers. The potential effects are obvious and beneficial, and the extension of similar projects within the non-profit area of the economy is to be promoted. Businessman acting individually should be encouraged to follow similar purchasing practices.

IV. EXPAND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR RURAL WORKERS AND OWNERS

For several decades, the economic position of the southern Negro farmer and rural resident has grown steadily worse. Of more than four million Negroes still living in southern rural areas fewer than 50,000 families have enough land and capital to engage in agriculture at anything better than bare subsistence levels. At the same time thousands of less fortunate rural nonfarm families eke out an existence as casual laborers or welfare recipients on nonproductive farmland or the fringes of small towns and cities. Still others are subjected to the harsh and ill-rewarded life which is still the lot of most of America's migrant workers. Poorly educated, poorly housed, victims of mechanization, shrinking acreage allotments, and racial prejudice, Negro rural families when they move into the cities are least equipped to become self-supporting and well-adjusted members of the urban community.

The focus of efforts in this sector should be to provide jobs and economic assistance for rural Negroes, eliminate handicaps caused by discrimination and denials of opportunity, and facilitate the economic and social adjustment of rural families moving to urban areas.

We therefore recommend:

A. That specific programs be developed and aggressively administered to aid Negro tenant farmers and those who operate--or want to operate--their own farms.

Federal subsidies, loans, and loan guarantees should be extended to the rural tenant farmer who seeks independence through farm ownership.

Competence of the rural poor should be upgraded in two general ways. First, training for farm efficiency through technical assistance and other services (the Domestic Peace Corps should participate): second, training for non-farm skills that can be utilized in part time and off-season work in neighboring towns. Such training should be tied to regional economic planning. It should be accompanied by provision of adequate living income for trainees and their families.

The county agent systems in the South should be reformed to assure equal attention to problems of Negro farmers. Title VI persuasions should be employed to this end. Further, affirmative action must be taken to eradicate discrimination in all programs state and federal.

B. That Specific programs be developed and aggressively administered to improve job conditions and other economic opportunities for migrant farm workers and other rural Negroes who are employed on farms.

The conditions under which migrant workers are employed, housed, and educated must receive high priority for basic reform. All sectors should experiment with new ways to provide year round employment for these workers and to build a skilled and stable farm work force. For example, incentive payments for workers to settle in the off-season and attend school should be provided.

The price support and related programs should be revosed to insure adequate assistance to small farms. Rural employers who benefit from government programs should be required to pass on some of their gains to their farm workers in the form of higher wages and improved labor standards. In instances where the federal programs have adversely affected, workers and small operators adjustment allowances and other assistance should be provided.

V.- DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM TO PREPARE DISADVANTAGED NEGRO YOUTHS FOR PRODUCTIVE JOBS

The shockingly high rate of unemployment among Negro youths--both male and female--their unduly high rate of school drop-outs, and disturbing evidence of social disorganization among some young residents of the impoverished Negro ghetto are problems of such magnitude and urgency that a separate section of recommendations has been devoted to them.

The recommendations in this section are directed at the fundamental problems and needs of youth, rather than the elimination of superficial symptoms. Such needs include greatly strengthened vocational education facilities, expansion of counseling services, and more and better government work experience and training activities. Creative experimentation is needed to develop and test new ways to help young people with especially severe labor force handicaps. At the same time, the need to improve opportunities for youths with potential for advancement into high professional and technical occupations is also given consideration. Finally, it must be recognized that work skills are merely one aspect of each individual. They do not guarantee success and independence in a complex economy. The development of the general competence that is necessary to such success is a challenge of high order.

We therefore recommend:

A. That responsible youth involvement in cooperative economic activity be encouraged.

The primary task in every program must be to foster the growth in youth of a basic competence to seek out opportunity, recognize it, and to take action individually to secure it or organize with others for that purpose. Such competence is not commonly a product of didactic training. Rather it must be grounded on the experience, first, of individual responsibility and, second, of participation in group decisions affecting personal interests. The first experience teaches independence; the latter yields a sense of identification with the community and the larger social order that is an imperative of a successful economic life.

To foster the growth of such general competence, youth should be encouraged to engage in constructive economic activity with a minimum of supervision. Private agencies, foundations, and government--State and Federal--should stimulate through technical assistance, loans, and subsidies the formation of youth enterprise. These undertakings could be profit or non-profit; they could be confined to the participants' neighborhoods or performed elsewhere. Part time, summer, and full time enterprises should be promoted. Financial incentives for successful performance should be available. Functionally, such projects might range from garbage disposal, baby-sitting, and gardening--all within the neighborhood--to tree planting in national parks by youthful entrepreneurs and workers compensated on a piecework basis. The Small Business Administration should be prepared to finance such enterprises; OEO technical assistants should be prepared to advise on their formation.

B. That high school vocational education be strengthened and expanded.

Federal support of vocational education in state institutions should be expanded, but should be coupled with strengthened standards for content and quality. The programs should emphasize new, future, and growing occupations and utilize the latest equipment. Programs in rural areas should provide training in the non-agricultural jobs that most farm youths will seek. The establishment of area vocational schools should be expedited under the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

C. That counseling services for in-school youths be greatly expanded and strengthened.

A target should be set of at least one full time counselor for every hundred youths in schools in poverty areas. Federal support will be essential for this and for the training programs necessary to prepare in such numbers counselors who are acquainted with the requirements of industry and with the special needs of Negro youths. Counselors must be skilled in preventing dropouts and in motivating youths toward jobs with future promise. States should also expand and improve counseling in employment offices, including counseling on health and welfare needs relevant to adjustment in the job market. A crucial role must be played by private organizations in coping with special cases of disadvantaged youth with unusually severe employment and training problems.

D. That the opportunity for Negroes to prepare for professional and technical jobs be expanded.

Existing support of predominantly Negro colleges by private sources should be greatly expanded. Foundations, industry, and individuals should direct resources into scholarships for qualified students and grants for the institutions to improve the quality of education. Obviously, State and Federal programs to the same end are imperative.

Further, active recruitment by private agencies of Negro youth for management or training programs must be increased. Special Federal programs for graduates of smaller Negro colleges could help qualify them for job opportunities in health, education, scientific, or other growing fields.

One of the most significant contributions can and should be made in the areas of "sub-professional" training. There is a number of occupations-nursing, education, social work, etc.--in which professional services may be concentrated on the most fruitful areas if time can be freed from more routine tasks. Teachers, for example, may be freed from hall or lunch duty by a person with modest training. This training should be provided in these crucial areas by substantial federal and state commitments.

E. That the Neighborhood Youth Corps be expanded and strengthened.

The Federal Government should extend and improve NYC services by legislative action to provide additional resources, reduce the minimum eligibility age from 16 to 14, increase the maximum age from 22 to 24, and facilitate the use of MDTA training to prepare Neighborhood Youth Corps graduates for employment. State and community organizations can and should utilize federal financial assistance to provide more and better work opportunities and supportive services for NYC enrollees.

F. That experimentation be intensified to develop new ways of meeting the employment and training needs of minority youths.

Innovation and flexibility must be encouraged. The experimental and demonstration programs currently authorized under the MDTA, the EOA, and the Vocational Education Act should be expanded. Experiments should be carried on with programs geared to the special needs of jobless Negro girls and young women, with programs of residential training and work experience in urban settings for problem youths, and with programs for employment of juveniles with police records. Such programs should have full participation of private agencies and government.

Taking the 1965 summer job placement program as a model, a year round program could test the willingness of industry to act informally individually and voluntarily to increase job opportunities for youths on a temporary or permanent basis.

G. That efforts be expanded to motivate youths to participate in programs for self-improvement and community betterment.

The Vice-President's Task Force on Youth Motivation should be greatly expanded and utilized by community organizations to motivate Negro youths to make the effort of involvement in programs of all description. Initiative in this respect may be taken by local clubs, churches, and Parent Teacher Associations. College students should form their own task forces to initiate and implement the program in local high schools.

VI - STRENGTHEN INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS PROGRAMS

The Negro is concentrated in occupations and industries at the bottom of the economic totem pole. His lot is low wages, sporadic employment, and exclusion from the protections of labor standards legislation and collective bargaining. His need is job security, income maintenance, and the benefits of adequate labor standards programs. Reforms in this area would help to raise incomes to adequate levels and would reduce the dependence of impoverished Negroes on public assistance. Improved labor standards and income safeguards would also help to provide the Negro work force with the dignity, self-respect, and security needed to motivate workers to develop their skills, actively seek employment, and make their maximum contribution in the job market.

We therefore recommend:

A. That federal minimum wage and child labor standards be improved.

The coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act should be expanded to include industries and occupations in which minority groups are concentrated. This includes service and agricultural jobs.

The minimum wage should be increased. For the disemployed worker adjustment programs should be developed which would assist him in obtaining similar employment and/or training for a new skill and a new job.

Child labor on farms should be prohibited even outside of school hours except on farms operated by the child's family.

B. That the protection and benefits of collective bargaining be extended to occupations in which minority groups are now concentrated.

Labor organizations should intensify efforts to organize workers in service, agricultural, and the other occupations in which Negroes are heavily concentrated. The states should insure protection of collective bargaining rights for workers excluded from the Labor Management Relations Act; and that act should be extended to cover such areas as agriculture.

C. That the effectiveness of the unemployment insurance system be improved.

National standards for unemployment insurance should be improved with respect to coverage, amount, and duration. Specifically, small employers, farm workers, employees of non-profit institutions, and other excluded groups should be covered. Benefits should be raised at this time to at least 50% of the average weekly wage with an eventual target of 66-2/3%. Duration of benefits should be extended to 26 weeks, and, in the case of long-term unemployed, federal assistance for benefit payments should be provided.

D. That Workmen's Compensation be extended to excluded groups.

State governments should broaden Workmen's Compensation coverage to include farm workers and others currently excluded.

VII - STRENGTHEN AND RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE BENEFITS TO THE POOR

The plight of the urban Negro, in significant part, can be stated very simply--he doesn't have enough money. Present levels of subsistence payments in public aid programs indurate rather than modify the structure of ghetto society. They render life endurable while leaving betterment unattainable. A static and regressive sub-culture is preserved in equilibrium by government support. Only the size of the culture changes--it grows.

Income to families on A.D.C. from all sources averages $1.15 per day per person for all costs of living. Aged and disabled recipients of public assistance receive between $900 and $1000 per year; the blind receive slightly over $1100. The provision of services designed to help these persons hurdle the barriers to independence is limited--if not by law, by the shortage of personnel. Further, both Federal and State laws impose narrow criteria of eligibility. Needly families with children are often excluded because a parent is employed, however meager his earnings. Perhaps half the children of the poor are thus excluded from federally assisted programs. There are further exclusions of dubious merit, some that even penalize efforts at self-improvement by the recipient.

The limitations of existing programs bear particularly heavy on Negroes. More heads of households in the nonwhite than the white population work part-time or for only part of the year. Negro earnings tend to be lower. The proportion of nonwhite families headed by women is almost two and one-half the corresponding proportion of white families. Finally, the southern states have conspicuous difficulty in financing adequate assistance programs, even with a relatively high tax effort for public services. Since half of the total number of nonwhite poor people and only about one-third of all white poor people live in the South, this situation adversely affects Negro families.

The problem, of course, is more than money. It is firmly rooted in enduring racial discrimination which has produced in the eye of the ghetto an atomized society, steeped in weariness, unaware of its opportunities, often unconscious of its own exploitation. Here can serve the private and public resources of a great nation in the effort to awaken the aspirations of those unused to hope.

We therefore recommend:

A. That levels of public assistance be adjusted to furnish a standard of living compatible with health, decency, and the hope of eventual independence through self-improvement.

The aim of public assistance must be eventual self-elimination. For the white recipient this goal often has been realistic. He can tap the variety of resources of a white culture which support his return to independence. The Negro on relief typically must start up from a lower base and must make it on his own. Realistically his public aid dollar is often worth half that of his white counterpart. If public aid is to be for him an avenue of upward mobility, it will have to be radically increased. It is, therefore, desirable that the Federal Government establish adequate and national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the States. This goal might be realized under the present Social Security Act through appropriate regulations of HEW requiring adequate levels of assistance to recipients by the States or by establishing a national standard for the same purpose through new legislation conditioning federal matching fund grants on the maintenance of such a standard throughout each State's assistance programs.

B. That public assistance be made available to all impoverished people.

A sensible, simple, and efficient program should adopt the single criterion of need as the standard of eligibility. In any event, under existing programs, A.D.C. benefits should be available to families with an employable male in the household on condition that he is making reasonable efforts to secure and/or train for a job. Residence requirements should be liberalized or eliminated (or reimbursement be given the States for payments to non-residents). Indeed, if any of the present complex systems of criteria are to be maintained, they should be thoroughly restudied, simplified, and reformed.

C. That the administration of welfare programs be strengthened.

Effective public assistance has been frustrated in some areas by the inability or refusal of certain states to meet federal standards. Legislation is necessary and should be enacted to permit independent federal welfare programs in such instances.

Further, under recent federal poverty legislation, an uneven distribution of federal funds has resulted from the inertia or lack of sophistication of local agencies that would have been eligible for participation but failed to apply. The hundred poorest counties in the country have received less money under Title VI of the EOA than the hundred wealthiest. Certain critical programs of federal assistance depend upon local development. Community action projects under the Economic Opportunity Act and community development projects under the Public Works and Economic Development Act are examples. It is clear, therefore, that technical assistance to local agencies in the planning and preparation of programs for rural and urban communities should be greatly expanded.

D. That public assistance rules be redesigned to encourage, not discourage recipients to take jobs or training.

State and local governments should insure that rules of eligibility do not defeat the ends of public assistance and discourage individual initiative. Experience indicates the importance of increasing the amount of job earnings which can be retained by recipients of public assistance without affecting the level of benefits. This is true also with respect to those teenagers who have job earnings or MDTA or NYC allowances. These benefits and incentives should be preserved by permitting the teenager to keep a substantial portion of this income when the welfare needs of recipient families are being assessed. Further, the reluctance of recipients to accept employment may also be reduced by State administrative reforms which will insure that taking a job will not jeopardize immediate access to benefits in times of future need.

Ironically when the aid recipient has found work he often finds himself in even greater need of the non-monetary services available under public assistance. In such cases the agency should insure that non-monetary services are not terminated simply because money benefits are no longer payable.

Finally, incentive payments should be provided for steps taken toward independence. There may be many opportunities for such encouragement. The achievement of educational credits is an example. Indeed, higher financial incentives for higher course grades could well be considered.

Changes in state systems of the kind indicated should be encouraged by the adoption of appropriate federal rules and standards.

E. That non-monetary services be expanded to alleviate the basic causes of poverty.

A variety of non-monetary needs of the poor should receive greater attention. Among these are consumer education; legal assistance; vocational and personal counseling; training in hygiene, home economics, and citizenship; and related activities. Family planning services should be available. All such services could be available in service centers located in all areas of need.

Such centers, or others, should also provide rehabilitative services such as day care of children, occupational training and basic education, job placement, and work experience programs.

In addition to these services bestowed by private sources and government, a central place must be given in all future planning to the stimulation of group action initiated and conducted by those at the primary levels. The ghetto is an atomized society. Its members lack economic power, but equally important, they lack the basic skills of organization and social cohesion that are the paradigm of middle class society. No richer benefit could derive from the poverty program than the initiation of cooperative enterprises planned and executed at primary levels. It is quite possible, for example, to imagine the stimulation by private foundations as well as government of voluntary group enterprises of the poor on a geographical or other basis in corporate, cooperative, or other form. The objects could be limited or general. They could include such purposes as garbage disposal, property maintenance, security, baby sitting, education, transportation, or job placement. They could extend to the syndication of economic power for the purchase of food, furniture, and services at non-exploitive prices. Intelligent use of such power could do much to normalize an historically distorted market, remove the "color tax" and provide the kinds of credit that have always been available to white consumers and borrowers. Perhaps most important, such enterprise would provide its members with the experience that in the end may be the only ladder over the ghetto wall. This must be the final object of any such effort and not merely the perpetuation of a "successful" ghetto.

Private efforts of this character at the primary level are not likely to be achieved without financial incentive. Technical help must be provided to such groups, but it is also imperative that rewards be offered for successful enterprise at least at the beginning stages. The initial investment in pilot programs could best come from foundations, but in any event it should come.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Health

1966

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

HEALTH

May 6-7-8, 1966

CONTENTS

Page

I HEALTH AND SOCIAL ACTION: A GENERAL PRINCIPLE............ 1

II HEALTH ACTION AND MINORITY GROUPS: THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.. 2

III THE FEDERAL-CONSUMER PARTNERSHIP: ESSENTIAL FEATURE OF SOLUTIONS.. 5

IV THE NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH CENTER............................ 8

- A. Essential Features...................................... 9
- B. Neighborhood Health Associations and Community Participation... 11
- C. The Civil Rights Implication of Health Action.......... 12
- D. Migration Services...................................... 13
- E. Technical Assistance to Local Groups................... 15

V HEALTH-RELATED ISSUES FOR OTHER CONFERENCE PANELS.......... 16

- A. Health Issues in Education............................. 16
- B. Health Issues in Housing............................... 17
- C. Health Issues in Employment............................ 18

VI ACCOMPLISHMENTS SINCE THE 1965 PLANNING SESSION............ 19

- A. Civil Rights Act: Title VI Compliance Procedures and Progress.. 19

I. HEALTH AND SOCIAL ACTION: A GENERAL PRINCIPLE

Health is a major concern of minority groups in the United States; and with good reason, for current health levels--particularly among the nonwhite minority--are a major barrier to fulfillment of an equal share in American life. The full extent of health deprivation among American Negroes is too well-known to require extensive documentation here. It should be noted, however, that life expectancy for the Negro population is still more than 7 years less than for whites; that the Negro mother faces four times the white mother's risk of dying in childbirth; and that the Negro infant mortality rate is now at a level last seen among whites in 1941, a quarter of a century ago.

Nor are high risks of death limited to Negro mothers and infants. Over the years mortality rates in the Negro population have been consistently higher for most causes of death, but particularly for tuberculosis and other diseases related to the living and working environments. The Negro male disabled worker--as compared with the white male disabled worker--has a lower median income, suffers more from environmental diseases and, if hospitalized, spends more time in the hospital due to the severity of the disability.

What is even more shocking is that the gap between Negro and white illness and mortality rates in some instances is increasing rather than decreasing.

Behind these statistics, of course, lie hundreds of thousands of individual instances of pain, suffering, needless loss of life and waste of human resources. The figures reflect both inadequacies and inequalities in health services; beyond this, they reflect other forms of injustice--in housing, in education, in jobs and income. Any discussion of health among minority groups, therefore, must follow a central principle: that health services alone are not enough. The greatest importance of health and health services, in our view, is that--properly used and planned--they can be a prime route to social change of many kinds, including change in the social and economic conditions that produce poor health. They can be a primary means of developing new forms of community organization, social cohesiveness, and community involvement. And they can provide models, applicable to other fields, of new kinds of partnerships between the federal government and local groups. Precedents in relationships between the federal government and minority groups--necessary and urgently needed in matters of employment, education and housing--are likely to emerge first in the field of health.

Since it is the task of the forthcoming White House Conference to delineate specific new problem-solving and precedent-establishing measures to combat discriminatory barriers to fulfillment of American rights, we urgently recommend that health and health services be boldly represented on the agenda of the Conference as a specific major subject area.

II. HEALTH ACTION AND MINORITY GROUPS: THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Some of the major barriers to the health of nonwhite Americans, as outlined in the report of the Health and Welfare Panel of the November planning session for the White House Conference, include:

1. The total lack or complete unavailability of health services to minority groups, particularly in many areas of the rural south;

2. Discrimination in the provision of services where they are available, both in the rural south and in the urban north, with resulting deprivation of service, indignity in their receipt, or both;

3. Inadequate scope, inappropriate location, and faulty organization of health services, which produce a pattern of major identifiable barriers to their utilization by minority groups, the poorest and sickest groups in our population.

4. Attitudes toward persons who use public health and welfare services that regard such users as less ~~worthy~~-and therefore worthy of less, with a resulting pattern of low-quality, impersonal and fragmented care.

5. Lack of information on the part of minority-group members, consumer groups, civil rights and other organizations concerning health and welfare programs or services, and individual rights with respect to such programs or services;

6. The failure of state and local governments to take advantage of existing federal programs;

7. Confusing, complex and irrelevant eligibility requirements, often unrelated to actual need, and (particularly in the south) the arbitrary interpretation and implementation of such requirements for the specific purpose of denying services to Negroes;

8. The denial of equal employment and professional opportunities in the health professions, both by explicit discrimination and as a result of educational discrimination, so that health services--and their planning, administration and management--become a lily-white affair;

9. Failure to recognize as a major health problem the overwhelming mental health burdens and social pathologies resulting from the systematic

psychological brutalization of the American Negro, and failure to provide adequately for mental health services for this population, and to include them in over-all health planning;

10. The powerlessness, or sense of powerlessness, of recipients, actual or potential, to do anything about the above problems, which leads to an increased sense of dependency.

Barriers to adequate health of minority groups--powerful and taking many forms in standard, existing health programs--must be removed in health planning for the future. Barriers deserving brief additional discussion here include:

cost--many existing health services are simply beyond the financial means of minority group families;

fragmentation of services--under existing patterns, there is no central source of health care for the family. Many health services are too far away to permit easy access, and hours of availability are not geared to the realities of minority-group life. Well-child services are in one place; sick-child care in another; infectious or chronic-disease control in another; in-hospital care somewhere else; home-nursing and home-visiting services are elsewhere; adult and child care are separated; preventive, curative and rehabilitative services are unconnected; health and welfare services are divided; mental health services are often divorces from those designed to meet related or other health needs.

irrelevance--many existing services, particularly in the field of mental health, bear no relationship to the realities of minority-group existence, discrimination in jobs, education and housing, and the like.

practical convenience— a mother with five or six children simply has no mechanism for caring for all of her children,maintaining the home, providing income, and taking one sick child to a source of health care;

impersonality-too often, minority-group members are left to the mercies of overcrowded, mass-production health services and institutions without the benefits of personal interest or continuity.

lack of involvement--perhaps most importantly, is a barrier. Users of health services are forced to be passive recipients. The general principle is that Negroes can provide the illnesses, but others will design and run the services. In consequence, utilization drops.

lack of knowledge--of health and of the best use of health services inevitably results from inferior, segregated educational patterns and lack of experience with more adequate health models.

All these barriers are heightened by the substantial health needs resulting from inferior, segregated living environments, both social and physical, into which minority groups, both north and south, are forced.

III. THE FEDERAL-CONSUMER PARTNERSHIP: ESSENTIAL FEATURE OF SOLUTIONS

A solution to many of these problems is already available, though not fully implemented. Any effective solution, however, must go beyond the problems of barriers to access and involvement, beyond the technical problems of health and health services, and constitute both a precedent and a new pattern of intervention into the whole web of discriminatory social and economic practices that deny fulfillment of human rights to Negroes and to members of other minority groups.

Among the essential features of any solution to these problems would be:

1. ending fragmentation of services--the arbitrary and meaningless separation of health and welfare, housing, food, and other subsistence programs--all of which directly affect health;

2. reorganizing Federal and State structures, including the U. S. Public Health Service, to end the existing fragmented categorical approaches to health and to emphasize community health with special reference to the problem of minority groups;

3. involving universities, medical schools, and other major sources of highest quality care--and foundations in a "demonstration and training" role--in giving attention to and developing programs for minority groups;

4. broadening, to include in a pattern of integrated health care, adequate mental health and family planning services, free from coercion in respect to all clients' religious and personal beliefs.

The Federal role in seeking solutions might be:

1. creating new, direct partnerships between the Federal Government and minority groups--through their own consumer and neighborhood organizations--to plan, fund, and implement health services in employment (including job training in health careers), in welfare, and housing. Currently, the pattern of control of public health services by state and local government agencies, health departments, welfare departments, and other local agencies in the South is a key mechanism of the dominant society

for denial of health to Negroes; and in the North is often a mandate to local agencies to continue more of the same hand-me-down patterns of services rather than to attempt imaginative innovations.

2. Federal funding and support of programs carried out through organized groups of recipients or to consumers directly would thereby reduce existing state and local governmental controls imposed as barriers between the Federal Government and ultimate users of public health services;

3. abolishing categories of public assistance, locally determined means tests, and residency requirements and substituting a federal eligibility scale as the sole and major criterion for assistance;

4. reducing or waiving the state and local matching requirement for federal grants in order to provide needed services of high quality in specially designated low-income areas. Existing uniform requirements for state and local matching funds in federal support programs often result in denial of services in the poorest states and local areas--poor particularly because of high concentrations of minority group citizens with low incomes and high health needs;

5. carrying through on tight enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and on other related legislation including Title VII with regard to hospital and health facilities and employment aimed at eliminating discrimination;

6. establishing new Federal standards, at least on a demonstration basis, and preferably on a legal basis, for quality, availability, accessibility, and acceptability of health services;

7. informing--as an ongoing aspect of health and related programs--civil rights and related organizations and individuals.

IV. THE NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH CENTER

To implement these ambitious goals fully, so that they pervade every aspect of our health system, may take many years. What is needed, at the least, is a model system that can be set in motion rapidly and widely and that can demonstrate the necessity and effectiveness of these principles in the immediate future.

The beginnings of a model system already exist in the national neighborhood health center program of the Office of Economic Opportunity in close cooperation with the Public Health Service. Its effectiveness is already demonstrated; a prototype neighborhood health center, under university and OEO auspices, is well under way in Boston; others have opened in New York and Denver; one is planned for the rural South, and others for Chicago and Los Angeles.

What is needed is not merely the enlargement of this system, but its adoption as a specific, central, major and immediate program of the Federal Government, involving existing federal health agencies in partnership with local groups.

Funds should be made available from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to local consumer groups, to medical schools and to teaching hospitals to establish and operate neighborhood health centers.

The personnel resources, though not easy to find, can be augmented by full use of existing legislation such as the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963, the Nurse Training Act of 1964, the Public Health Personnel Amendments of 1964, the Practical Nurses Training Act of 1963, and Title VIII of the NDEA.

A. Essential Features

In view of the barriers to good health care, the neighborhood health center must:

1. reach beyond the classical existing health agencies and seek new groups as sponsors and participants;

2. define, and be concerned with, health in broad-based terms, showing as much concern for the causes of ill health (e.g. slum housing and blatant violations of housing codes or failure of municipal sanitary services) as the diagnosis and treatment of illness;

3. be in the community it serves, removing the barriers of time and distance; be tied to the community through neighborhood health associations or similar new organizations; and reach out to the home in providing home visiting and homemaker services;

4. include on the staff the full range of health personnel: physicians,

community health nurses, social workers, nutritionists, technicians and subprofessionals;

5. be comprehensive, providing--under one roof--the full range of preventive and curative services and programs for ambulatory health care; services for children, adults and whole families; for physical and mental health, for special problems and common illnesses. Under this "one roof" would be coordinated the efforts of multiple agencies and facilities--city, county, and state health departments; governmental welfare agencies, private agencies and private physicians. Programs would be designed to meet the needs of residents of the neighborhood more than the administrative needs of professionals;

6. be linked in a simple and meaningful way to hospitals and other inpatient institutions, and provide transportation to them, continuity of care in them, and follow-up care from them;

7. be low-cost; indeed neighborhood health centers may be the ideal means of implementing Title XIX of the Medicare Law, which will require vastly increased health services to dependent children and many other categories of recipients;

8. be flexible and experimental in the nature and availability of the services it provides and not a purveyor of the same old patterns in a new package;

9. finally, emphasize health education, since the first and most important level of health care is in the home and family; the family needs to know of the availability of health services--and what it can do itself.

B. Neighborhood Health Associations and Community Participation

Health services are a primary route for community organization. They are salient, highly valued, and continuous. They are--or should be--intrinsically family-centered and oriented; health is a major point of contact between the physical environment and the social environment of minority-group families.

A major failure of current programs is their concentration on doing things for people, rather than with people. The opportunity for the development and use of local leadership is thus lost, as is the opportunity for the development and use of local leadership is thus lost, as is the opportunity to develop new community institutions, new forms of social cohesion, and new skills in organization. Fully effective health action requires that the technical skills of the professional be paired with the resident's knowledge of his community and its needs. Finally, health and health organizations tap a new, rich segment of the community not always reached or involved by other community organization efforts.

There is a growing number of successful examples--from rural Mississippi to Boston to Columbus, Ohio--of the formation of local groups, directly representing Negroes and other minority-group citizens, to share in the design, implementation, and staffing of neighborhood health centers.

Health associations--as sponsoring, managing and participating groups sharing in health center design, management and staffing--fulfill the principle that health alone is insufficient as an objective, that the goal is not merely health services but community organization to change the physical and social environments. Furthermore, these associations increase the appeal and relevance of health services, and the motivation to use them.

In addition, a significant proportion of the new health centers should be sponsored and managed by new groups--neighborhood health and housing associations--and by existing, vital community organizations that have not been primarily involved in health in the past: churches, the Urban League, CORE and other civil rights groups, etc.

The precedents and the experience on which to base the drafting of any necessary new legislation, executive orders and funding for a national health center program of the type described already exist in the Office of Economic Opportunity's Community Action Program, in such branches of the U. S. Public Health Service as the Division of Indian Health and the Bureau of Medical Services, and in a number of metropolitan health departments, medical schools and universities.

Direct ties between the Federal Government and local consumer, neighborhood and citizen groups in the initiation, funding and management of such a program will be facilitated by the proposed reorganization of the U. S. Public Health Service to emphasize community and regional health planning. The proposed program can, in addition, be a vehicle for the maternal and child health programs of the Children's Bureau, provide a new patient population for U. S. Public Health Service hospitals, and similarly focus the health efforts of other federal agencies.

C. The Civil Rights Implication of Health Action

A national neighborhood health center system can be the model for new forms of federal action not merely in health but in other areas as well. Existing federal programs in housing, education and employment, for example, often suffer from the requirement to work through state or local agencies that discriminate and deny services to Negroes. Existing federal programs and services in these fields--as in health--often fail to reach Negro populations directly because the organizational structure or approach of some federal agencies is currently too narrow or rigid.

Direct federal-local ties and emphasis on community health planning for and with minority-group populations will require political and social courage--but if this courage cannot be mustered for support of health programs to help overcome the present appalling loss and waste of life among minority groups, it cannot be mustered anywhere. Conversely, success of these new approaches in health may facilitate the adoption of similar federal approaches in housing, employment and education.

This is particularly true in the South. While rural southern Negroes are in urgent need of federal help in all fields, direct federal intervention through new health programs may be an important and politically feasible way of beginning and establishing precedents.

The alternative is to permit continuation of health services that are segregated, indifferent and inadequate, and that may be used as instruments of political and economic control, forcing Negroes to barter their dignity and their political rights for health.

D. Migration Services

For more than 40 years, one of the great social and demographic movements in the United States has been the flow of rural southern Negroes into northern urban centers. Out-migration of rural Negroes, both to southern and northern urban areas, is increasing. They represent situations of overwhelming need, in which the poorest, sickest, least educated, least literate, least skilled occupationally, most psychologically and physically abused members of our society arrive--usually in decaying urban ghettos--without preparation for urban life, without knowledge of available services, without housing, without prospect of remedial education, job training, relocation assistance and other services. That they survive at all is a tribute to their determination and integrity; yet this survival comes at the highest of costs in social, physical and emotional pathology. There has been a federal program for migrant workers but never a major, coherent federal program to deal with this vast movement out of the South. At this moment, an alien from Cuba--fleeing political oppression and economic deprivation--is provided vastly greater and more varied assistance than a northward-bound Negro citizen from Alabama, fleeing political oppression and economic deprivation. It is urgently recommended that coherent and multi-faceted migration and relocation services, covering health, housing, education and employment, be initiated by the Federal Government.

Such services should include rural health centers--the rural counterparts of the urban neighborhood health centers described previously. Like their urban analogues, they should be part of a national health center system, represent federal-consumer partnerships, and be linked to local health associations drawn from the rural Negro population. Such rural health centers would be enormously useful in raising health levels of potential out-migrants, and would also be a major source of health care for the substantial rural Negro population that will remain in the South.

In addition to providing personal health services at health centers, through mobile units and satellite sub-centers, these facilities could be the focal points of intensive efforts in environmental health. For example, sanitary privies could be constructed for large numbers of rural families who are without other means of sewage disposal. Other kinds of projects might include the provision of relatively simple means to assure safer water supplies; drainage and elimination of mosquito breeding areas; and reasonably sanitary landfills to replace open garbage dumps.

This program would, futhermore, put people to work immediately, with local people hired to do the job in an in-service training program under the supervision of Public Health sanitarians. The environmental health activities of the Division of Indian Health (Public Health Service) might be used as a model. Such action would be consistent with the recommendation of the Health and Welfare Panel, at the November 1965 Planning Session, calling for "reduction of the number of persons dependent upon assistance on the basis of "need" through free health and social service programs... and expansion of public works or public employment programs."

E. Technical Assistance to Local Groups

Throughout the United States, in the rural South as in the urban North, there exist local groups and individuals with leadership ability, initiative and interest in the solution of minority-group problems and deprivations--but without technical knowledge of existing federal programs, of the routes to them, of the techniques of grant application and budget formulation. This is particularly true in rural, southern Negro populations. Yet there is no adequate mechanism at present to provide technical assistance to such groups in the development, formulation, grant-application and funding of their programs. A simple, flexible program of federal funds, for travel and related expenses of professionals who would provide consultive short-term services, is urgently needed, not only in health but also covering a whole range of federal programs.

V. HEALTH-RELATED ISSUES FOR OTHER CONFERENCE PANELS

A number of health-related issues have been raised for referral to panels on education and employment:

A. Health Issues in Education

As in other areas of professional advancement, Negroes are seriously under-represented in the health professions. Indeed, for the past five years, there has been a steady decline in the number of Negro medical students. The reasons include:

1. Inferior educational preparation in southern rural and northern de facto segregated schools;

2. Cultural bias in the Medical College Aptitude Test;

3. Inadequate financial support and rising costs of medical education;

4. The appropriate desegregation of Meharry Medical College and the Howard University College of Medicine; and

5. The greater opportunity for advancement in other scientific careers. The young Negro still sees little likelihood that he can ultimately advance to become a chief of a hospital service or chairman of a medical school department, or even that he can practice effectively without barriers of access to hospital staffs, graduate training, and professional societies.

Recommended proposals include:

1. Removal of cultural bias from all aptitude tests related to the health professions;

2. Development of a national program to advise and assist professional schools in meeting their responsibilities to reach out and recruit young Negro students and furnish appropriate counseling after they have been accepted into school;

3. Rapid implementation of Federal Scholarship Programs and increased appropriations are urgent;

4. Health careers programs, beginning at grade-school ages with "future doctors' clubs" and "future nurses' clubs", etc., should be funded, particularly through educational, civil rights and professional organizations such as the Medical Committee for Human Rights;

5. Prompt appointment of Negro health professionals to administrative, supervisory and staff posts in professional schools, hospitals and health departments according to their abilities;

6. Rapid and adequate enforcement of Title VII of the Civil Rights Law of 1964, particularly with reference to hospital employment.

B. Health Issues in Housing

Housing provides the chief environment for infants, children, mothers, and the elderly. Crowding, cold, vermin, poor lighting, rotten stairs, broken glass, etc. and the depressive emotional effects of a slum ghetto are all classic destroyers of good health, both physical and emotional.

Recommendations:

1. Develop and endorse a national housing and sanitation code and provide federal funds to insure its implementation.

2. Increase the funds for development of expanded public housing programs already approved by Congress in 1965.

3. Initiate health programs for tenants in public housing developments and for residents in nearby slum areas.

C. Health Issues in Employment

1. Poor health imposes serious limits on employability; 18 per cent of all applications for welfare in New York City stem from illness.

2. Low paying jobs and unstable employment limit the ability of a family to purchase an adequate diet. This particularly effects the children.

3. Low wages block the ability to purchase health insurance. For example, only 10 per cent of the families at the Columbia Point Housing Development in Boston, Massachusetts are covered by Blue Cross insurance.

4. The health industry, now one of the largest in the country, has been subsidized by the poor. In many states, non-unionized, unskilled labor--often exempt from minimum wage laws and covered only by inadequate personnel medical services--is the backbone of hospital functions. Even professionals such as nurses earn less than garbage collectors and truck-drivers.

VI. ACCOMPLISHMENTS SINCE THE 1965 PLANNING SESSION

A. Civil Rights Act: Title VI Compliance Procedures and Progress

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination in federally assisted programs. The Health and Welfare Panel of the November 1965 Planning Session urged "funds for full implementation and enforcement of Title VI....including provision for specially trained personnel and an improved mechanism for detection of non-compliance /with/ establishment of a unit of the U. S. Public Health Service with a surveillance function." In December John W. Gardner, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, appointed a Special Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Rights.

As one result of the Planning Session, approval has been granted for 100 permanent positions in Washington and the DHEW regional offices to carry out the non-discriminatory provisions of Title VI and Executive Order 11246 under which come direct federal contracts and sub-contracts and grant-aided contracts for the construction of medical and related facilities, mental health centers, etc.

Temporary personnel are checking on the compliance status of all 10,000 hospitals in the Nation in connection with Medicare. Perhaps 2,500 hospitals may have to be visited to determine compliance status; by mid-February state welfare agencies administering continuing assistance had refused to use more than 100 hospitals which had failed to pledge non-discrimination. After September 1966 a sample of 50 per cent of the institutions each year will receive routine review and, in addition, complaints will be investigated.

Once the compliance procedures are operative, the existing program evaluation systems will be reviewed "to assure not merely an absence of segregation and discrimination but actual participation by all citizens in the full range of federally-aided programs," as directed by Secretary Gardner in February 1966.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Minutes

1966

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

COUNCIL MEETING

April 1 and 2, 1966

SUMMARY OF MINUTES

On Friday, evening, April 1, the Council undertook to decide whether or not to include Health and the Administration of Justice on the agenda of the Conference.

After extensive discussion of the problems and solutions presented by the Consultants on Health, it was clear that a decision could not be made to include Health on the Conference agenda because of the division among Council members. The Consultants were requested to re-draft the Health paper and include in it significant and concrete proposals with respect to health services for the poor, and with respect to neighborhood health clinics. This paper would be presented to the Council at its next meeting, at which time a determination would be made as to whether the subject of Health would be included on the agenda or whether a Health paper would be submitted to the White House.

The Council concurred that since the Administration bill on civil rights would be under consideration by the Congress at the time of the White House Conference, the subject Administration of Justice could not be omitted from the agenda, particularly in view of the vital interest of the conferees. The Council concluded, however, that because this interest was also emotional and could be explosive, the sessions on this topic would have to be carefully structured both to provide a safety valve and permit constructive participation. The Council will decide also at its next meeting whether or not Administration of Justice will be included as an agenda item.

On Saturday morning, April 2, the Council agreed to meet both on the evening of Friday, May 6, and all day on Saturday, May 7, to review the full agenda of the June Conference.

Two brief discussions on Conference structure occurred which resulted in concluding that (1) more grass roots representatives than originally planned would be invited (somewhat more than 150 out of a possible total of 2,500 delegates) and that the grass roots persons could be of wide range, and need not be affiliated with a group or organization; and (2) the sessions of the Conference for each agenda item would be about two hours in length.

The Task Force paper on Economic Security and Welfare was discussed during the remainder of the day. It was concluded that the Task Force report for Council review in May should establish priorities, and, for a much more limited group of proposals, prepare substantive background and documentation to show how the goals could be achieved. The Council appeared to favor expansion of Item I on full employment to suggest methods of achieving full employment for Negroes during average full employment, and fair employment at other times. It gave priority assignment to Item VI on structuring manpower services, but this general proposal or its particulars did not yet encompass the idea of providing for public needs and thereby creating jobs, as suggested by Mr. Randolph.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

COUNCIL MEETING

April 1 and 2, 1966

The following Council members and/or their representatives attended the Council meeting, April 1 and 2, 1966:

A. Philip Randolph - Honorary Chairman
Ben W. Heineman - Chairman

William T. Coleman, Jr.
*Dr. Allison Davis
John S. Gleason, Jr.
Eli Goldston
Courtlandt S. Gross
Miss Dorothy Height
Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
*Dr. Martin Luther King
James A. Linen, III
James P. Lydon

#Hon. Theodore R. McKeldin
Dr. James G. Maddox
Burke Marshall
Galen Martin
G. William Miller
Mahlon T. Puryear
Bayard Rustin
*Donald Slaiman
Donald Smith
*Dr. Robert W. Spike
Roy Wilkins

#Attended April 1 meeting
*Attended April 2 meeting

The following Council members were absent April 1 and 2:

Morris B. Abram
Hon. Edward T. Breathitt, Jr.
Dr. Jerome Bruner
Stephen Currier
Father Theodore M. Hesburgh
Rafer Johnson

John Lewis
Floyd McKissick
George Meany
J. Irwin Miller
Joseph Molony
Whitney Young, Jr.

The following Conference Staff members were present:

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy - Vice Chairman
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr. - Vice Chairman
Berl I. Bernhard - Special Counsel
James E. Booker - Director of Information
Craig W. Christensen - Executive Assistant to the Chairman
Norman J. McKenzie - Executive Officer

The following resource and liaison persons were present:

Clifford Alexander, Jr. - White House
Edwin Firmage - Office of the Vice President
Harold Fleming - Potomac Institute
Charles E. Hawkins - Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare
Norman Hill - AFL-CIO
William Mirengoff - Department of Labor
Albert L. Shostack - Department of Labor
Dr. Phyllis A. Wallace - Equal Opportunity Commission
Mrs. Mary Weaver - Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare
Samuel F. Yette - Office of Economic Opportunity

The following presented a briefing and answered questions on Health:

Mrs. Marion S. Bailey - National League for Nursing
Dr. H. Jack Geiger - Tufts University
Dr. Count Gibson - Tufts University
Dr. James Haughton - New York City Health Department
Dr. Earl Huyck - Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare

The following presented a briefing and answered questions on Administration of Justice:

Alvin Hirschen - Department of Justice
Harold F. Reis - Department of Justice
Dr. Arnold S. Trebach - Howard University

The following presented a Task Force paper on Economic Security and Welfare:

Dr. Vivian Henderson - Clark College
Frank Armstrong - Industrial Relations Counselors Service, Inc.
Mahlon T. Puryear - National Urban League
Ramon S. Scruggs - American Telephone and Telegraph Company
Harold L. Sheppard - W. E. Upjohn Institute
Thomas T. Williams - Southern University
Emory Via - Southern Regional Conference

The Honorable Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Attorney General of the United States, attended the Council meeting briefly on April 2 and commented on the importance of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." He also commended the Council members for taking time out of their busy schedules to attend night and weekend Council meetings.

Mrs. Dorothy K. Newman, Department of Labor, attended as rappateur.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Planning Session

1965

A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N. Y. -- 10027
666-9510

A. Philip Randolph, Chairman   Bayard Rustin, Executive Director

BACKGROUND PAPER
WHITE HOUSE PLANNING CONFERENCE

-- Bayard Rustin

We are at "the end of the beginning."

So President Lyndon B. Johnson has defined the state of the civil rights struggle for the fulfillment of the moral principles of equality and brotherhood which are so basic to the American ideal.

And so we here can define our task in the same terms. Our agenda is to complete the beginning that has been made -- and then to chart the bold, new departures which are required if every American is to be a full, first class citizen of his own land.

I. To Complete the Beginning

Ten years ago, and some ninety years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Supreme Court of the United States outlawed segregation in public education and laid the juridical basis for eliminating discrimination from every area of the national life.

In the ensuing decade, there has been a vast awakening of conscience among millions of Americans, Negro and white. There have been heroic struggles in the streets and in the jails and there have been those who paid with their lives to make freedom truly indivisible. In the courts, the battle to challenge every segregationist statute and practice has become more intense than ever before. And out of all these activities, out of this most dynamic movement of our time, there has come a new national commitment to full civil rights in the form of a series of laws, and, above all, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965.

The main impact of these victories has been felt in the South, for it was blatant and self-proclaimed discrimination which was the first target of the movement. Yet even here, if one can now see an end to that mockery whereby democratic institutions were used to enforce an anti-democratic policy of segregation, these beginnings are still incomplete.

For despite the law of the land as articulated by the Congress and proclaimed by the Supreme Court, American racism still has powerful weapons for the subversion of our national policy and principles.

Terror and physical and economic sanctions are effectively used to nullify the solemn will of the society as a whole.

Civil rights workers have been beaten and murdered and those accused of these vile crimes against them have been exonerated in trials which make a disgrace of the judicial process. We therefore propose:

> *that the Congress make it a federal crime to interfere in any way with any citizen engaged in implementing the national policy for full and complete racial equality;*
>
> *that the Department of Justice vigorously pursue the enforcement of existing laws against the discriminatory selection of juries at all levels of American life; and that the Conress make more precise and specific rules toward the same end.*

We cannot say that we have yet come to the end of the beginning when racist terrorists can strike down American citizens who are acting in accordance with the highest traditions and the express public policy of the nation. The physical safety of the participant in the political process is a fundamental concern, and precondition, of democratic life. We demand that it be guaranteed for every citizen.

In addition to outright terrorism, the civil rights movement confronts more subtle forms of intimidation. First and foremost are the economic reprisals taken against Negroes in the South who actively participate in the freedom struggle -- or who simply assert their democratic right to the ballot. A strengthened Fair Employment Practices Statute should contain provisions aimed directly at this evil, for there are the most obvious and outright patterns of economic coercion which can be brought under the rule of law.

In addition, we believe that there are many situations when direct federal aid should be provided to those who suffer economic hardship and deprivation because of their fidelity to the democratic ideals of this nation. It has recently, and rightly, been suggested that the victims of violent crime (and in the case of those who die, their families) should be reimbursed by the public, that the individual should not be required to shoulder the burden which society's failure to give adequate protection imposes upon him. We believe that this principle should be applied to those who suffer from both physical and economic terror in the civil rights movement. We do not suggest that they should be given a hand-out. We ask that America give them their just due for performing a courageous and vital function in the democratic process.

In the South, then, there is often a brutal, open and utterly antidemocratic double standard of justice where the Negro is involved and almost always when the issue is civil rights. But in both the North and the South, the social and economic position of the Negro often results in his being victimized by a more sophisticated double standard. Comdemned to miserable ghettos, high rates of unemployment and an unjust share of society's misery, the Negro is often unable to view the policeman or the judge as a friend or protector of law and order. They appear in the guise of the enemy, as one more source of the torment which white America imposes upon the Negro.

We therefore support every effort to eliminate social class factors from the administration of justice, i.e. programs to give financial support so that the right of indigent defendents to a full legal defense can become a reality; rigorous observation of recent Supreme Court decisions regarding the rights of citizens who are arrested; and, in local areas, independent civilian review boards for hearing complaints against the police.

In addition, there are existing laws -- and again, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 are most crucial in this regard -- which must be fully and totally implemented. In this context, we believe that the government of the United States should play a most active role in initiating action against discrimination. From the earliest days of this Republic to the present moment, Negroes have been segregated and abused in flagrant violation of principles which the entire nation claimed to hold sacred. Now that this scandal is coming to an end, shall the victims of injustice be told to shoulder the main burden in redeeming the honor of the whole society? The answer is clear. Precisely in the name of equal rights before the law, the government has the responsibility to volunteer its resources in this great struggle and to say clearly and unambiguously that it is the duty of the United States of America as a nation to work positively for its own basic principles.

In all of these proposals to complete the beginning that America has made in the fight for equality, it should be clear that we envision that the civil rights movement will increase its activity in the coming period. We have come as far as we have by employing a wide range of complementary tactics: challenging segregatin in the courts; legislatures, and in the streets. On all these fronts, our efforts must be redoubled if we are truly to arrive at the end of the beginning and if the movement is to be prepared for the even more profound struggles that lie ahead.

II. The New Departures

In the course of the great struggles against segregationist statutes, America has become conscious that the problem of discrimination is deeply rooted in the national life, that it is more profound than laws and court decisions.

Most specifically, we now understand that every formal and open support of segregation could be abolished and that the American economy and social structure could still perpetuate, and even intensify, the second class status of the Negro. What Congress and the courts give, the market place could take away.

This grim reality was the central theme of President Johnson's historic address at Howard University. Thus, it is now only necessary to cite but a few of the facts which show how potentially tragic the situation is.

Between 1949 and 1959 -- years of the "Negro Revolution" -- the percentage of the white wage received by the Negro worker declined from 57% to 53%.

In 1948, Negro and white unemployment were roughly equal. In the fifties and early sixties, Negro unemployment was consistantly double that of white, and Negro teen-age unemployment has often been at rates as disastrous as those which prevailed for the entire nation during the depression of the 1930s.

At this point, it is very much worth while to pause and take a more careful look at the problem of Negro unemployment. It is happily true that Negro unemployment has, as a result of the nation's improved economic performance in the sixties, declined from the level of 12.6% which it reached in 1958 (and 12.5% in 1961). Today, nonwhite joblessness in the United States stands at roughly 8.3%. But, and this is of great significance, the *proportion* *of Negro unemployment compared to white has remained constant despite this progress -- it is twice as serious. So if in 1958, 12.6% of the Negroes were unemployed and 6.1% of the whites, in 1965, the corresponding figures are 8.3% and 4.2% -- or still a ratio of 2 to 1 against the Negro. In other words, there is continuing discrimination even when gains are made.*

But these statistics conceal an even more dangerous trend: the persistance of Negro youth unemployment. In 1961, 24.7% of those Negroes between 14 and 19 years of age were out of work. And it is estimated that in 1965, this incredible rate will only decline to 23.2%. This is an expression of the fact that Negro job progress has been largely a result of calling men with previous experience back to work. The official figures give us no reason to be optimistic about the huge number of young, and often unskilled, uneducated, Negroes who will be entering the labor market in the next period. *For in the next year, Negroes, who are 11% of the population, will be 18% of the new entrants to the labor force. Approximately half of this disproportionate number of young Negroes will be without the equivalent of a high school education and they will be competing in an economy in which the demand for skill and training is increasing dramatically.*

It is thus possible that there be a deterioration of the Negro's social and economic position at the very moment when the civil rights movement achieves great political victories. As a result the new "freedom" would be a bitter thing indeed, and economic servitude would ba as effective an instrument of discrimination as any racist law.

During the past year, the public has become somewhat more conscious of the way in which these statistics about the economics of Negro life describe more than a series of random and unconnected facts and indeed form the basis for important social patterns. In particular, the problems of family life among poor Negroes have been emphasized as an example of the kind of problems one encounters in this regard. We think that it is extremely important that this point should be made and understood -- and just as important that it should not be misunderstood.

In 1940, Edward Wight Bakke discribed the effect of unemployment on family structure. Bakke demonstrated a model tragedy: *the jobless father is no longer a provider, credit runs out, the woman is forced into the labor force. Then, if relief becomes a necessity, the woman is even more of the focal point -- and the welfare investigator is often a woman, too. The father is dependent, the children bewildered, the stability of the family is threatened and often shattered.*

Bakke's research was a description of the plight of the white unemployed. Thus, the fact that Negro scholars, like the late Franklin Frazier and Dr. Kenneth Clark, and other investigators, have described this pattern as a typical one among the Negro poor does not mean that it has anything to do with some "inherent" Negro trait. *It is a relationship between family life and joblessness which holds, and has held, for both blacks and whites. If Negroes suffer more from this problem today, it is not because they are Negro but because they are so disproportionately a part of the unemployed, the underemployed and the ill-paid.*

What has happened in America is that the post-Emancipation labor market denied many Negroes the opportunity to become "economic" fathers -- the breadwinning heads of stable families -- just as the laws of slavery had denied the Negro the juridical right to marriage and children.

So it is that today:

35% of all Negro children live in broken homes;
25% of Negro women who have been married are divorced.
14% of all Negro children are receiving Aid for Families of Dependent Children.

The answer to this problem is not to give the impoverished masses of the black ghetto sermons about middle class virtues. It is to give them jobs and decent, integrated housing and schools. For the official government statistics already show that, in the 1950s, the Negro family became much more stable in good times, less stable in bad. And this issue, let it be emphasized, is not one of special pleading on the part of the Negro male, but a vital question of Negro life as a whole. As Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women put it, "If the Negro woman has a major underlying concern, it is the status of the Negro man and his position in the community and his need for feeling himself an important person, free and able to make his contribution in the whole of society in order that it may strengthen his home."

III. Negro Poverty

Thus, Negro poverty is a special, and particularly destructive form of American poverty.

The white immigrant waves of the 19th and early 20th centuries faced ethnic and religious prejudice. But they were never confronted by an organized system of race hatred with its own laws and myths and stereotypes, its own economy. Those of the older generations of white poor who fought their way out of poverty could thus assimilate into American life as soon as they acquired money, education, mastery of the language. But the Negro lawyer, doctor or teacher is often as victimized as the Negro laborer and every Negro, whatever his work, faces the evil of prejudice.

Secondly, Negro poverty is special because masses of Negroes migrated from the rural South to the urban South and North and entered the mainstream of the American economy only a few years before the once insatiable demand for unskilled muscle power went into decline. The older white immigrants came to an economy which could put grade school drop-outs to work; the Negro of today must compete with machines which have high school educations.

But Negro poverty is also a part of American poverty and this is a crucial fact in developing new policies and departures.

Indeed, I think it can be fairly said that the Negro movement is one of the main reasons why we now have a War on Poverty to help the white and the black poor. For it was the struggle for civil rights that first tore away the veil and revealed the tenements and the rats and all the rest of the black misery, and once this was seen then the plight of the white slums and the white rural poor of Appalachia could be seen too.

The non-white poor are more than doubly poor because of their race -- but they are still roughly a 25% minority of the total impoverished American population. The three quarters of the American poor who are white do not share the terrible problem of race prejudice with Negroes but they do have a similar deficiency in education and skill and thus the same kind of disadvantage in the labor market.

Given this analysis, a most important fact emerges: Negro poverty cannot be abolished without the simultaneous abolition of white poverty, and vice versa.

Because of this, the range of programs which are required to provide Negroes with genuine economic opportunity will not, by far and large (the exception is primarily in the area of Fair Employment Legislation), the "civil rights" laws. Instead, they will be measures aimed at transforming the living conditions of all the poor, black and white. To the extent that Negroes suffer economic misery disproportionately compared to whites, an anti-poverty program will in that sense "disproportionately" help Negroes -- but not by singling them out for special treatment.

In the areas of new departures, then, the civil rights concern merges with the anti-poverty commitment. But then, there is an even larger convergence which must be noted. Poverty, both Negro and white, effects the entire nation. The despair of the poor is often a source of crime; the neighborhoods of the poor produce little public revenue and demand huge public expenditures; the very existance of the poor in a society as productive as America's is a corruption of morality. Therefore, in righting the grievous economic wrongs which have been done to the Negro, it is not only necessary to bring justice to the poor whites, but the entire level of the country will be raised as well. In this context, one of the major economic tasks of the Great Society is the abolition of poverty and the consequent granting of economic and social content to the political freedoms being won by the civil rights movement.

To accomplish all this is a considerable undertaking. It will require the active participation of every sector of American society: of the voluntary institutions, like the churches and charitable organizations; of both business and labor; and of government at every level.

IV. Voluntary Organizations

America is a land in which the individual charitable impulse plays a major role. The power of this practical idealism must be oriented toward the next stage of the Negro Revolution. For example:

> *The religious leadership in America has become conscious of its responsibility to the cause of equality and anti-poverty, but their rank and file often lag well behind in this regard. The voluntary sector must thus attack every vestige of racial prejudice to be found in its own organizations; it must convert its own constituents.*
>
> *In the voluntary sector -- and particularly in charitable institutions like hospitals -- one often encounters poverty jobs for Negroes and other poor people. Philanthropy cannot build on other people's misery, and the voluntary sector must recognize its responsibility to pay decent wages and to allow for collective bargaining.*
>
> *Many voluntary organizations have massive building programs. They must pledge that not one cent shall be spent upon Jim Crow construction.*
>
> *The voluntary sector often holds extensive investments. Churches and universities and hospitals should never hold shares in poverty enterprises, like slums.*
>
> *Above all, the voluntary sector can begin to establish lines of human communication between black and white America. Churches can exchange visits and so can individual parishoners; universities can exchange both students and faculty.*

V. Business and Labor.

In the economy, both business and labor can help in the crucial task of annulling the unwritten Jim Crow laws which exist in the labor market.

Business:

should not take refuge in the excuse that qualified Negro workers cannot be found, but should agressively pursue on-the-job-training programs consciously designed to train Negroes;

the Plans for Progress Program can be intensified so that every enterprise in the land will be playing an active role in promoting the national commitment to full equality;

where mechanization or automation is going to have its usual, particularly cruel impact upon displaced Negro workers, business must assume a social responsibility superior to any technical consideration and engage in government-labor-community planning to see to it that new jobs are found;

business and particularly small and new businesses, should be given tax and other incentives (as in the Economic Opportunity Act) when their policies will promote the hiring and upgrading of Negroes and others who are poor.

The American labor movement is the most successful voluntary organization for the abolition of poverty in American history. The economic challenge of the civil rights struggle now gives it the opportunity to face up to a new and profound challenge which is in keeping with this tradition.

Almost half of the heads of poor families work hard and long -- and they are still poor. Some of them are denied coverage under the nation's collective bargaining policies (farm workers), others lack Social Security, some work at the sub-poverty official minimum wage of $1.25 an hour, many are in unorganized shops.

We believe that the labor movement's program for increasing minimum wage and extending its coverage constitutes a major step forward for the working poor.

We urge the labor movement to fight vigorously so that all farm and domestic labor will be brought under the social benefits of the welfare state, for in the doing there will be an important contribution to Negro well being.

Finally, we believe that the labor movement must bring its unique skills -- organization and collective bargaining -- to the unorganized poor. Some trade unionists have already suggested that strong, stable internationals and locals "adopt" *organizing campaigns among workers who are so poor that they cannot pay the cost of organizing themselves, at least at the outset. Others have indicated that union organizing experience can make a major contribution to help organize the poor for "maximumfeasible participation" in the War against Poverty.*

VI. The Responsibility of Government

But, frankly, neither the voluntary sector, nor business and labor, can do much to abolish Negro and white poverty unless government recognizes its responsibility.

For, as the Employment Act of 1946 stated, and as every Administration since, Democratic or Republican, has realized, a complex, inter-dependent and enormously productive economy like ours does not automatically and effortlessly achieve full employment, a proper rate of growth, a just distribution of benefits. In this regard, our analysis of the problem of Negro poverty -- and of white poverty as well -- points in certain important directions for federal action.

There are unemployable Negro and white poor, among them the children, the aging and the permanently handicapped. No measure of full employment or of economic growth can put an end to their misery. They must be provided with a decent level of life as defined by American society.

We believe it is wrong for America to have Social Security benefits which are often tragically under the poverty line. We believe that it is cruel for various welfare payments to be figured as a partial percentage of what is needed. We consider it outrageous that there are still dependent children programs which promote separation and divorce because of rules against an able-bodied male being part of the recipient family.

We believe that this nation is productive enough to adopt the principle that all unemployable people have a *right* *to a decent annual income.*

In addition, we believe that all pension and other social insurance programs should have an escalator clause. In West Germany, for instance, such payments are readjusted upwards in proportion to the increase in the GNP every two years.

However, we do not mean to suggest that we propose to "buy off" the unemployable poor by a simple cash payment. That could often concemn them to lonely, bitter existances lived out in racial ghettos. *In addition to recognizing their right to a decent personal consumption income, we must also grant their right to proper levels of social income and amenities -- like decent housing, social programs, leisure time activity, and the like.*

Then there are the unemployed poor and the working poor, Negro and white.

Along with the majority of the Senate Sub-Committee on Employment and Manpower in 1964, we believe that if the nation's projected GNP is going to produce levels of unemployment and underemployment which are in contradiction to our commitments to civil rights and the abolition of poverty, then the government must create a larger GNP which will suffice to promote our national goals.

We believe that one area of tremendous need which could provide a basis for an enormous expansion of the economy and a resultant eliminatination of unemployment, underemployment, and working poverty, is investment in the nation's social capital: in schools, parks, mass transportation systems, hospitals, theatres, and above all, decent, integrated and desirable housing for every American.

In the age of automation, we believe that there is another area of need, one that is well nigh inexhaustible: investment in human beings. In the course of the most modest War on Poverty, we have already discovered that poor people can do "non-professional" social and educational work.

We believe that the human care of human beings should be a major area of growth for this nation and that we should begin to train, on every level of skill and education, people whose work will be helping people.

To some, the proposals made here may seem so sweeping as to be incredible. To us, the truly incredible fact is that America allowed Watts to happen in 1965 and that it did so because the problems we have been describing -- depression rates of unemployment, increasing widespread rates of high school drop outs, the consequent frustration and corruption of much of family life -- were ignored. After the Harlem riots of 1964 something was done; anti-poverty money was pumped into Harlem. After the events in Watts, something will be done.

But are we thus to teach impoverished Negroes that the only way they can get the ear of white America is to rise up in violence: That is a really outlandish proposal in a democracy. And the ideas which we here advocate are a first step toward genuine sanity.

Finally, we do not propose an issolationist paradise in order to fulfill our civil rights and anti-poverty commitments. The nation has long honored military service -- with ROTC subsidies, with the GI Bill of Rights -- and we believe that we should now make social service -- of every kind at least as honored a calling as that of the warrior.

For we believe that, in an integrated nation, black Americans can countribute, not simply to the well being of their own contrymen, but to that of the world as a whole.

In short, after "the end of the beginning" in the struggle for civil rights, we propose that the energies and skills and talents of Negroes be put to work in the service of the nation and of mankind.

New York, N. Y.
November, 1965

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Room 1123
Tel: 737-9010

FOR RELEASE:
FRIDAY A.M.'s
November 12, 1965

SUBJECTS, AIDES FOR RIGHTS PLANNING SESSION

More than 200 persons with special knowledge and experience in civil rights and related areas will participate in a two-day Planning Session at the Washington Hilton Hotel November 17 - 18 to develop proposals for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" to be held next Spring.

Work sessions will be broken down into eight major sections in which knowledgeable persons in each concentration area will explore in depth the remaining obstacles to the achievement of equality and justice for the American Negro.

The participants in the sessions are being invited by A. Philip Randolph, Honorary Chairman of the Conference, and Co-Chairmen Morris B. Abram and William T. Coleman, Jr., to outline creative and innovative proposals aimed at bringing the Negro American more fully into the American mainstream.

In his commencement address at Howard University June 4, 1965, President Johnson said the conference object would be "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

Participants in the Planning Session are being selected in consultation with civil rights, business, labor, religious and civic groups. The Co-Chairmen said the work sessions will seek wide-ranging ideas from the broad cross-section of participants. Experts in various fields are assembling material and preparing agenda papers to stimulate discussion during the work sessions.

Following the two-day Planning Session, a report will be made to the White House Conference in the Spring of 1966.

The eight main areas of discussion are as follows:

Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security will consider such subjects as upgrading income, unemployment, job creation, discriminatory practices, development of new businesses and management skills, job preparation, apprenticeships, and related topics.

Administration of Justice will take up problems of physical security, federal enforcement practices, jury selection, police-community relations, new approaches to rehabilitation, training for the poor in law enforcement occupations, and related matters.

Voting and Citizenship Participation will focus on effective implementation of the voting laws, development of easier access to registration, elimination of voter harrassment and intimidation, and participation in political activities.

Health and Welfare discussions will deal with such matters as elimination of discriminatory practices, increased availability of services, elimination of dependency, and the inclusion of welfare clients in the planning of improved administration of welfare systems.

The Family: Resources for Change will examine such topics as reducing family stresses and developing potential, relations of family structure to income, child-rearing practices and overcoming negative outside influences.

Housing and the Neighborhood discussions will explore such matters as low and moderate income housing needs, urban renewal programs, metropolitan and regional planning for schools, housing, open spaces, highways, decentralizing the Ghetto, and related topics.

The Community: Institutions and Social Action will consider ways in which residents of the Ghettos can secure support for efforts to organize for full participation and influence in the larger community.

Education will include discussions of such topics as obstacles to integration, improvement of educational standards, and the role of the Federal, State and local governments.

Among those who are assisting in preparing for the work sessions, under the direction of Berl I. Bernhard, Executive Director, are: Judge William H. Hastie, U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Third Circuit; Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Director, Social Dynamics Research Institute, City College of New York; Dr. Vivian Henderson, economist and President of Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. Hyland Lewis, Professor of Sociology, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Carl Holman, Special Assistant to the Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Harold C. Fleming, Executive Vice President, the Potomac Institute.

Mrs. Cernoria Johnson, Washington Director, National Urban League; Dr. David Danzig, Professor, Columbia University School of Social Work; Dr. Herman Long, President of Talladega College, Atlanta, Ga; Lisle C. Carter, Jr., Assistant Director in charge of Inter-Agency Relations, Office of Economic Opportunity; Wiley A. Branton, Special Assistant for Voter Registration, Department of Justice; Dr. Howard E. Mitchell, University of Pennsylvania.

Sterling Tucker, Director, Washington Urban League; George Nesbitt, Director, Low Income Housing Demonstration Program, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Miss June Shagaloff, Education Specialist, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Dr. Arnold Trebach, Law Professor, Howard University; and George Schermer, human relations consultant.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Planning Session

1966

(1)

General Background

PLANNING SESSION FOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Room List

Conference Headquarters (Registration)
Farragut Room, Lobby Level

Executive Director's Office
Room C352-3, Lobby Level

Press Headquarters
Hamilton Room, Lobby Level

Administrative Office
Jackson Room, Lobby Level

I. Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security
Panel A: Uranus Room, 5th Floor
Panel B: Dupont Room, Lobby Level

II. Administration of Justice
Polaris Room, 3rd Floor

III. Voting and Citizenship Participation
Lunar Room, 4th Floor

IV. Health and Welfare
Jupiter Room, 6th Floor

V. The Family: Resources for Change
Mars Room, 7th Floor

VI. Housing and the Neighborhood
Venus Room, 8th Floor

VII. The Community: Institutions and Social Action
Saturn Room, 9th Floor

VIII. Education
Meteor Room, 10th Floor

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
A. Philip Randolph

CO-CHAIRMAN
Morris B. Abram

CO-CHAIRMAN
William T. Coleman, Jr.

Legal Advisor to Mr. Coleman
Melvin Zarr

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S OFFICE
Room C352-3, Lobby Level

Berl I. Bernhard, Executive Director

M. Carl Holman, Chief Staff Associate

Harold C. Fleming, Chief Consultant

Elizabeth Drew, Editorial Consultant

Virginia Frank, Executive Officer

Staff Aides: Joan Thornell
Terry Golden
Ann McCluney
Oliver Ward

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS
Farragut Room, Lobby Level

Director:	Bertram Levine Program Arrangements
Director:	Julia Cellini Conference Arrangements
Staff Aides:	Fran Carter Chris Hemphill Verdelle Cunningham Frances Hanks Pat Nestler Dave Kastner

Registration Questions should be directed to Miss Cellini and her staff.

Questions about hotel facilities, (rooms, furnishings, air conditioning, etc.), should also be directed to Miss Cellini.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE
Jackson Room, Lobby Level

James Sasser, Administrative Officer

Arthur McCaw, Budget Officer

Larry Gardner, Procurement Officer

Staff Aides:

- Lorraine Inman
- Carrie Craven
- Dale Long
- Ed Morgan
- Tony Hartwell

Staff Aides (Typing Pool):

- Loretta Blakeslee
- Madeleine Bowman
- Susan Carroll
- Elizabeth Halburnt
- Renda Reed
- Mary Crampton
- Pat Morrison
- Myrna Woolfolk

NOTE: Two Staff Aides will remain at 1800 G Street, in Room 1126, to answer telephones and handle general inquiries. On Tuesday afternoon, through 8:00 p.m., this will be Susan Carroll and Myrna Woolfolk. On Wednesday, from 9:00 a.m. through 5:00 p.m., this will be Mary Crampton and Loretta Blakeslee. On Thursday, from 9:00 a.m. through 5:00 p.m., this will be Renda Reed and Elizabeth Halburnt. Please see to it that you get keys to all the rooms from Larry Gardner for these days. At other times, all typists should be in the Jackson Room at the Hotel.

MIMEOGRAPH MACHINE, XEROX DUPLICATOR, TYPEWRITERS available at all times for the use of all staff in the Jackson Room.

TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS AND QUESTIONS ABOUT REIMBURSEMENTS should be referred to Mr. McCaw in the Jackson Room.

REQUESTS FOR SUPPLIES should be referred to Mr. Gardner in the Jackson Room.

PRESS HEADQUARTERS
Hamilton Room

Edward Bayley, Chief Public Relations Consultant

James Booker, Public Relations

Edward Moss, Public Relations

Oldfield Dukes, Public Relations

Staff Aides:	Cecelia Johnson Shirley Cohen Pal Seldon Eunice Butler Robert Wooten Morris Harris

GENERAL

Robert A. Wallace
Assistant Secretary of Treasury
Department of Treasury

E. William Henry
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission
New Post Office Building
12th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

John Stewart
Assistant to the Vice President
New Senate Office Building

Edward Firmage
Office of the Vice President

Philleo Nash
Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs
Department of Interior

Walter Pozen
Assistant to the Secretary
Department of Interior

William J. Crockett
Deputy Under Secretary for Administration
Department of State

Eddie N. Williams
Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary of Administration
Office of Employment Practices
Department of State

Hirst Sutton
Chief, General Government Division
Bureau of the Budget

Eugene B. Tryck
Senior Examiner
General Government Division
Bureau of the Budget

Leon Wallace
Special Assistant to the Administrator
Veterans Administration

Harris Wofford
Associate Director
Peace Corps

GENERAL

Civil Rights Commissioners

Dr. John A. Hannah
President
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dr. Theodore M. Hesburgh
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dr. Erwin N. Griswold
Harvard University Law School
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Mr. Eugene C. Patterson
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Robert S. Rankin
Department of Political Science
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman
1209 North Grand Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri

GENERAL

The White House

Clifford Alexander
Associate Special Counsel to the President
The White House

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

S. Douglass Cater, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

Harry C. McPherson, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

Lee C. White
Special Assistant to the President

GENERAL

FARMER, James

**FORMAN, James

GRAUBARD, Stephen

**LEWIS, John

**RUSTIN, Bayard

WILKINS, Roy

YOUNG, Whitney Moore, Jr.

COURTESY

**BOND, Dr. Horace Mann

**CONANT, James Bryant

**CURRIER, Stephen

**REUTHER, Walter

BACKGROUND PAPER

Bayard Rustin

We are at "the end of the beginning."

So President Lyndon B. Johnson has defined the state of the civil rights struggle for the fulfillment of the moral principles of equality and brotherhood which are so basic to the American ideal.

And so we here can define our task in the same terms. Our agenda is to complete the beginning that has been made -- and then to chart the bold, new departures which are required if every American is to be a full, first-class citizen of his own land.

I. To Complete the Beginning

Ten years ago, and some ninety years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Supreme Court of the United States outlawed segregation in public education and laid the juridical basis for eliminating discrimination from every area of national life.

In the ensuing decade, there has been a vast awakening of conscience among millions of Americans, Negro and white. There have been heroic struggles in the streets and there have been those who have been jailed and those who have paid with their lives to make freedom truly indivisible. In the courts, the battle to challenge every segregationist statute and practice has become more intense than ever before. And out of all these activities, out of this most dynamic movement of our time, there has come a new national commitment to full civil rights in the form of series of laws and, above all, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965.

The main impact of these victories has been felt in the South, for it was blatant and self-proclaimed discrimination which was the first target of the movement. Yet even here, if one can now see an end to that mockery whereby democratic institutions were used to enforce an anti-democratic policy of segregation, these beginnings are still incomplete.

For despite the law of the land as articulated by the Congress and proclaimed by the Supreme Court, American racism still has powerful weapons for the subversion of our national policy and principles. Terror and physical and economic sanctions are effectively used to nullify the solemn will of the society as a whole.

Civil rights workers have been beaten and murdered and those accused of these vile crimes have been exonerated in trials which make a disgrace of the judicial process. We therefore propose:

> that the Congress make it a Federal crime to interfere in any way with any citizen engaged in implementing the national policy for full and complete racial equality;

> that the Department of Justice vigorously pursue the enforcement of existing laws against the discriminatory selection of juries at all levels of American life; and that the Congress make more precise and specific rules toward the same end.

We cannot say that we have yet come to the end of the beginning when racist terrorists can strike down American citizens who are acting in accordance with the highest traditions and the express public policy of the nation. The physical safety of the participant in the political process is a fundamental concern, and precondition, of democratic life. We demand that it be guaranteed for every citizen.

In addition to outright terrorism, the civil rights movement confronts more subtle forms of intimidation. First and foremost are the economic reprisals taken against Negroes in the South who actively participate in the freedom struggle -- or who simply assert their democratic right to the ballot. A strengthened Fair Employment Practices statute should contain provisions aimed directly at this evil, bringing the most obvious and outright patterns of economic coercion under the rule of law.

In addition, we believe that there are many situations when direct federal aid should be provided to those who suffer economic hardship and deprivation because of their fidelity to the democratic ideals of this nation. It has recently, and rightly, been suggested that the victims of violent crime, and in the case of those who die, their families, should be reimbursed by the public, that the individual should not be required to shoulder the burden which society's failure to give adequate protection imposes upon him. We believe that this principle should be applied to those who suffer from both physical and economic terror in the civil rights movement. We do not suggest that they should be given a handout. We ask that America give them their just due for performing a courageous and vital function in the democratic process.

In the South, then, there is a brutal, open and utterly anti-democratic double standard of justice in many cases where the Negro is involved and almost always when the issue is civil rights. But in both the North and the South, the social and economic position of the Negro often results in his being victimized by a more sophisticated double standard. Condemned to miserable ghettos, high rates of unemployment, and an unjust share of society's misery, the Negro is often unable to view the policeman or the judge as a friend or protector of law and order. They appear in the guise of the enemy, as one more source of the torment which white America imposes upon the black.

We therefore support every effort to eliminate social class factors from the administration of justice: programs to give financial support so that the right of indigent defendants to a full legal defense can become a reality; rigorous observation of recent Supreme Court decisions regarding the rights of citizens who are arrested; and, in local areas, independent civilian review boards for hearing complaints against the police.

In addition, there are existing laws -- and here again, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 are most crucial -- which must be fully and totally implemented. In this context, we believe that the Government of the United States should play a most active role in initiating action against discrimination. From the earliest days of this Republic to the present moment, Negroes have been segregated and abused in flagrant violation of principles which the entire nation claimed to hold sacred. Now that this scandal is coming to an end, shall the victims of injustice be told to shoulder the main burden in redeeming the honor of the whole society? The answer is clear. Precisely in the name of equal rights before the law, the Government has the responsibility to volunteer its resources in this great struggle and to say clearly and unambiguously that it is the duty of the United States of America as a Nation to work positively for its own basic principles.

In all of these proposals to complete the beginning that America has made in the fight for equality, it should be clear that we envision that the civil rights movement will increase its activity in the coming period. We have come as far as we have come by employing a wide range of complementary tactics: challenging segregation in the courts, legislatures -- and in the streets. On all these fronts, our efforts must be redoubled if we are truly to arrive at the end of the beginning and if the movement is to be prepared for the even more profound struggles that lie ahead.

II. The New Departures

In the course of the great struggles against segregationist statutes, America has become conscious that the problem of discrimination is deeply rooted in the national life, that it is more profound than laws and court decisions.

Most specifically, we now understand that every formal and open support of segregation could be abolished and that the American economy and social structure could still perpetuate, and even intensify, the second class status of the Negro. What Congress and the Courts give, the market place could take away.

This grim reality was the central theme of President Johnson's historic address at Howard University. Thus, it is now only necessary to cite but a few of the facts which show how potentially tragic the situation is.

In 1948, Negro and white unemployment were roughly equal. In the Fifties and early Sixties, Negro unemployment has been consistently double that of white, and Negro teen-age unemployment has often been at rates as disastrous as those which prevailed for the entire nation during the Depression of the 1930s.

At this point, it is very much worthwhile to pause and take a more careful look at the problem of Negro unemployment. It is happily true that Negro unemployment has, as a result of the nation's improved economic performance in the Sixties, declined from the level of 12.6% which it reached in 1958 (and 12.5% in 1961). Today, non-white joblessness in the United States stands at roughly 8.3%. But, and this is of great significance, the proportion of Negro unemployment compared to white has remained constant despite this progress: it is twice as serious. So if in 1958, 12.6% of the Negroes were unemployed and 6.1% of the whites, in 1965, the corresponding figures are 8.3% and 4.2% -- or still a ratio of 2 to 1 against the Negro. In other words, there is continuing discrimination even when gains are made.

But these statistics conceal an even more dangerous trend: the persistance of Negro youth unemployment. In 1961, 24.7% of Negroes between 14 and 19 were out of work. And it is estimated that in 1965, this incredible rate will only decline to 23.2%. This is an expression of the fact that the Negro job progress has been largely a result of calling men with previous experience back to work. The official figures give us no reason to be optimistic about the huge number of young -- often unskilled and uneducated -- Negroes who will be entering the labor market in the next period. For in the next year, Negroes, who are 11% of the population, will be 18% of the new entrants to the labor force. Approximately half of this disproportionate number of young Negroes will be without the equivalent of a high school education, and they will be competing in an economy in which the demand for skill and training is increasing dramatically.

It is thus possible that there will be a deterioration of the Negro's social and economic position at the very moment when the civil rights movement achieves great political victories. As a result the new "freedom" would be a bitter thing indeed, and economic servitude would be as effective an instrument of discrimination as any racist law.

During the past year, the public has become somewhat more conscious of the way in which these statistics about the economics of Negro life describe more than a series of random and unconnected facts and indeed form the basis for important social patterns. In particular, the problems of family life among poor Negroes have been emphasized as an example of the kind of problems one encounters in this regard. We think that it is extremely important that this point should be made and understood -- and just as important that it should not be misunderstood.

In 1940, Edward Wight Bakke described the effect of unemployment on family structure. Bakke demonstrated a modern tragedy: the jobless father is no longer a provider, credit runs out, the woman is forced into the labor force.

Then, if relief becomes a necessity, the woman is even more the central figure -- and the welfare investigator is often a woman, too. The father is dependent, the children bewildered, the stability of the family is threatened and often shattered.

Bakke's research was a description of the plight of the white unemployed. Thus, the fact that Negro scholars, like the late E. Franklin Frazier and Kenneth Clark, and other investigators, have described this pattern as a typical one among the Negro poor does not mean that it has anything to do with some "inherent" Negro trait. It is a relationship between family life and joblessness which holds, and has held, for both blacks and whites. If Negroes suffer more from this problem today, it is not because they are Negro but because they are so disproportionately a part of the unemployed, the underemployed and the ill-paid.

What has happened in America is that the post-Emancipation labor market denied many Negroes the opportunity to become "economic" fathers -- the breadwinning heads of stable families -- just as the laws of pre-Emancipation slavery had denied the Negro the juridical right to marriage and children.

So it is that today:

> 25% of Negro women who have been married are divorced or separated;
>
> At least one-fifth of all Negro children live in broken homes;
>
> 14% of all Negro children are receiving Aid for Families of Dependent Children.

The answer to this problem is not to give the impoverished masses of the black ghetto sermons about middle class virtues. It is to give them jobs and decent, integrated housing and schools. For the official Government statistics already show that, in the 1950s, the Negro family became much more stable in good times, less stable in bad. And this issue, let it be emphasized, is not one of special pleading on the part of the Negro male, but a vital question of Negro life as a whole. As Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women put it, "If the Negro woman has a major underlying concern, it is the status of the Negro man and his position in the community and his need for feeling himself an important person, free and able to make his contribution in the whole society in order that it may strengthen his home."

III. Negro Poverty

Thus, Negro poverty is a special, and particularly destructive, form of American poverty.

The white immigrant waves of the 19th and early 20th centuries faced ethnic and religious prejudice. But they were never confronted by an organized system of race hatred with its own laws and myths and stereotypes, its own economy. Those of the older generations of the white poor who fought their way out of poverty could thus assimilate into American life as soon as they acquired money, education, mastery of the language. But the Negro lawyer, doctor or teacher is often as victimized as the Negro laborer, and every Negro, whatever his work, faces the evil of prejudice.

Secondly, Negro poverty is special because masses of Negroes migrated from the rural South to the urban South and North and entered the mainstream of the American economy only a few years before the once insatiable demand for unskilled muscle power went into decline. The older white immigrants came to an economy which could put grade-school drop-outs to work; the Negro of today must compete with machines which have high school educations.

But Negro poverty is also a part of American poverty and this is a crucial fact in developing new policies and departures.

Indeed, I think it can be fairly said that the Negro movement is one of the main reasons why we now have a war on poverty to help the white and the black poor. For it was the struggle for civil rights that first tore away the veil and revealed the tenements and the rats and all the rest of the black misery, and once this was seen then the plight of the white slums and the white rural poor of Appalachia could be seen too.

The non-white poor are more than doubly poor because of their race -- but they are still roughly a 25% minority of the total impoverished American population. The three quarters of the American poor who are white do not share the terrible problem of race prejudice with Negroes but they do have a similar deficiency in education and skill and thus the same kind of disadvantage in the labor market.

Given this analysis, a most important fact emerges: Negro poverty cannot be abolished without the simultaneous abolition of white poverty, and vice versa.

Because of this, the range of programs which are required to provide Negroes with genuine economic opportunity will not, by far and large (the exception is primarily in the area of fair employment legislation), be "civil rights" laws. Instead, they will be measures aimed at transforming the living conditions of all the poor, black and white. To the extent that Negroes suffer economic misery disproportionately compared to whites, an anti-poverty program will in that sense "disproportionately" help Negroes -- but not by singling them out for special treatment.

In the area of new departures, then, the civil rights concern merges with the anti-poverty commitment. But then, there is an even larger convergence which must be noted. Poverty, both Negro and white, affects the entire nation. The despair of the poor is often a source of crime; the neighborhoods of the poor produce little public revenue and demand huge public expenditures; the very existence of the poor in a society as productive as America's is a corruption of morality. Therefore, in righting the grievous economic wrongs which have been done to the Negro, it is not only necessary to bring justice to the poor whites, but the entire level of the country will be raised as well. In this context, one of the major economic tasks of the Great Society is the abolition of poverty and the consequent granting of economic and social content to the political freedoms being won by the civil rights movement.

To accomplish all this is a considerable undertaking. It will require the active participation of every sector of American society: of the voluntary institutions, like the Churches and charitable organizations; of both business and labor; and of government at every level.

IV. Voluntary Organizations

America is a land in which the individual charitable impulse plays a major role. The power of this practical idealism must be oriented toward the next stage of the Negro revolution. For instance:

> the religious leadership in America has become conscious of its responsibility to the cause of equality and anti-poverty, but its rank and file often lags behind in this regard. The voluntary sector must thus attack every vestige of racial prejudice to be found in its own organizations; it must convert its own constituents.
>
> in the voluntary sector -- and particularly in charitable institutions, and hospitals -- one often encounters poverty jobs for Negroes and other poor people. Philanthropy cannot build on other people's misery, and the voluntary sector must recognize its responsibility to pay decent wages and to allow for collective bargaining.
>
> many voluntary organizations have massive building programs. They must pledge that not one cent shall be spent upon Jim Crow construction.
>
> the voluntary sector often holds extensive investments. Churches and universities and hospitals should never hold shares in poverty enterprises, such as slums.
>
> above all, the voluntary sector can begin to establish lines of human communication between black and white America. Churches can exchange visits and so can individual parishioners; universities can exchange both students and faculty.

V. Business and Labor

In the economy, both business and labor can help in the crucial task of annulling the unwritten Jim Crow laws which exist in the labor market.

Business:

should not take refuge in the excuse that qualified Negro workers cannot be found , but should aggressively pursue on-the-job-training programs consciously designed to train Negroes;

the Plans for Progress program can be intensified so that every enterprise in the land will be playing an active role in promoting the national commitment to full equality;

where mechanization or automation is going to have its usual, particularly cruel impact upon displaced Negro workers, business must assume a social responsibility overriding any technical consideration and engage in Government-labor-community planning to see to it that new jobs are found;

business and particularly small and new businesses, should be given tax and other incentives (as in the Economic Opportunity Act) when their policies will promote the hiring and upgrading of Negroes and others who are poor.

The American labor movement is the most successful voluntary organization for the abolition of poverty in American history. The economic challenge of the civil rights struggle now gives it the opportunity to face up to a new, and profound, challenge which is in keeping with this tradition.

Almost half of the heads of poor families work hard and long -- and they are still poor. Some of them are denied coverage under the nation's collective bargaining policies (farm workers), others lack Social Security, some work at the sub-poverty official minimum wage of $1.25 an hour, many are in unorganized shops.

We believe that the labor movement's program for increasing minimum wage and extending its coverage constitutes a major step forward for the working poor.

We urge the labor movement to fight vigorously so that all farm and domestic labor will be brought under the social benefits of the welfare state, for in the doing there will be an important contribution to Negro well being.

Finally, we believe that the labor movement must bring its unique skills -- organization and collective bargaining -- to the unorganized poor. Some trade unionists have already suggested that strong, stable internationals and locals "adopt" organizing campaigns among workers who are so poor that they cannot pay the cost of organizing themselves, at least at the outset. Others have indicated that union organizing experience can make a major contribution to help organizing the poor for "maximum feasible participation" in the war against poverty.

VI. The Responsibility of Government

But, frankly, neither the voluntary sector, nor business and labor, can do much to abolish Negro and white poverty unless Government recognized its responsibility.

For, as the Employment Act of 1946 stated, and as every Administration since then, Democratic or Republican, has realized, a complex, interdependent and enormously productive economy like ours does not automatically and effortlessly achieve full employment, a proper rate of growth, a just distribution of benefits. In this regard, our analysis of the problem of Negro poverty -- and of white poverty as well -- points in certain important directions for Federal action.

There are unemployable Negro and white poor, among them the children, the aging and the permanently handicapped. No measure of full employment or of economic growth can put an end to their misery. They must be provided with a decent level of life as defined by American society.

We believe it is wrong for America to have social security benefits which are often well under, and even tragically under, the poverty line. We believe that it is cruel for various welfare payments to be figured as a partial percentage of what is needed. We consider it outrageous that there are still dependent children programs which promote separation and divorce because of rules against an able-bodied male being part of the recipient family.

We believe that this nation is productive enough to adopt the principle that all unemployable people have a right to a decent annual income.

In addition, we believe that all pension and other social insurance programs should have an escalator clause. In West Germany, for instance, such payments are readjusted upwards in proportion to the increase in the GNP every two years.

However, we do not mean to suggest that we propose to "buy off" the unemployable poor by a simple cash payment. That could often condemn them to lonely, bitter existences lived out in racial ghettos. In addition to recognizing their right to a decent personal consumption income, we must also grant their right to proper levels of social income and amenities -- like decent housing, social programs, leisure time activity, and the like.

Then there are the unemployed poor and the working poor, Negro and white.

Along with the majority of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower in 1964, we believe that if the nation's projected GNP is going to produce levels of unemployment and underemployment which are in contradiction to our commitments to civil rights and the abolition of poverty, then the Government must create a larger GNP which will suffice to promote our national goals.

We believe that one area of tremendous need which could provide a basis for an enormous expansion of the economy and a resultant elimination of unemployment, underemployment and working poverty, is investment in the nation's social capital: in schools, parks, mass transportation systems, hospitals, theatres, and, above all, decent, integrated and desirable housing for every American.

In the age of automation, we believe that there is another area of need, one that is well nigh inexhaustible: investment in human beings. In the course of the most modest war on poverty, we have already discovered that poor people can do "non-professional" social and educational work.

We believe that the human care of human beings should be a major area of growth for this nation and that we should begin to train, on every level of skill and education, people whose work will be taking care of people.

To some, the proposals made here may seem so sweeping as to be incredible. To us, the truly incredible fact is that America allowed Watts to happen in 1965 and that it did so because the problems we have been describing-- Depression rates of unemployment, widespread dropping out of high school, the consequent frustration and corruption of much of family life -- were ignored. After the Harlem riots in 1964 something was done: anti-poverty money was pumped into Harlem. After the events in Watts, something will be done.

But are we thus to teach impoverished Negroes that the only way they can get the ear of white America is to rise up in violence? That is the really outlandish proposal in a democracy. And the ideas which we here advocate are a first step toward genuine sanity.

Finally, we do not propose an isolationist paradise in order to fulfill our civil rights and anti-poverty commitments. We have long honored military service -- with ROTC subsidies, with GI Bills of Rights -- and we believe that we should now make social service -- and international social service -- of every kind at least as honored a calling as that of the warrior.

For we believe that, in an integrated nation, black Americans can contribute, not simply to the well being of their own countrymen, but to that of the world as a whole.

In short, after the end of the beginning in the struggle for civil rights, we propose to put the energies and skills and talents of Negroes to work in the service of the nation and of the globe.

BACKGROUND PAPER

SOME SUGGESTED APPROACHES TO ACHIEVEMENT OF THE GOAL OF EQUALITY FOR NEGROES IN A REAL, RATHER THAN THEORETICAL, SENSE PREPARED FOR PLANNING SESSION FOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"--by Robert L. Carter

There can be little argument with the fact that much beneficial federal legislation has been passed in recent years to help insure the legal equality of Negroes in this country. But few can disagree with President Johnson's thesis in his Howard University speech of June 4, 1965, that the major struggle to obtain equal opportunity in a real sense for the Negro has not yet begun. Equality in this sense cannot be accomplished in the absence of a radical transformation of the structure of American society.

At present, although the statute books are replete with prohibitionary laws, our political, social and economic structure supports discrimination at every level and helps maintain the Negro in a disadvantaged position. The Executive Branch of the Federal Government has the duty to require compliance with federal anti-discrimination policy, to initiate programs designed to accomplish the goal of real equality within authority presently existing, and to propose new legislation and programs where present law is inadequate.

Federal agencies in many important instances are charged with administering legislation which has or could have as its direct or indirect purpose the achievement of equal opportunity for Negroes. The transformation from the support of discrimination to support of equality cannot be accomplished without constant, continuing and unrelenting pressure, and it is the White House which must assume particular responsibility for maintaining such pressure as a part of the President's basic executive responsibility.

This paper will deal with the criteria and philosophy which federal agencies must use in order to achieve equal opportunity, and will relate these factors to three of the most vital areas--education, employment and shelter--where the structure of American society must be changed.

In order to achieve equality in these three basic areas, the Federal Government will have to undertake the goal of equality of opportunity as a definite and affirmative overall objective of governmental policy. In short, equality must be considered a basic end of all governmental activity in the domestic area.

At the outset, it must be understood that the federal administrative agencies operate in two distinct contexts in making funds available to state or municipal governments. In the first category are those Federal programs which require automatic dispensation of funds to finance certain activities. But before dispensation is made, the relevant federal agency has the duty to insure that the recipient complies with both the provisions of the program and the anti-discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Under the second category of the programs, the power of the relevant agencies is much broader, allowing the administrators great discretion in choosing, approving and funding of individual projects. When projects are approved under this latter type of authority, therefore, the agency must not only insure that the program is devoid of discrimination, but can require as a critical criterion a plan which will affirmatively seek to both maximize integration and provide Negroes with the means to achieve full participation in whatever benefits accrue.

Where the programs involved are in the first category, the activities of every federal agency, and the administration of every federal program, must be scrutinized constantly and carefully to make certain that the agency does not support or maintain the patterns of discrimination, either directly or indirectly.

The extent of the Government's derelictions in this regard need not be specified here. The United States Civil Rights Commission has very clearly and extensively documented the manner and method by which various federal agencies are maintaining patterns of discrimination. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 bars federal assistance to any program in which exclusion or denial of benefits or discrimination based on race is practiced.

Each department is authorized to issue rules and regulations, with the President's approval, to achieve this end and is empowered to terminate the grant or to refuse to continue the federal subsidy. A cursory examination of the administration of Title VI reveals how softly this power has been thus far used.

A good example of this soft approach is that taken by the Commissioner of Education to secure compliance in the South with the Supreme Court's decision barring segregation in the public schools. At the close of 1964, approximately two percent of the Negro children in the public schools of the eleven states of the Old Confederacy were actually attending classes with white children. The United States Commissioner of Education, in accord with the power granted under Title VI, issued regulations requiring school boards to sign assurances of compliance and to agree in substance to desegregate four grades as of the school term beginning September 1965, and to desegregate the entire school system as of the fall of 1967, as a prerequisite to receiving federal funds.

Notwithstanding the fact that these regulations are inadequate in that they do not require full and complete desegregation at once, the office of the Commissioner of Education has failed to implement fully the very requirements it established. This failure results from the fact that the Office of Education does not have sufficient personnel to determine whether Southern school boards have actually performed in accordance with their own statements of compliance. Instead, the Southern school districts have been allowed to receive funds merely upon filing the certificates of compliance. In fact then, paper compliance has been accepted as a substitute for actual compliance. As a result, only approximately 8% of the Negro children in these eleven Southern states are presently attending schools with white children.

Perhaps the Commissioner's office can be aided by private civil-rights minded organizations which will make an effort to keep his office informed of deviations from federal requirements. But the burden clearly should be upon the Commissioner to keep abreast of developments in all of the districts affected; it is his staff which must do the job, and it is the obligation of the Federal Government to make funds available for this purpose. Once properly staffed, the Commissioner's office should conduct thorough investigations throughout the South and thereby make it unmistakably clear that the criteria established have to be set as a prerequisite for federal assistance. Unless this is done as a minimum, the recalcitrant areas will realize that there is no federal will to implement Title VI.

Effective enforcement of Title VI requires more than the administration of federal programs in a manner which recognizes that federal funds must be withheld or withdrawn where discrimination is currently practiced; such funds must be withheld where the past effect of discrimination has created a structure which leaves the Negro unable to fully participate in present programs despite the absence of active discrimination at the present time. In other words, it seems to me that effective enforcement of Title VI requires an affirmative showing that Negroes are benefiting on an equal basis, or alternatively that local administration has been planned so as to eliminate presently existing limitations placed on Negroes within the area of the program's operation.

As has been noted, the Federal Government's potential power in achieving equal opportunity for Negroes is not limited to those programs where it can merely prohibit discrimination by withholding funds. The federal agencies charged with administering programs in the fields of education, (U. S. Office of Education), housing (Department of Housing and Urban Development), and employment (Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, Department of Labor) must interpret creatively their authority so that equality of opportunity for Negroes becomes a basic and fundamental objective. Thus, before projects are approved and funded, the agency should require a clear showing that the proposals include concrete steps designed to bring the Negro out of ghettoized isolation into the mainstream of American Life.

These agencies must utilize their financial and personnel resources in every way possible to aid, encourage and support local activity designed to improve the Negro's position. The means must also be found to spur the motivation of Negroes to take wide-scale advantage of the opportunities being opened to them. Admittedly, the attempt to encourage integration or to insist upon maximum Negro participation in all federally aided projects will meet with fierce opposition. Moreover, it is clear that such administrative orientation may be subjected to much more severe criticism than a policy which does not disturb the status quo. For example, it has been reported that the administration of a Project Head Start program in Mississippi operated under the auspices of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has come under heavy attack for carelessness in handling of funds, while similar programs operated with the support of Mississippi's Senators are not being criticized. Yet, it is clear that an anti-poverty program in which the Negro community had a real voice would necessarily be in rebellion against the established social and political order, and only in this case is the federal authority being used to effectuate a transformation in the Negro's status. The Executive Branch of the Federal Government, therefore, must not allow local political power to defeat the basic objective of equal opportunity. If it does, it consigns itself to settling for theoretical equality and tokenism.

Federal agencies may also have great influence on local policy through the several community relations and advisory and research commissions created by various federal acts. The conciliatory and mediation services which these various groups are empowered to provide, should be used, not merely to preserve racial peace by advocating token changes which give only the appearance of advances for Negroes, but to evolve programs which would eliminate the various built-in obstacles to real equality for Negroes.

Federal agencies operating under new and untested legislation such as Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the anti-poverty program and the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, should give as wide, imaginative and far-reaching interpretations as possible of their authority; and pursuant to that broad interpretation they should formulate regulations and programs which affirmatively seek to foster integration, to insure full benefits for Negroes as well as the effective participation at every level. That such an approach is necessary in order to make meaningful true equality for Negroes must be made clear and explicit to all personnel throughout the agency.

It is my judgment that if the various approaches outlined above are broadly employed by the Executive Branch, progress will be made not only in eliminating discriminatory practices at the local level, but this will encourage support and foster practices and policies designed to achieve equality in a real sense for all citizens.

II.

Relating these concepts to what can be accomplished now and what will be required in new legislation, I suggest the following

Equality of Opportunity in Education

This is perhaps the key area in which effective action must be taken. Here, not only must the formal segregation against Negroes as practiced in the South be eliminated, but the concentration of Negroes in ghetto schools, North and South, must be eliminated, if any real equality of educational opportunities is to be obtained.

Educational authorities agree that concentration of Negroes in all-Negro or predominately Negro schools is disadvantageous to Negro children; such concentration produces some of the same educational disparities that result from formal segregation in the South. While there is an absence of full agreement on the best way to overcome this problem, it is clear that the Federal Government can play an effective role. Under the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, special grants may be made to local school districts to finance programs aimed at improving the education of "educationally deprived" children. Under the statutory definition of "educationally deprived" it would appear that this term could be interpreted to include those Negro children who are concentrated in ghetto schools of total or almost total Negro attendance.

In order to qualify for grants to help educationally deprived children, local educational agencies are required to utilize effective procedures and educational practices developed through educational research projects. In light of the problem presented by racial imbalance, local educational agencies receiving federal grants should be encouraged to explore, study and experiment with methods aimed at overcoming this problem.

Apart from the Education Act, community tutorial projects ought to be geared to college scholarship grants for underprivileged pupils. The colleges should be encouraged to undertake an active recruitment campaign to ferret out promising Negro youngsters, by grants of substantial scholarhsip aid for the underprivileged.

Local school districts must be supported, encouraged and induced to put into operation programs that will reduce racial imbalance to the greatest extent possible consistent with sound educational practices, raise the level of education available for Negro children, motivate Negro children to high educational achievement and to attend college, business and technical and professional schools. Where possible under existing law, federal grants should be geared to effectuating these purposes. Undoubtedly, full implementation will require new federal legislation making a massive amount of federal aid available.

Equality of Opportunity in Employment

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will have to be amended. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission must be empowered to issue cease and desist orders, and to seek enforcement of its orders and decrees with the aid of the court. It should be granted the same power and authority that is presently held by other regulatory federal agencies, such as the National Labor Relations Board.

Moreover, the jurisdiction of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission must be broadly construed. For example, take the troublesome issue of the effect of discrimination on seniority rights. In plants where Negroes were not allowed to secure seniority because of discriminatory practices, it is not enough to abolish the practice and place Negroes at the bottom of the scale. Some realistic measure must be utilized, based upon the Negro's length of time at the plant and on the job to place him in a position which he should have, and would have, had except for the fact of his being colored.

Creative use of present federal powers could result in job training and apprentice programs designed specifically for Negro youth, as well as on-the-job training programs which encourage and foster placement of Negroes in private industry. To accomplish this, the government could make the training of Negroes for wide ranges of job categories one of the standards upon which awarding of government contracts is based. In addition, full compliance with federal contract requirements that no discrimination be practiced should be insisted upon. Here compliance should be interpreted as requiring affirmative showing that Negroes are being employed on an equal basis.

Equality of Opportunity in Housing

Extension of the executive order barring discrimination in housing is a prime necessity. The order should cover all housing financed by all banks and lending institutions chartered, regulated, insured or otherwise aided directly or indirectly by agencies of the Federal Government.

The President should call a conference of mayors of all large cities to urge that in each metropolitan area a program be designed to eliminate the Negro ghetto and to provide housing for the underprivileged. Local officials should be encouraged to secure land in the outer areas of the city for low-cost housing. If encouragement alone fails, the Federal Government should undertake to provide such housing itself. Additionally, rent subsidies must be put into effect on a broad scale to enable Negro families to escape the ghetto.

To achieve maximum effectiveness in the use of federal authority to eliminate the ghetto and provide open and adequate housing for all Americans, a study of housing concentration and segregation in metropolitan areas should be made. This study should not be allowed to delay the implementation of the above programs, but should serve as a basic for a comprehensive program to eliminate the ghetto. This project should be undertaken by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Upon completion, a major effort must be made to sell both the objectives and the program to the public.

BACKGROUND PAPER

ISSUES IN COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL PLANNING

Howard E. Mitchell, Ph.D.
Director, Human Resources Program
University of Pennsylvania

PURPOSE OF PAPER:

Programs to set social policy and provide human services to the Negro family in health, education, law enforcement, employment, recreation or welfare increasingly require comprehensive social planning. The implementation of these programs requires an appreciation of social organization, the nature of social change, problems of institutional hierarchy and operation, role allocation, decision making and inter-professional as well as inter-level leadership (i.e., between professional, sub-professional, the "grass-root" leadership), and the process of communication and collaboration.

It is the intent of this paper to focus discussion on how action programs in the areas cited above might be more effectively planned and executed. The objective is to provide a "blue-print" or "road map" for social policy and planning. It is argued that on the one hand, social change in the "Negro" community necessarily means change in the white communtiy. On the other hand, effective social poanning to stabilize the low-income family has to be articulated with housing, health and educational programming, etc. Critics of anti-poverty efforts, welfare, urban renewal and educational programs have pointed out that planning to date has covered only a part of the total problem. This has made the coorfination aspects of the planning, as well as the metering and reporting aspects, so partial that some of the most important objectives of the planning tend to get ignored. When the President of the United States says that America is going to bring her storehouse of knowledge and resources to improve the lot of the Negro citizen, the home economist immediately and automatically translates that into nutrition and child care. The educator translates it into school buildings and blackboards. The housing specialist translates it into the construction and rehabilitation of public and private structures. Almost nobody translates it in terms of unified, comprehensive social planning. As Perloff points out, "Without looking at the total spectrum of human services, it is impossible to determine the appropriate balance and system of priorities, or to spot the gaps and duplication, or to achieve full organizational effectiveness for the community efforts taken as a whole."[1]

Our thesis is that the community itself is the social unit which constitutes the problem. We recognize it is difficult for policy makers and opinion leaders in government, education, industry, or in human rights, to think in these terms. They have been taught to perceive issues in terms of the family, delinquency control, employment, housing, municipal administration, school construction, health services, or as a problem of more jobs. Moreover, each professional division or section of a governing body has a budget allocation to be concerned about, along with matters of salaries, power, and other factors that make for status and influence. The concern here is that large numbers of specialized agencies and bureaucratic sections are developing projects, enlisting their own set of followers, and each moving ahead as rapidly as possible to spend its budget with no more reference to the others than the law requires. In each case the project is the goal. Little or no thought is given to the impact the project could make for the purpose of generating a unified, pluralistic, democratic community. The goal of such a community is a freedom of choice and opportunity to move according to one's ability from system to system. It is maintained that the white family which feels it must flee to the suburbs is only relatively more free than the Negro family which is ghettoized in the metropolis.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE:

The thesis presented here that the community itself is the social unit which constitutes the problem appears consistent with facts known about social organization and social change. The nature of social structures and functioning is felt to be such that changes in "the Negro community" must be viewed along with changes in the total community. For example, if a Negro-dominated credit union is being proposed to be established within a Negro residential community, it is fallacious to consider this event solely in terms of whether it moves the Negro along toward separation from the total community or integration. The issue in terms of what is known about the interdependence of dynamic social systems is that these events have an effect upon both the Negro and white community. In other terms, we might ask what effect would the establishment of the Negro credit union have upon the need to build a more vital sense of community in the area in which the people concerned live, and in their relationships with other groups? Is the goal to develop more active and meaningful patterns of interpersonal and intergroup relationships? Moreover, it is increasingly difficult to identify "the Negro community" scientifically, although it is often advantageous to do so politically.

We are dealing with the tensions of inequality in our social system. Basically, Wilbert E. Moore argues this is a question of the unequal distribution of power and "various" awards in our society and this is a special case of the general problem of maintaining order in society.[2] Technological revolutions, educational revolutions, "the Negro revolution," do not effect one sub-system but the total system is altered. Hence, at these periods of social change, attention must be given as to the reaction of all major components of the social system because the allocation of the balance of power and other valued resources is being challenged. This means, for example, that current educational programs under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act need to emphasize the gains for whites as well as Negroes from quality, integrated education. Not only does the Negro, but the white child also needs to learn the beauty of cultural diversity and living with the culturally different.

THE EFFECT OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT UPON SOCIAL PLANNING:

Another reason which argues for the total system approach is that the civil rights movement may manifest many of the unanswered problems of our rural and urban communities. If one approaches the problem of the Negro seriously, objectively, solutions are only possible if basic issues such as poverty amidst affluence, quality education for all children, cybernation, appropriate use of leisure time, etc., are confronted. For example, it is felt the problem of compensatory education for the "culturally deprived" Negro leads directly to needed changes in teacher training, methods of instruction, school facilities and the development of new motivational techniques not only for the Negro pupil but all students.

The civil rights movement has also affected social policy and social planning in its impact upon the human service professions - education, social work, psychiatry and psychology. These professional groups have been hesitant to consider the training and inter-relationships with the sub-professional and the non-professional. This, of course, is understandable in relation to their short history and need to establish standards and achieve status.

Implications of the above need to be highlighted because the crux of any large-scale social planning is manpower. Manpower planning calls for established priorities not only as regards levels within particular occupations, but priorities between occupational groups. Perhaps even innovation in the establishment of new occupational roles. One example would be to specifically train school-social workers for cooperatively designed programs between schools and social agencies serving designated needy populations.

"The Negro revolution" also demonstrated that it is not always the most downtrodden members of the system that lead movements of protest or form the spearheads of discontent. This characteristic of protest by those who have escaped the very lowest positions has been frequently observed in the newly developing nations of the world as well.[3] The "relative deprivation" of those fairly fully incorporated into the values associated with new modes of social displacement and mobility but thereby more envious of full success than their less fortunate compatriots, not only provides the explanatory key to the source of discontent in systems of social inequality, but has manpower implications for social action. This level of emergent leadership needs to be increasingly identified and planned with by the agents of public and private institutions. In addition, many professionals received a lesson in political action from these events. They became aware of the contribution of indigenous leadership in effecting social change. Such leadership is saying that for programs for the disadvantaged to be more effective, we must be consulted at the level of program formulation as well as later. On the other hand, anxieties are engendered and the success of programs jeopardized when individuals are asked to contribute in ways they are incapable of performing.

CRUCIAL VARIABLES IN COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL PLANNING:

Among the crucial variables emerging from the revolutionary changes going on in our society and which affect comprehensive social planning, are the following:

1) communication

2) decision-making

3) role allocation

4) power allocation

5) manpower

These factors might profitably be considered as levels on which synamic social change occurs. The suggested levels are:

1) total community development

2) inter-institutional operations

3) intra-institutional operations

4) inter-level operations (professional-sub-professional-"grass root")

An example of the type of productive use of this classification system would be to approach the issue of the implementation of welfare services for the Negro family first in terms of its comprehensive impact upon the total community-economic, political and social - in terms of manpower requirements. It is going to require vast increments of manpower in order to achieve the goals of the Great Society. This manpower will represent a variety of disciplines with diverse training and experience. This means that communication, role and power allocation at all levels must be established. This in turn requires a differentiation of inter-level problems from inter-disciplinary issues, etc. In many programs it is being recognized that the non-professional can play a unique distinctive role with appropriate orientation. This issue has arisen, for example, in the contex of some anti-poverty efforts and professional disciplines have been hesitant in determining who can contribute what to the training of the non-professional. This is, in some instances, a function of lack of interdisciplinary and intra- or inter-agency comprehensive planning and cooperation. This is even true where the professionals even now agree as to the value of the "grass root" leadership in implementing programs. Furthermore, we are not saying that all manpower need to be trained for interdisciplinary work. However, we do not have the time to continue now to train some personnel specifically for interdisciplinary efforts. We do not have the time to continue to allow all manpower in the human services to be sufficiently secure in his own discipline that only then he is able to learn and interact with others. It would be hoped that discussion in these areas would reveal illustrations of comprehensive coordinated planning as models for future developments.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CLOSE COLLABORATION:

It is maintained that the complexity of the issues being faced requires two or more agencies, representing a number of disciplines to work together in a community setting. Many patterns of collaboration are possible to achieve the desired ends. Therefore it is deemed more valuable to promote discussion of the characteristics of close collaboration than suggest a given pattern. Any given pattern must be related to the nature of the problem and the local situation in terms of resources, revenue and the political climate which influence the time, speed and scope of program implementation.

The characteristics of close collaboration listed below have been borrowed and modified from a list developed in the behavioral sciences for interdisciplinary team research.[4] These have been divided tentatively in four categories:

A. From the standpoint of the problem (or program)

   1. Define the problem as clearly as possible.

   2. Problem definition determined by demands of problem rather than by inter-agency, disciplinary or individual interests.

   3. Formulation of the problem in such a way that all participants can contribute to its solution.

   4. Make explicit any evidence demonstrating collaborative potential as a result of previous work on problem by more than one discipline or group.

B. From the standpoint of theory

   1. Acceptance of a unified over-all theory.

   2. Acceptance of a common set of hypotheses and assumptions.

   3. Agreement on definition of common concepts.

   4. Agreement on operational definitions.

C. From the standpoint of methodology

   1. Utilization of resources of all relevant disciplines in exploring possible methodologies.

   2. Team agreement on most appropriate methodology, including program procedures, relevant variables to

be measured or controlled, and methods to be used.

D. From the standpoint of group functioning

1. Team members selected on basis of their ability to contribute to program objectives.
2. Approximate equality of influence exerted by the representatives of one discipline on another on given levels of professional attainment.
3. Acceptance of leadership regardless of disciplines from which leader and team members come.
4. Flexibility of roles.
5. Development and use of a common language.
6. Free communication among all team members.
7. Free interchange of information about the program, with mechanics for facilitating such interchange when necessary.
8. Sharing of suggestions, ideas, and data among members from different disciplines and levels.
9. Participation of all team members in joint planning of each step of the program.
10. Reciprocal teaching and learning among team members - a continuous learning process.
11. Problem-centered rather than discipline- or individual-centered team activity.
12. Willingness of participants to subordinate own methods and interests to achieve project aims.
13. Public recognition for project by group as a whole, rather than by individual members.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS:

For the sake of discussion, some speculations are made about the needed direction of program development in order to ensure full-equality for all citizens - a condition basic to achieving the Great Society. Consistent with arguments presented previously in this paper, programs will have to be planned more comprehensively. This not only means that manpower trained to work more collaboratively is required, but these programs must encompass regional areas. It would seem that this would be particularly appropriate in federally supported programs. For example, the newly developing Regional Education Research Centers are a step in this direction. If fully utilized, they could serve the cause of quality-integrated education by benefitting not only the predominately Negro urban pupil in Northern cities, but white pupils in the suburbs of metropolitan areas also. Every opportunity must be seized to involve suburban municipalities into an identification with and responsibility for problems of the entire metroplex.

Universities and colleges must be seriously challenged to innovate their training of students in the human service professions. More and more the professional worker in social work, psychology, sociology and psychiatry will have to act as consultant and educated "to train trainers," the latter group beingsub-professionals and non-professionals. The scope of the job to be done with the deprived Negro (in the context of the re-education necessary for the total community) is so great that the model of a one-to-one relationship of professional to client is not feasible, however valuable. Moreover, we will increasingly appreciate the limits of this model as services are not only more comprehensively planned but are based upon the underlying philosophy that all citizens must be engaged in a social process in which they are assisted in becoming more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of frustrating and debilitating conditions. This is a group method for expediting the growth of the individual which can only occur when geographic neighbors work together, assisted by indigenous leaders and backed by consultation from enlightened professionals. This involves cooperative study, group decisions, collective action and continuous evaluation. It also calls for the utilization of all helping professions and agencies that can assist in the problem solving.[5] Personal betterment with particular focus on the needs of the Negro will be brought about in the midst of social action that serves a growing awareness of community needs of all citizens.

REFERENCES

1. Perloff, Harvey S. "Social Planning in the Metropolis", The Urban Condition, Leonard J. Duhl, editor, Basic Books, New York. 1963.

2. Moore, Wilbert E. Social Change. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. 1963.

3. Kerr, Clark, et al. Industrialism and Industrial Man, Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1960.

4. Luszki, Margaret B. Interdisciplinary Team Research: Methods and Problems. No. 3 of the Research Training Series. National Training Laboratories, Division of Adult Education Service, National Education Association of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1958.

5. Biddle, William W. and Loureide J. Biddle. The Community Development Process: The Rediscovery of Local Initiative, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York. 1965.

# PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER #I
JOBS, JOB TRAINING AND ECONOMIC SECURITY
Dr. V. W. Henderson

Proposed Agenda

I. Questions and Issues on National Economic Policies

Inquiry into national economic policies -- fiscal, monetary, manpower, employment, and area development -- should permeate the discussion session on Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security. Policies in these areas are of special significance to Negro workers and income recipients. Policy implies more than the existence of programs and practices which have some impact on the problem at hand. A policy requires the explicit recognition of goals and the formulation of a coherent program for realization of those goals. Important implications for the employment and economic situation of Negroes are associated with alternative economic policies and program approaches. Some of the questions and issues to which the two-day discussions should be addressed follow:

A. Would achievement of full employment be sufficient to alleviate significantly the range of employment problems which currently handicap Negroes?

    1. What gains in employment and economic opportunities can Negroes expect if we achieve the "interim goal" of 4 per cent unemployment?

2. What structural deficiencies in the Negro labor force can be attacked through national economic policies? What policies and programs should be pursued to get at these deficiencies?

3. What is the role of job creation programs, both in and outside the Negro ghetto, in meeting the employment and income problems of Negroes?

4. What are the alternative approaches to job creation programs that will reach Negro members of the working-age population and utilize present skills while providing for the development of new ones?

B. What role should tax policies play in accelerating achievement of racial equality in economic outcomes and results?

C. Will national economic policy, oriented toward stimulating aggregate demand, get to the root problems of low per capita incomes among Negroes?

D. How may social needs be converted into jobs, and what are the alternative approaches?

1. What can be done through public policy and private action to marshal idle Negro manpower in an attack on accumulating unmet public needs?

2. About 8 million Negroes, 40 per cent of the nation's Negro population, live in 70 cities. What policies and programs should be concentrated on these cities to reach Negro workers with comprehensive programs to improve their economic situation?

3. What priority should be given to public works program and work projects in an attack on Negro employment problems and in developing Negro human resources?

4. Should a special program of direct employment be undertaken in the more distressed Negro communities that will permit the unemployed as well as those not in the labor force to work on projects which will alleviate physical deficiencies in their own environments?

E. How can private enterprise be more effective in generating human resources development and use among Negroes?

1. What incentives can be provided through public policy to encourage private employers to increase programs in Negro human resource development?

2. What incentives can be provided through job policy to encourage employers to apply some of the gains from increased productivity to measures aimed at easing human resource adjustments in the labor market?

II. Profile of the Negro Labor Force

The exploration of the profile of the Negro labor force should focus on an inventory of present and future skill resources and their allocation in the economy. The discussion of these questions should form the basis for prescribing future action.

A. The Employed Worker

1. In what significant ways do the characteristics of employed Negroes differ from the characteristics of employed whites with respect to wages and salaries, occupations, industry attachment, educational attainment, minimum wage coverage, unemployment insurance coverage, union membership, etc.

2. To what extent are already existing skills in the Negro community not being utilized in the job market? What job categories, if expanded, could be readily filled by qualified Negroes?

3. What skills are available in the Negro community for new kinds of jobs which the Government could stimulate, e.g., nonprofessional jobs in the human services (health, education, welfare, recreation, community organization, etc.)?

4. To what extent are workers in low status jobs screened from promotable skills?

5. To what extent is the reservoir of existing skills affected by technological change?

6. To what extent are Negroes in the labor force outside the structure of laws designed to protect the working man?

7. What incentives and subsidy programs would best encourage industries to locate in the vicinity of the Negro labor force?

B. The Underemployed Worker

1. What barriers in the traditional corporate setting restrain the Negro worker from full realization of his potential?

2. How can underemployed Negroes be identified, and the degree of their underemployment ascertained in terms of actual and potential qualifications? What should be done to reduce underemployment among Negroes?

3. To what extent are Negroes economically underemployed in comparison to whites when both groups are standardized with respect to age, educational attainment, participation in the labor force, and sex?

C. The Unemployed Worker

1. In what significant ways do the characteristics of the Negro unemployed differ from the characteristics of the white unemployed with respect to labor force experience, age, educational attainment and skills, previous occupation, industry attachment?

2. To what extent is unemployment among Negro workers connected with technological change and shifts in manpower requirements, seasonal factors, inadequate growth, frictional factors, geographic and occupational immobility, racial discrimination in employment as such, other forms of racial discrimination?

3. How can we best improve assistance to the long-term unemployed?

D. Those Not in the Labor Force

1. Why have many of the long-term unemployed withdrawn from labor force participation and are reluctant to enter again?

2. What programs are needed to reach the prime-age Negro males with low labor force participation?

3. What special efforts are required to extend and improve the public employment services?

E. The Rural Worker

Panelists may want to consider and evaluate --

1. The current loan programs that are administered by the Farmers Home Administration, with special reference to the E O Loans, Title III.

2. The new farm program as it applies to non-commercial agriculture, which includes 99 per cent of the Negro farm operators.

3. The lack of a national farm labor policy, with special reference to hired farm labor, including migrants.

4. The organization and institutional services and programs provided by Federal, state, and local governments to the rural workers.

5. The extension of minimum wage and other provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and collective bargaining rights under the Taft-Hartley Bill to hired farm workers.

III. New Programs and Attitudes

A. Since employability in our economy, particularly in recent years, is related to skills and work-experience, what are the training and re-training programs, existing or proposed, that are relevant for employed and unemployed Negro workers and youth?

1. Apprenticeship programs

a) What are the current practices of unions, construction contractors and their association and industry with regard to Negro workers and youth?

b) What is the role of public vocational schools and government agencies such as Employment Service and Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in this area? What, if any, modifications and improvements are needed?

c) What is the relationship of city, state and Federal government to apprenticeship training, especially in regard to public construction and licensing activities?

d) To what extent should policy move from reliance on qualifications alone to facilitate integration in the apprenticeable trades?

2. On-the-Job Training

a) To what extent is training emphasized as opposed to hiring workers with skills previously acquired?

b) Can on-the-job training be utilized effectively in public and private institutions such as schools, hospitals, recreation facilities and welfare agencies to:

1) Provide needed additional manpower?

2) Free professionals to concentrate on professional tasks by greater utilization of non-professionals from group to be served?

3. Other Programs

a) How effective are the present government-supported training programs?

b) To what extent should institutions concentrate on training Negro applicants to hurdle existing qualification barriers (testing, etc.) and to what extent should there be emphasis on the changing of those qualifications (FSEE, AFQT, employment tests, apprenticeship examinations)?

4. The Overall Role of the United States Employment Service

a) Should its mandate be updated in view of increased emphasis on skills in labor market and growing labor force?

b) What is its relationship to other channels of employment and other institutions which implement manpower and education policy?

c) How can its operation be made more efficient?

d) Are its services adequate for older workers, members of minority groups and workers with limited education and low-level and obsolete skills, especially in service occupations?

B. How can greater economic stability be developed among under-employed and unemployed Negro workers by changing the social definition of jobs, the requirements for entrance into them, particularly in the service-producing industries and occupations such as health, education, recreation and welfare?

1. Can and should "non-professionals" be introduced as paid workers into public and private institutions in this area as teacher aides, psychiatric aides, research aides, block workers and community organizers with realistic training programs to encourage effective participation and promotion?

2. Should coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act be broadened, and the minimum wage be raised? If so, in what industries in particular?

3. Should collective bargaining rights be extended to these occupations and industries?

C. The Negro Entrepreneur

1. To what extent should government resources be devoted to the encouragement of a class of small businessmen in the Negro community?

2. How can Negro businessmen be drawn into the mainstream of American commerce?

3. What new institutional arrangements, banking, etc., are necessary to provide the proper climate for increased entry into the entrepreneurial class?

IV. Enforcement of Equal Employment Opportunities

A. Title VII

1. What has been the experience since the July 2, 1965 effective date?

2. How can the most effective cooperation be achieved between the Federal, state, and local fair employment commissions in fulfilling the objectives of Title VII?

3. Should the Commission be supplied with firmer adjudicatory powers in addition to mediation and conciliation functions?

4. What other improvements might assist the Commission in achieving the statutory objectives?

B. Federal Contract Compliance Program

1. How can the use of the Federal spending power through Federal contracts be more adequately used to further equal employment practices in many industries?

2. Has the "affirmative action" provision of the Executive Order and the Plans for Progress program made a substantial impact on minority employment?

C. Government as the Employer, Federal, State and Local

1. What changes have occurred regarding the equal employment opportunities of minority group employees on the Federal level?

2. Is the Federal government doing all that it requires of private enterprise in terms of affirmative action, such as in-service training, etc?

3. What improvements can be suggested in order to further the program of fair employment practices among the state and local governments?

D. In achieving equal opportunity, would the resources of the government be better harnessed by a different allocation of responsibilities among the agencies?

V. Barriers to Upward Mobility and Equal Employment

A. What new techniques should be developed to deal with tokenism, concentration of minority groups in low wage jobs and lack of in-service training for upward mobility?

B. How can the techniques used by some unions to perpetuate discriminatory employment practices be broken down?

  1. Revision of labor-management agreements employing segregated lines of progression and discriminatory uses of seniority provisions?

  2. Consolidation of segregated locals without further disadvantage to members of the minority local?

C. What new laws or techniques are needed to cope with private groups and individuals who perpetuate discriminatory practices in employment through economic and political influence?

D. What "Affirmative Action Programs" should industry, unions and private organizations develop in order to create greater opportunities for Negroes?

List of Material

1. a. Civil Service News - U. S. Civil Service Commission on: "New Goals for Equal Employment Opportunity"

   b. Civil Service News - U.S. Civil Service Commission on: "Advance for Wednesday Morning Newspapers not to be used by Press, Radio, or TV before 8:30 P.M., Est., Tuesday, November 2, 1965"

2. The Unfinished Business of Negro Jobs

3. Letter to the President, dated October 25, 1965, from Franklin D. Foosevelt, Jr.

4. U. S. Department of Commerce - For Release Saturday A.M. July 17, 1965. Re: "Remarks of Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer, Asst. Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs, for Delivery at the thirty-fifth Annual Dinner of the Booker T. Washington Assoc., Michigan's Latin Quarter, Detroit, Michigan, July 16, 1965, at 7:00 P.M.

5. U. S. Department of Labor - For Release: P.M. Editions Wednesday, November 3, 1965. "Address by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz before the Mayor's Conference on Employment, Chicago, Ill., November 3, 1965.

6. The Law and Racial Discrimination in Employment by: Sanford Jay Rosen

7. Goldfinger, Nat, "Negro Unemployment", Director, Department of Research, AFL-CIO

8. Jackson, Esther - "Observations on Problems, Affecting Equal Opportunity in the Arts", Director of Education, N.Y. Shakespeare Festival

9. Wise, Malcolm F, release from the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, June 11, 1965

10. "Profile of the City of Oakland", Summary & Text

11. Newman, Dorothy, "Economic Status of the Negro"

12. Fuller, Varden, "Farm Manpower Policy"

13. Moore, Elmer J. "The Low Income Problems in Agriculture"

14. Field, John and Mister Melvin, "Civil Rights, Employment Opportunity and Economic Growth"

15. Resource Material for Profile of the Negro Labor Force

16. Brimmer, Andrew, "The Negro in the National Economy"

17. Newman - Backup Charts

JOBS
General

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. Summary of [illegible]

I. JOBS, JOB TRAINING AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

Chief Consultant: Dr. Vivian Henderson
President, Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Panel A
Uranus Room, 5th Floor

Chairmen:
Philip Hammer
Hammer, Greene & Sites Associates
Washington, D.C.

John Wheeler
Farmers & Mechanics Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Staff Consultants:
Elmer Moore
Office of Economic Opportunity

Benjamin Segal (staff reporter)
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

Gordon Wright
Department of Commerce

Staff Assistant: Maria Beckles
Staff Aide: Diane Bilenki

Panel B
Dupont Room, Lobby Level

Chairmen:
Yolanda Chambers
Federated Department Stores
Detroit, Michigan

David Hunter
Stern Family Foundation
New York, New York

Staff Consultants:
Monroe Price (staff reporter)
Department of Labor

Norman Hill
CIO-AFL

Staff Aide: Linda Cashdan

JOBS, JOB TRAINING, AND ECONOMIC SECURITY
(These will be divided between two concurrent working groups)

Official Observers

W. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor
Department of Labor

Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture
Department of Agriculture

John T. Connor
Secretary of Commerce
Department of Commerce

Sargent Shriver
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N.W.

Hobart Taylor
Director, Export-Import Bank
811 Vermont Avenue, N.W.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Chairman
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G Street, N.W.

Eugene Foley
Assistant Secretary for Economic Development
Department of Commerce

Philip F. Zeidman
General Counsel
Small Business Administration

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Director, Office of Federal Contract Compliance
U.S. Department of Labor

Gardner Ackley
Chairman
Council of Economic Advisors
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Frank McCulloch
Chairman
National Labor Relations Board
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

Andrew Brimmer
Assistant Secretary of Commerce
Department of Commerce

Dr. Luther Holcomb
Vice Chairman
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G Street, N.W.

Mrs. Aileen Hernandez
Commissioner
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G Street, N.W.

Richard A. Graham
Commissioner
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G Street, N.W.

Samuel D. Jackson
Commissioner
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G Street, N.W.

(Continued)

Benjamin Goldstein
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity
Assistance, SBA
811 Vermont Avenue, N. W.

Herman Edelsberg
Staff Director
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission
1800 G Street, N. W.

Thomas Morris
Assistant Secretary for Manpower
Department of Defense

Roy K. Davenport
Deputy Under Secretary of Army
(Personnel Management)
Department of Defense

Otto Eckstein
Member
Council of Economic Advisors
The White House

Miss Phyllis Wallace
Technical Consultant
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission
1800 G Street, N. W.

John Lang
Acting Special Assistant
(Manpower Personnel & Reserve Forces)
Department of Defense

JOBS, JOB TRAINING AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

Resource Consultants

November 17	Panel A	Panel B
10:30-12:30	Philip Arnow Deputy Assistant Secretary Office of Policy Planning Department of Labor	William Meringoff Office of Manpower Automation and Training Department of Labor
	Garth Mangum Executive Director President's Committee on Automation	Arthur Chapin Special Assistant to the Secretary for Minority Affairs Department of Labor
	Dorothy Newman Department of Commerce	(V.W. Henderson)
12:00-12:30	William Seabron Special Asst for Civil Rights Department of Agriculture	Alfred Edwards Deputy Assistant Secretary Department of Agriculture
2:00-3:30	Elmer Moore Office of Economic Opportunity	Joseph Kershaw Assistant Director for Research, Plans, Programs & Evaluation Office of Economic Opportunity
3:30-5:30	Curtis Aller Office of Manpower Automation and Training Department of Labor	William Meringoff
	Louis Levine Director, U.S. Employment Service	Arthur Chapin
November 18		
9:00-10:30	Garth Mangum	William Meringoff
	Elmer Moore	(Norman Hill)

November 18 (cont'd)

10:30-11:30	Gordon Wright Department of Commerce	(Benjamin Goldstein, Director Office of Econ. Opportunity Assistance Small Business Administration)
	(Eugene Foley Assistant Secretary, Department of Commerce)	(Andrew Brimmer, Assistant Secretary, Dept. of Commerce)
11:30-12:30	Arthur Chapin	Charles Duncan General Counsel Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
	Benjamin Segal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	
	John Hope, II Department of Health, Education and Welfare	Monroe Price Department of Labor
3:30-4:00	Benjamin Segal Elmer Moore Gordon Wright	Monroe Price (Norman Hill) (V. W. Henderson)

WORK

AHMANN, Matthew
BENNETT, Fay
BERLE, Adolf A.
**BEVEL, Diane Nash
BEVEL, James
BODINE, Leo V.
CHAMBERS, Yolanda
DENNING, Howard
**DUBROW, Evelyn
**FULLER, Alex
GARY, William
GINZBERG, Eli
GOLDFINGER, Nat
HAHN, Norman L.
HALL, Rev. Cameron
HAMMER, Phillip
HARRINGTON, Michael
HAWKINS, Andrew
HILL, Herbert
HINTON, Thomas C.
HUNTER, David
**KEENEY, Eugene Adams
KEYSERLING, Leon
KING, Martin Luther
MATTISON, Eugene
MILLER, William
MORRIS, Jesse
**ONQUE, Miss Alice
PURYEAR, Mahlon Tasker
SCRUGGS, Raymon
SLAIMAN, Don
**SULLIVAN, Rev. Leon
TWOMEY, Father Louis J., S.J.
WEINLEIN, Anthony
WHEELER, John
WILEY, George
WINTER, Elmer L.
**YOUNG, Kenneth

# PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE WORK GROUP
Judge William H. Hastie, Chairman

AGENDA PAPER #2
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
Dr. Arnold S. Trebach

OUTLINE

INTRODUCTION

I. OPENING THE GATES: ENDING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

(3 hours)

- A. Individual Physical Security
- B. Jury Selection
- C. Other Aspects of Dual Justice
- D. Summation: Major Program Goals

II. DISSOLVING DIVISIVE PREJUDICES: POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

(4 hours)

- A. Improvements Within Police Agencies
- B. Programs by Negro Groups
- C. Administration of Citizen Complaints
- D. Roles of Other Groups
- E. Summation: Major Program Goals

III. PASSING THROUGH THE GATES: REHABILITATION AND TRAINING

(3 hours)

- A. Education and Training for Personnel in Justice Field
- B. Problems of Youth
- C. Employment, Pay, and Education for Convicted Persons
- D. Other Programs
- E. Summation: Major Program Goals

INTRODUCTION

The purposes of this working session are: (a) to identify the principal obstacles in the field of administration of justice to the achievement of equality for American Negroes; (b) to outline creative approaches to surmount those obstacles; (c) to propose long-range program goals and specific recommendations for meeting them; and (d) to suggest additional work to be done in preparation for the full conference, in the spring, as well as the specific subject matter of that conference.

The panel will be guided by the statements of President Johnson in his Howard University speech of June 4, 1965, wherein he declared that he would call this conference, and that its theme and title would be "To Fulfill These Rights." The President stated that the objective of the conference would be to help American Negroes fulfill their rights; to destroy legal and social barriers to racial progress; to dissolve, as much as is possible, racial prejudice in the hearts of our citizens; and having thus opened the gates of equality, to assist American Negroes to achieve the competence to walk through those gates.

Since a primary objective of this panel is to identify areas of crucial civil rights concern in the administration of justice, this paper should not be interpreted as an attempt to limit discussion. Rather, it is meant to provide concreteness to the discussion by suggesting possible major issues and solutions. It is hoped that the enumeration of some specific problems may stimulate participants to bring up others that may have been omitted. Moreover, it is hoped that the participants will take very seriously the need to set priorities in terms of problems and effective solutions.

The term "justice field" is used as a shorthand description for the entire process that encompasses law enforcement, courts, probation, legal services, corrections, parole, and closely related functions.

I. OPENING THE GATES: ENDING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In the speech announcing this conference the President recognized that, as a threshold matter, it must deal with how "to shatter the barriers of law and public practice" which deny justice to the American Negro. This section of the agenda paper is meant to invite consideration of those barriers which operate in the administration of criminal justice, and of the means to shatter them.

A. Individual Physical Security

In dealing with the problem of physical violence in a civil rights context--for example, where civil rights workers have been killed and the assailants have not been brought to justice--the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Strengthening Federal Criminal Civil Rights Laws. Should additional Federal criminal legislation protecting civil rights be enacted? For example: Should new Federal offenses be created punishing persons who employ weapons or objects which have traveled in interstate commerce to deprive others, by violence, of their civil rights? Should the Federal courts, and the Federal investigative and prosecuting agencies, be given jurisdiction over state law criminal offenses in defined circumstances where state criminal process is ineffective to protect Federal civil rights? Should there be a constitutional amendment authorizing Federal prosecutions outside the district where the crime was committed in order to assure a fair trial--or would this do too much violence to basic American ideals?

2. Strengthening Federal Civil Remedies. Should additional Federal civil legislation protecting civil rights be enacted? For example: Should there be a new statute providing that: private persons or the Attorney General, on showing a Federal District judge that a person or organization has committed or is about to commit a violent invasion of constitutional rights, may obtain an injunction against such acts and a bond to ensure compliance? Should punitive damages be allowed for civil rights injuries, and a change of venue authorized in order to assure a fair trial? Should local governments be made liable in civil suits on the basis of violence by their officers, or on the basis of failure of their officers to give protection against private violence?

3. Strengthening Federal Enforcement Policies. Should there be some major changes in the manner in which the Department of Justice enforces the present arsenal of Federal civil rights

statutes? For example: Should the FBI be ordered to arrest private citizens or officials who are observed by agents attacking persons exercising or advocating Federal civil rights?

4. Professionalization of State and Local Police Forces. Should the Federal Government assist the process of professionalizing state and local police forces, on the theory that a well-trained and professional police force is much less likely to engage in brutality and much more likely to provide protection? For example: Should the Federal Government provide massive financial aid to state and local police forces, not purely on an experimental basis, but for regular operations? Would it be wise to enact a Federal law, for the purpose of protecting constitutional rights, requiring that each state establish uniform standards and tests, guided by minimum Federal standards, for all state and local police officials; that each state require a state license for all state and local police officers; and that all such officers present a bond for the faithful and legal performance of their duties--with this entire system supported by Federal grants-in-aid?

B. Jury Selection

In dealing with the problem of racial discrimination in the selection of jurors, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Strengthening Federal Civil Rights Laws. In what manner should the Federal civil rights laws applicable to jury exclusion be strengthened? For example: Should the Attorney General be empowered to bring civil actions to prevent this practice, and should Congress provide that showing racial disproportion, according to a stated percentage formula, in jury rolls constitutes a prima facie case of discrimination? Should there be a statute providing that upon a finding by a Federal court that jury discrimination exists, all cases in the affected jurisdiction be removable to a Federal court pending the ending of discrimination?

2. Strengthening Federal Enforcement Procedures. Should there be changes in the manner in which the Department of Justice enforces present statutes? For example: Should the Department bring more criminal suits under Sections 242 and 243?

3. Scientific Selection of Jurors. Should a new Federal law be enacted which would seek to eliminate the problem of class and race bias in juror selection through a comprehensive scheme, involving nonpunitive and positive methods? For example: Would it be wise to have a Federal law that required every American jurisdiction to select jurors on the basis of one of several

alternate, scientifically determined methods, utilizing polling techniques and modern computers, for choosing jurors representing a true cross-section of the community, including minority groups and the poor? In addition, should such a law provide Federal funds to assist state and local governments to establish these new systems? Should Federal law require uniform state testing, licensing, and bonding of those who operate juror selection systems? Should Federal law provide for Federal juror registrars or commissioners in jurisdictions that persist in discriminating? Should educational and informational programs be established to encourage Negroes to participate as jurors, when called?

C. Other Aspects of Dual Justice

What other aspects of dual justice, among the many not specifically listed above, are so important as to receive the attention of this meeting? The panel may want to consider the following matters, among others.

1. Repression of Civil Rights Activities. Should there be a Federal civil rights statute specifically aimed at protecting 1st Amendment rights to speak, march, and petition? Should such legislation authorize Federal injunctions to stop harassing state arrests and prosecutions? Should present Federal policies toward public demonstrations and marches be changed--for example, greater use of marshals and FBI agents in providing protection?

2. Employment Discrimination in Justice Agencies. Should Congress amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by including agencies of justice?

(Note that training programs for personnel in the justice field will be considered under III.)

3. Counsel in Civil Rights Cases. To what extent should the legal service programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity be involved in handling the various types of civil rights cases--for plaintiffs and defendants, in class suits and individual actions, etc.--throughout the nation, including the deep South? Should welfare recipients under Federally supported programs be authorized to retain private lawyers in civil rights cases, with the fees paid by Federal funds? Should the American Bar Association and other national legal organizations be encouraged to play a larger role--for example, through a campaign on the need for counsel in civil rights cases, similar to the present A.B.A. activity in regard to counsel for the poor?

4. Segregation in the Agencies of Justice. What significant new Federal laws or policies might be effective in combating racial segregation in the agencies of justice--suits under Title III of the 1964 Civil Rights Act or under Section 242, a new Federal law specifically prohibiting segregation in agencies of justice and withholding Federal funds from any jurisdiction which so discriminates? Should a new Federal statute declare that any proceeding in a segregated system of justice denies Negroes equal protection of the laws and is therefore invalid?

5. Sentencing and Death Penalty. Should there be new Federal laws or policies aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in the imposition of sentences? Is there a constitutional basis for a Federal statute declaring "jail or fine" sentences to be discriminatory against the poor, including many Negroes, and therefore a denial of equal protection of the laws? Is there sufficient evidence for Congress to make a finding that the death penalty for rape is administered on a racially discriminatory basis, that it violates the 14th Amendment, and that it is to be henceforth abolished? Should Federal funds be provided for the development of better pre-sentencing reports by both the government and the defense?

D. Summation: Major Program Goals

What are the major program goals in regard to ending racial discrimination in the administration of justice? Is one broad statement sufficient, such as: Racial discrimination in the administration of justice is, and always has been, an affront to civilization; it must be eliminated by every means at the command of this nation. Is this too simple, too sweeping, not sufficiently sophisticated? Should a phased timetable be established for eliminating specific types of discrimination, with some target date for ending it totally?

II. DISSOLVING DIVISIVE PREJUDICES: POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

President Johnson stated in his Howard University speech that one objective of the White House Conference on Civil Rights would be to help dissolve, as best we can, "the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong--great wrong--to the children of God." This section of the agenda paper is meant to invite consideration of how to dissolve those divisive prejudices in relations between policemen and Negroes, especially those who inhabit urban slums. It would seem fair to say that the great issues in this matter involve the attitudes of police and Negroes toward each other, the manner in which these attitudes are produced and reenforced by daily experiences, and the methods by which these experiences and attitudes can be modified.

A. Improvements Within Police Agencies

In dealing with the question of what police departments can do to improve relationships with minority groups, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Redefining the Role of Police. Should it be recommended that police departments take a broader view of their role? For example: Should the police role be defined as keeping the peace in the broadest sense--not only apprehending criminals, but also preventing riots and preventing individual criminal acts? Should Federal legislation encourage the emergence of this broader role, perhaps by grant-in-aid programs directed at the subjects of the following paragraphs and at other subjects touching the role of police in the community?

2. Eliminating Abrasive Police Practices. Should the regular, day-to-day operations of police departments be extensively reviewed in order to determine the degree to which "normal" police practices, such as "stop and frisk" or crowd dispersal, carried out without any overt discriminatory intent, present a threat to good police relations with Negroes? Should such practices be regulated by a Federal statute?

3. Special Community Relations Units and Programs. Should special community relations units and programs be organized? Is it wise to recommend that every police department have such a unit and such a program? How can these units and programs best be administered so that they can have a pervasive impact on the department, and so that the community relations program does not become the isolated concern of a few special officers? Would it be wise to enact a Federal law providing regular grant-in-aid support to community relations units and programs? Is a root problem here to be found in the fact that the police are considered a hostile force by many Negroes--and that, conversely,

many policemen consider most Negroes to be potential criminals? If so, how can this root problem be attacked?

4. Recruitment and Training. Should the recruitment and training functions of police forces be changed in order to improve police-community relations? Should Federal legislation go beyond the provisions of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act and provide for developing better recruitment standards and testing programs, and for supporting these programs on a regular basis through grants-in-aid? Should this also apply to training programs? Should special emphasis be placed on providing training for police commanders--on the theory that command influences have a powerful impact on the subtleties of police attitudes that affect their behavior toward Negroes?

5. The Helping Policeman: Early Warning System. Should an attempt be made to change both the role and the image of the policeman by building upon the prevention-of-riots concept and applying this concept to individual criminal behavior? For example: Would it be practical to build an early warning system through individual policemen, and subprofessional aides, under which individuals and families would be referred for extensive social welfare assistance, before criminal activity takes place, on the basis of the appearance of factors tending to lead to criminality, such as family breakdown? Is this stretching the police role too far?

B. Programs by Negro Groups

In dealing with the possible contribution that may be made by Negro leadership, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. The Responsibility of Negro Leadership. What are the major contributions that Negro leaders can make to solving the problem of bad police-community relations? Would it be helpful if Negro groups conducted brief, informal investigations of complaints before making them public issues? How can Negro leaders best promote a continuing and reasonable dialogue with the police on a precinct, as well as on a citywide, basis that would contribute to changes in police practices and the alleviation of tensions?

2. Combating Crime. Is there an appropriate role that civil rights organizations can play in reducing crime in urban slums? For example: Since a significant source of police hostility towards Negroes may be based on the apparently high crime rate in Negro slums, would a sustained anti-crime program by Negro leadership be practical and effective? Would such a program

help to reduce crime and to improve the attitudes and the actions of police toward Negroes? If so, how could such a program be mounted and sustained?

C. Administration of Citizen Complaints

In dealing with methods for handling complaints of citizens against policemen, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Police Review Boards. Should present methods of handling citizen complaints against policemen be changed? Is there any reliable evidence which indicates that internal departmental complaint administration machinery is less or more effective than an independent citizen police review board, or does it appear that the answer lies in the particular circumstances of each community? What are the disadvantages and advantages of a departmental complaint mechanism, on the one hand, and an independent board, on the other? Does one method offer any advantage over the other in terms of making the complaint machinery readily available to citizens, protecting complainants from police reprisals, finding facts accurately and impartially, disciplining offending officers appropriately, and giving the public confidence in the fair and effective administration of the complaint system?

2. A More Comprehensive Complaint Institution. Should the concern over the proper handling of citizen complaints be broader than only grievances against the police? For example: Should state and local governments adopt some form of the Scandinavian Ombudsman--under which institutions are established primarily to provide channels for complaints of citizens against virtually all agencies of government on such grounds as violations of rights or inefficiency? In light of present Federal administrative complaint institutions, what role should the Commission on Civil Rights perform in this regard at the Federal level? Would such new institutions be more effective in handling complaints against the police than other suggested methods?

D. Role of Other Groups.

In dealing with the possible contributions of other groups to good police-community relations, the panel may want to consider the following matters, among others.

1. Legal Service Programs. To what extent should legal service programs for the poor, such as those supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity, seek to advocate the interests of Negro

groups in regard to relations with the police? What positive contributions could these legal programs make?

2. Community Relations Service. Should the role of the Federal Community Relations Service be expanded or changed in dealing with police-community relations problems?

3. Social Welfare Agencies and Labor Unions. What role should local social welfare agencies and labor unions play in improving police-community relations?

E. Summation: Major Program Goals

What are the major program goals in regard to improving police-community relations? Would the following statements of program goals be appropriate?

1. To end the wide-spread condition of mutual disrespect and conflict between police and citizens.

2. To produce efficient police forces that operate, in all day-to-day programs, with a sensitive awareness of racial problems.

3. To increase the effectiveness of programs by Negro leaders for improving citizen cooperation with the police.

4. To enlarge the police role in positive ways, such as riot prevention and helping individuals and families receive social welfare services as a preventive measure against crime, and thus to change the image of the policeman.

III. PASSING THROUGH THE GATES: REHABILITATION AND TRAINING

President Johnson stated in his Howard University speech that:

> You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.
>
> Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.

This section of the agenda paper is meant to invite consideration of how to use the agencies of justice as springboards for programs that will assist Negroes to develop the ability to take advantage of new opportunities. If properly planned, such programs could work to improve the agencies of justice, to prevent crime among masses of poor persons with no previous record of criminality, and to rehabilitate those who have committed crimes.

A. Education and Training for Personnel in Justice Field

In considering the matter of educating and training personnel for positions in the administration of justice field, the panel may want to consider the following matters, among others.

1. Traditional Positions. Should the Federal Government establish comprehensive financial aid programs for training personnel, both for entry and advancement, in traditional job classifications, such as policemen, probation officers, and correctional officials? Should these programs seek to draw the poor into these jobs through special incentives, including scholarships and stipends for support of families? Should funds also be provided for establishing new educational facilities in this field at universities and community colleges--for example, for schools of police administration and correctional studies?

2. New Positions for Subprofessionals. Should the new Federal programs pay particular attention to training poor persons, including high school dropouts, for subprofessional positions as aides in justice agencies (police departments, prosecutor offices, correctional facilities, and so on) and in private law offices, as well as in the whole range of human service and anti-delinquency work?

B. Problems of Youth

In considering the special problems of Negro youth, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Education and Research. Since poor Negro youth have particular difficulties in urban society--i.e., in terms of finding employment and in terms of delinquency--should the Federal Government provide large scale support for the training of specialists in the range of youth problems (including employment, delinquency, and family breakdown, among others) at new experimental training and educational centers?

2. Youth Authorities. Should the Federal Government seek to encourage, in part through financial support, the formation of community Youth Authorities for the purpose of coordinating local activities, private and public, that deal with youth problems?

C. Employment, Pay, and Education for Convicted Persons

In considering the problem of how to provide rehabilitation and training programs for convicted persons, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Basic Concepts. Since our present system for dealing with convicted persons is, in practice, perhaps 90 percent rejection-punishment, and 10 percent acceptance-rehabilitation, should we seek to reverse this approach? For example: Should people convicted of crimes be recognized as a group that should receive more, not less, attention than other groups in the fields of education, retraining, and social welfare services because they are most likely to commit additional crimes, stemming in part from their lack of any dignified socio-economic place in functioning society? If so, should this change be promoted by new state or Federal legislation, or both, as described in the sections that follow?

2. Work-Release Programs. Should the states be encouraged to adopt a law similar to the new Federal work-release statute, which provides that the Federal Bureau of Prisons may allow prisoners to work and reside in local communities? Since two significant factors associated with criminality are poverty and lack of marketable job skills--and since present correctional procedures often simply aggravate these factors for inmates and their families--what other programs should be recommended to eliminate them?

3. Employment Within Institutions. In addition to work-release programs, or as one alternative, should Federal funds be provided for the establishment, within institutions, of industries that provide both wages at prevailing union rates and on-the-job training in job skills that will provide good employment for inmates after release? Should inmates be encouraged to support their families from their pay while in custody, thus reducing the bad effects of a broken family and also reducing local welfare budgets?

4. Education and Training for Convicted Persons. Should Federal legislation provide for a comprehensive system of basic education and training for persons, in custody, along the basic lines of Job Corps centers, that would be aimed at the special needs of the culturally deprived? For example: Should convicted persons, especially youth, be placed under an "education-release" program, which would allow them to attend local educational institutions? Should outstanding educators and trainers be retained, in programs supported by Federal funds, to create whole new educational systems for inmates of youth and adult institutions? Should convicted persons be trained for subprofessional positions in delinquency control and corrections, because of the shortage of personnel in these fields, and also because convicted persons may have special aptitudes for such work? Should special educational systems, from primary schools to universities, be established on a regional or national basis, specifically designed for convicted persons, to which all American jurisdictions could send convicts?

5. Construction of New Facilities. Should such Federal legislation provide funds for the building of new facilities for convicted persons? For example: Since many prisons and jails are antiquated structures that date from the last century and are overcrowded, should Federal funds be authorized to support construction of correctional facilities for all American jurisdictions, and of every appropriate type, including local houses of detention and jails, state prisons, half-way houses, work-release community residential centers, and educational and training facilities?

6. Post-Release Assistance. Should new Federal legislation provide support for a comprehensive system of assistance to released convicts and their families? For example: If a convicted person has amassed a bank account under the suggested new method, should Federally-aided programs be established for assisting him on how to use his money properly, and how to reorient himself to a new life? How should Government Civil Service regulations and the employment policies of government contractors be changed so as to provide the opportunity for employment and a dignified place in the system for retrained

convicted persons--who now cannot obtain such jobs because of their criminal records? What other means can be used to strengthen the concept of dignified places in the society for convicted persons?

D. Other Programs

What other programs might be recommended in the administration of justice field for building the ability of Negroes to pass through the gates of opportunity?

E. Summation: Major Program Goals

What are the major program goals in the area of rehabilitation and training? Would the following enumeration be accurate?

1. To build positive programs of achievement into the process of justice.

2. To stress acceptance and rehabilitation instead of rejection and punishment as the dominant concern of the system for dealing with convicted persons.

3. To create a first-rate educational and employment system for convicted persons.

4. To provide adequate numbers of qualified personnel for the justice field, at all levels, from police departments to correctional agencies.

5. To train the poor for such jobs, having the objective of providing competent and sensitive personnel, and of helping to end segregated justice.

* * * * * *

Justice
General

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Honorary Chairman
MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR
Co-Chairmen
BERL I. BERNHARD
Executive Director

1600 G STREET, N. W
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

It is good to know that you will be able to participate in the Planning Session of November 16-18 for the White House Conference on Civil Rights. Judge William H. Hastie, the Chairman of the Administration of Justice Work Group, and I are gratified that you will share in the deliberations of this group and we look forward to hearing your recommendations on this important subject.

The Administration of Justice Agenda Paper is enclosed. Because we want to emphasize the importance of having participants review the paper before the session, no other material dealing directly with the justice field is being sent to you. However, important material, including the new U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report entitled Law Enforcement, will be available to participants at the session.

Allow me to underline a thought that is stated in the Agenda Paper. That paper was drafted to stimulate discussion, not to limit it. Any recommendation that might make a positive contribution to the fulfillment of rights for American citizens has a place in the deliberations of this work group.

All signs point toward a most important and fruitful discussion.

Cordially yours,

Arnold S. Trebach

Dr. Arnold S. Trebach
Chief Consultant
Administration of Justice
Work Group

Enclosure

II. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Polaris Room, 3rd Floor

Chairman:	Judge William Hastie U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Third Circuit Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Chief Consultant:	Dr. Arnold Trebach Community Resources Institute Director, Human Rights Program Howard University (staff reporter) Washington, D.C.
Staff Consultants:	Monrad Paulson Professor of Law Columbia University, New York
	Anthony G. Amsterdam Professor of Law University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
	Mrs. Elyce Zenof Firster Co-Director, Mental Retardation Study George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
Staff Aides:	Betty Wagner Susan Mihaly

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Official Observers

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach
Attorney General
Department of Justice

Ramsey Clark
Deputy Attorney General
Department of Justice

Fred Vinson, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General,
Criminal Division
Department of Justice

James Symington
Chairman
President's Committee on
Juvenile Delinquency and
Youth Crime
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare

Judge Marjorie Lawson
Vice Chairman
President's Committee on
Crime in the District
of Columbia

Bruce Terris
President's Commission on
Law Enforcement and
the Administration of
Justice

William L. Taylor
Staff Director
Civil Rights Commission
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

David B. Filvaroff
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General
Department of Justice

Roger Wilkins
Assistant Director
Community Relations Service

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Resource Consultants

Courtney Evans
Acting Director
Office of Law Enforcement
Assistance
Department of Justice

E. Clinton Bamberger
Director
Legal Services
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N.W.

Howard Willens
Executive Secretary
President's Committee on Crime
in the District of Columbia

November 18th only

Myrle Alexander
Director
Federal Bureau of Prisons
Department of Justice

Bernard Russell
Director
Office of Juvenile Delinquency
and Youth Development
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare

JUSTICE

ALEXANDER, Judge Raymond Pace
ASHFORD, Laplois
CARTER, Robert
CUTLER, Lloyd N.
DAVIS, Melvin
EDLEY, Christopher
FISHMAN, Dr. Jacob R.
GESELL, Gerhard
GIBSON, Rev. Theodore
GREENBERG, Jack
HARRIS, Thomas
**HARVEY, Ruth
HASTIE, Judge William H.
HIGGINBOTTOM, Judge Leon
HOLLOWELL, Donald L.
JENKINS, Herbert
LOHMAN, Joseph
MARSHALL, Burke
MING, William R.
MITCHELL, Clarence
MORGAN, Jr., Charles
**MURPHY, Carl
**MURRAY, Dr. Pauli
PRATT, Jack M.
RAUCH, Rudolph Stewart, Jr.
RAUH, Joseph
RICH, Marvin
**SEGAL, Bernard G.
WOLFGANG, Marvin
WRIGHT, Mrs. Marian

PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER # 3

VOTING AND CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION

Mr. Sterling Tucker
Mr. Wiley A. Branton

Proposed Agenda

This panel is charged with setting goals and suggesting specific policies for enhancing citizenship participation among Negroes by the federal government or by state and local governments, by political parties and civil rights and other civic groups, by the business community and by labor unions, by foundations and by community organizations. Some of the panel's recommendations may require a constitutional amendment, and some changes in policy and attitudes by groups which are, or should be, active in this field. Recommendations put forward by the panelists should be as specific as possible, but panelists are not asked to wrestle with the legal intricacies or to write statutory proposals on the spot.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

On November 2 of this year, Negro voters displayed sufficient independence and strength to provide crucial margins in key elections in New York, Philadelphia, and Louisville. In Cleveland, a Negro, running as an independent with the backing of civil rights groups, came within 2400 votes of being elected mayor (as of November 9 the election results were still in dispute). These results showed the potential of the Negro vote. Yet all the evidence is that the Negro can have a far larger voice in government than, for a number of reasons, he has exercised to date.

The problem of overcoming the lack of political participation by the Negro is a crucial part of the large question facing this Conference: how to fulfill, to realize, the rights which the law protects and promises. The political process, particularly at the state and local levels, decides such questions as the availability and condition of housing, schools, playgrounds, welfare services, and other municipal services; the distribution and use of state and local taxes; and, issues of reapportionment. These questions are of the most vital concern to the Negro. The question before this panel is how to encourage and develop the participation of the Negro, to give him his full say when issues seriously affecting him are resolved.

NORTH

In the North, in contrast to most of the South, the story is less one of legal and official barriers to exercising the right to vote than it is one of inconvenience, disinterest, and missed opportunities to have an impact on political candidacies, policies, and outcomes. Many of the unofficial barriers to full participation--inconveniences and burdens of registering, shortages of polling places and lack of time to get to them, want of comprehension of the issues--affect the voting public at large. But to the extent that the Negro community suffers from higher mobility, inferior schools and opportunities for higher education, economic dependence, and lack of financial resources to back candidates and mobilize voter turnout, it suffers a greater proportional drag on its participation in the electoral process than does the public at large.

The November, 1963, report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation studied reasons for low voter turnout throughout the country. Many of its findings are relevant to the central question before this panel--increasing citizenship participation of the Negro. Among these findings are:

*"The more formal educational experience a person has had, the more likely he is to be politically involved, to feel that his vote counts, and to vote."

*"Young people vote less than older ones, and voter participation by women is about 10 per cent lower than among men."

*"Many election laws and administrative practices are unreasonable, unfair, and outmoded...Although the great majority of states provides permanent registration, only half enable voters to register in their precincts rather than at one county office. Only 17 states allow registration by mail...In too many states, registration closes more than a month before the election, when political campaigns are not in full swing and peak interest has not been achieved...Unlike registration systems in other Western democracies, where the initiative is with local officials and the process is simple and direct, registration in the U.S. often imposes

undue burdens of citizens who desire to vote." "In some states," the report said, "it is easier to get a hunting or fishing license or a pistol permit than to register and vote."

*"Residence requirements are frequently an unfair impediment to voting. It has been estimated that 8 million citizens were disenfranchised by residence requirements in 1960."

*"The teaching of citizenship in our elementary and secondary schools needs a major overhaul...American education has failed to do justice to politics and politicians...(One's) responsibilities as a citizen in a free society are not made clear. It is small wonder that we are a nation of cynics when it comes to our politics."

SOUTH

The essential ingredients of more effective political participation in the South are largely the same as in the North. First, Negroes must get on the books. Second, they must turn out at the polls. And finally, they must make their votes count: In short, registration, voting, and organization and education. Because of the vastly different circumstances in most of the South, however, some of the obstacles to these goals are unlike those existing elsewhere. Consequently, the means for attaining full and effective political participation must necessarily vary to some degree.

In the various areas of inquiry raised below, the panel should bear in mind that all of the questions suggested affect the South, some are applicable North and South. For example, decentralized registration offices are desirable everywhere for the sake of convenience. But alternatives to a single county-wide registration office are especially needed in the South, where that office is customarily located in the county courthouse.

I. REGISTRATION.

A. What steps can be taken to make voter registration easier where there are no official or unofficial barriers to Negro registration as such? The panel may want to consider the following approaches, all of which have been publicly suggested by various sources:

1. A constitutional amendment setting nationwide residence requirements for federal elections, and possibly state and local elections. Efforts to secure changes in state and local laws covering residence requirements. (In this connection,

the President's Commission recommended that anyone who has resided anywhere in a state for six months ought to be allowed to vote in county and city elections after 30 days residence; and that new state residents ought to be allowed to vote for President immediately.)

2. Placing greater obligations on governmental agencies, rather than the individual voters, to get people registered and to keep registration up to date.

In this connection, the panelists may want to consider a number of approaches including: a) permanent registration; b) registration by mail; c) door-to-door canvassing or other methods of bringing registration into the neighborhood by registration workers, including permanent decentralizaed registration offices; d) requirements of notice before anyone is dropped from registration lists for any reason, or changes in the laws providing that people be dropped from lists for failure to vote in a past election; e) providing for registration during periods close to election time, when interest is higher; f) provision for registration during non-working hours, or perhaps in-plant registration in large businesses; g) requirements that government agencies supply lists clarifying the proper place of registration for each voter's address.

Should there be prohibitions, as the President's Commission suggested, against the use of registration lists for any other purpose, such as tax assessment or jury duty? Should conscious efforts be made to appoint Negroes as registrars?

3. Is there a larger role which could be played by community organizations, social planning agencies, or civil rights groups in getting people registered?

4. Would it be feasible, or desirable, for the federal government to provide funds for non-partisan registration drives run by private non-partisan groups such as Y's, Scouts, etc.?

5. Does the Voter Education Project experience in the South suggest some models for action by northern groups? Is there more that civil rights and other groups could do along these lines? Could tax-exempt foundations, sponsor the spread of such non-partisan local voter education schools?

6. Should literacy be a requirement for voting anywhere?

7. Is there any merit in following the Australian example and making registration and voting compulsory--with penalties for those who fail to discharge their citizenship duties? Under this arrangement, anyone who impedes in any way any person in complying with the duty to register and vote would be guilty of a criminal act.

B. What needs to be done where official or unofficial barriers to Negro voting do exist?

The key elements in such areas are inducing citizens to register and ensuring that they are able to do so. The Federal Government is playing a role in the latter by means of litigation and the appointment of Federal examiners. Private organizations are engaged in the former. What needs to be done on both fronts and can it be effected?

1. Official Obstacles to Registration

Federal examiners have been sent to 32 counties and have listed about 60,000 Negroes. Whether any of the "listed" Negroes have actually been registered is doubtful. The Voting Rights Act has ended all legal obstacles to the right to register, except in Mississippi, but some questions remain:

a. In Mississippi, some registrars continue to use the new short form application on the ground that the State Attorney General has ruled that it is not a literacy test. That question will be litigated, but should not the Federal Government for administrative purposes take the view that continued use of such a test there or elsewhere is a violation of the Act and appoint registrars?

b. Delaying tactics are also still being employed. The Attorney General has stated that examiners will be appointed wherever there are inadequate personnel to register the applicants who appear on a given registration day. It is yet common, however, for there to be but one or two registration days a month in some of the involved states. Should not the government take the position that Federal examiners are required unless some local official is available to receive registration applications every day?

2. Unofficial Obstacles

Even where federal examiners are in operation, the listing totals are not imposing. Cumulative totals are: Alabama, 31,407; Louisiana, 12,683; Mississippi, 16, 239. It is apparent that unofficial obstacles of fear and/or apathy are a continuing factor.

a. Should the Federal Government take on the added role of not merely ensuring that registration is open, but also encouraging local residents to take advantage of that opportunity? More specifically, should local community action programs undertake intensive registration drives? Is there merit in the view that participation in the political process--at least to the extent of registration--is an elemental part of community action? Should post offices, army installations, agricultural extension offices, and the like be sources of registration information? (It has been suggested that pamphlets be prepared for distribution at these facilities, perhaps in cooperation with the states; that posters might be displayed in Federal facilities; and that it might be desirable to display such posters on post office trucks.)

b. Fear is a continuing deterrent--both where Federal examiners exist and elsewhere. Physical and economic harassment is a factor: What is its prevalence? 1) The panel on Administration of Justice will focus on judicial remedies for physical harassment, but this panel may want to consider the the issue as well. Federal criminal and civil litigation has proven inadequate to prevent reprisals or the expectition of reprisals by the Negro. Is additional legislation desirable? 2) Can the fear of economic reprisal be eliminated short of the massive creation of new jobs?

What are the possibilities of judicial or administrative remedies against economic reprisals? Would it be more advisable to concentrate on administrative action? (For example, a Mississippi teacher was fired after testifying in a Justice Department suit. The school officials admitted that this was one cause. The government sued to get her job back--and lost because it was not the cause. Would it be sound for Congress to authorize HEW to establish procedures to protect teachers from discharge not merely because of their race but because of their engaging in protected outside activity? Should government contractors be held to the same requirements with regard to their employees? Is this in effect required by current law?)

c. Can the registration problem be overcome within the present scope of Federal action? Can large-scale registration of Negroes take place unless Federal officers are empowered to actually register applicants? Should the Federal Government get into the business of buying TV and radio time and magazine space to promote voter registration?

II. VOTING

A. Some of the above suggestions might also be considered as possibilities for enlarging the actual voter turn-out as well as registration. Which ones seem most feasible in this regard?

B. In addition, the panelists may want to consider ways in which the process of voting could be made more convenient, including such publicly suggested ideas as:

1. Should election day be on a Sunday, or, if this conflicts with some religious practices, should it be declared as a legal holiday, or a half-day holiday?

2. Should businesses make greater provision for time-off during the working day for voting?

3. What obligations do local governments have for easing voting -- including length of time that polls are open, location of polling places, publication of information about where each person's voting place is, offering a choice of voting near place of business or residence?

4. Should all citizens, instead of just the military and the ill, be given the choice of voting by mail?

C. Are there ways in which newspapers, radio, and television could do more to inform would-be voters about where and when to vote, and by broadcating during election day reports on whether the polls are relatively congested or free?

D. Should the Community Action Programs of OEO focus on programs of citizenship education or registration drives? Should adult education and literacy programs of HEW contain a similar focus? Should these various Federal agencies engage directly in this activity; or should they supplement and assist the efforts of private and local groups to adhere to the same objectives?

III. ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATION

Getting out the vote dovetails with the final section. If the best way to overcome both fear and apathy is a broad-based, massive involvement of the people, then organization and education may be the most effective device. "Education" could go beyond informing about the duty to vote and the mechanics of how to do so. "Education" could also mean informing about the issues, civic affairs, government, and all other aspects of citizenship participation.

A. Is potential active citizenship participation by Negroes hampered by real, or imagined, restrictions on political activity by teachers or by employees of other Federal, state, or local governments?

1. What ways are there for encouraging and protecting greater political activity by professionals?

2. Should the Civil Service Commission, and parallel state and local agencies, undertake to eliminate confusion about restrictions on political activity?

3. Do state and local governments have an obligation to encourage political participation by those most familiar with government affairs, so that they may set examples and encourage political participation by others?

B. Might community action and neighborhood associations provide new vehicles for political action, for promoting candidacies either within or outside the established parties, for providing an organization that will allow the Negro to have a larger voice in the government? Going one step further, might not the community action program, local charitable/social groups or private foundations play a role in financing and promoting the organization of local special interest groups -- tenants' councils, neighborhood or area associations, or the like -- that would engage in all sorts of citizenship activity -- not just voting and political affairs, but formulating proposals, evaluating local problems and the like?

C. Financial impediments to participation in the political process.

1. What are the obligations of newspapers and other media, to give space and coverage to all candidates in primaries and in final elections? Is there more that could be done here?

2. Might tax credits for small political contributions be helpful?

3. Is there a means of guaranteeing that voters are exposed -- through newspapers, radio-TV, public forums, billboards, campaign literature and the like -- to the full range of candidates? Should this be in the form of subsidy to candidates?

4. Should government ease some of the burdens of political activities by providing certain political resources, such as free mailing privileges, provision of mailing lists from registration lists, etc.?

D. The panel might want to consider means for inducing both major political parties to include Negroes in the local party organizations. This is especially important on the local level, where the most basic decisions affecting the Negro are made -- those relating to schools, streets, sewage disposal systems and the entire array of county or municipal services.

Should local party leaders of all parties be salaried employees of the state and local governments, to further development of continuing political organization?

E. Some have suggested that an entire new structure of citizenship organization should be created, such as a national center of civil and political education. Such a center would operate through regional, state and local branches to develop techniques and methods of increasing citizen motivation, information, participation and involvement. Is such a program advisable? Should it be limited to providing basic information -- the mechanics of registration and voting, the character of American government, and the responsibilities and opportunities of citizenship? Or should it go further and offer education on the issues, especially local ones? Should it try to create and train local leaders and organizers from the Negro community? How could such an effort be financed -- under the Equal Opportunity Act or the new education act, by foundations, civil rights groups, labor unions, corporations or a combination of all of these?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agger, Robert, "Independents and Party Identifiers: Characteristics and Behavior in 1952," in Eugene Burdick and Arthur G. Brodbeck, eds., "American Voting Behavior," The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1959.

Banfield, Edward C., and Wilson, James Q., "City Politics," Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 159-161.

Banfield, Edward C., "Atlanta: Strange Bedfellows," in "Big City Politics," New York.

Banfield, Edward C., and Wilson, James Q., "City Politics," Cambridge, Mass., 1963.

Berelson, Bernard, Lazarsfeld, Paul F., and McPhee, William N., "Voting," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1954.

Brown, Leonard, and Glenn, Norval D., "Transformation of the Negro American," Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., New York, 1965.

Campbell, Angus, et al., "The American Voter," John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1960, p. 453.

Clark, Kenneth B., "The Power Structure of the Ghetto," Chapter 7 in "Dark Ghetto," Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., New York, 1965, pp. 154-198.

Clubok, Alfred B., Degrove, John M., and Farris, Charles D., "The Manipulated Negro Vote: Some Pre-Conditions and Consequences," Journal of Politics, Vol. 26, February 1964, pp. 112-129.

"Commentary," February 1965, pp. 25-31.

Downs, Anthony, "An Economic Theory of Democracy," New York, 1957.

Fleming, G. James, "The Negro In American Politics: The Past," pp. 414-480, in American Negro Reference Book.

Froman, Lewis A., Jr., "Congressmen and Their Constituencies," Rand McNally, Chicago, 1963, p. 93.

Ginzberg, Eli, "The Negro Potential," Columbia University Press, New York, 1956.

Glantz, Oscar, "The Negro Voter in Northern Industrial Cities," Western Political Quarterly, XIII, December 1960, 1004.

Glazer, Nathan, "Negroes and Jews: The New Challenge to Pluralism," Commentary, December 1964, p. 34.

Gosnell, Harold F., "Negro Politicians," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1935, p. 34.

Gosnell, Harold F., and Martin, Robert E., "The Negro as a Voter and Officeholder," Journal of Negro Education, XXXII, Fall, 1963, pp. 420-421.

Hacker, Andrew, "Congressional Districting," Washington, D. C., 1963, pp. 87-91.

Holloway, Henry, "The Negro and the Vote: The Case of Texas," Journal of Politics, Vol. 23, August 1961, pp. 526-556.

Hope, John II, and Shelton, Edward E., "The Negro in the Federal Government," Journal of Negro Education, XXXII, Fall, 1963, p. 370.

Hyman, Herbert B., and Sheatsley, Paul B., "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," Scientific American, July 1964, pp. 16-23.

Jennings, M. Kent, and Zeigler, L. Harmon, "A Moderate's Victory in a Southern Congressional District," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 28, Winter 1964, pp. 595-603.

Lane, Robert E., "Political Life," The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1959, pp. 45-52.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, "Political Man," Garden City, N. Y., 1960, pp. 84-85.

Matthews, Donald R., and Prothro, James W., "Social and Economic Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South," American Political Science Review, Vol. 57, March 1963, pp. 36-38.

Matthews, Donald R., and Prothro, James W., "Negro Political Participation in the South," New York.

Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, and Wilson, James Q., "Patronage in New York State: 1955-1959," American Political Science Review LVIII, June 1964, pp. 286-301.

Myrdal, Gunar, "An American Dilemma," Harper & Brothers, 1944, p. 496.

Price, H. Douglas, "The Negro and Southern Politics: A Chapter of Florida History," New York, 1957.

Reichley, James, "The Art of Government Reform and Organization Politics in Philadelphia," New York, 1959.

Ripon Society, "Election '64," a report, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, p. 29.

Scammon, Richard H., "How the Negroes Voted," New Republic, November 21, 1960, pp. 8-9.

Seasholes, Bradbury, and Cleaveland, Frederic N., "Negro Political Participation in Two Piedmont Crescent Cities," in F. Stuart Chapin and Shirley F. Weiss, eds., "Urban Growth Dynamics," New York, 1962, pp. 265-270.

Silberman, Charles, "The Crisis in Black and White," New York, 1964.

The New York Times, December 23, 1964, quoting the Democratic National Committee.

Thompson, Daniel C., "The Negro Leadership Class," Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1963, pp. 112-114.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Tumin, Melvin M., "Desegregation," Princeton, N. J., 1958.

United States Commission on Civil Rights, "1961 Report," Book 1, Part 3.

United States Commission on Civil Rights, "1963 Report."

United States Commission on Civil Rights, "1965 Report."

Walker, Jack, "Negro Voting in Atlanta: 1953-1961," Phylon, Vol. 24, Winter 1963, pp. 379-387.

Weyl, Nathaniel, "Our Darkening Cities," Chapter 24 in "The Negro American Civilization," Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1960, pp. 303-315.

Wilson, James Q., "The Negro In American Politics: The Present," pp. 431-457, in American Negro Reference Book.

Wilson, James Q., "Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership," The Free Press, 1959, Glencoe, Ill., pp. 22-23, 50-51.

Wilson, James Q., "Two Negro Politicians: An Interpretation," Midwest Journal of Political Science, November 1960, pp. 346-369.

Wilson, James Q., "The Changing Political Position of the Negro," in Arnold M. Rose, ed., "Assuring Freedom to the Free," Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1964, pp. 163-184.

Wilson, James Q., and Moon, Henry Lee, "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote," Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1948.

Wilson, James Q., and Banfield, Edward C., "Public-Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting," American Political Science Review, Vol. 58, December 1964, pp. 876-887.

Wilson, James Q., "Negro Politics," New York, 1960.

Wilson, James Q., "The Amateur Democrat," Chicago, 1962.

Woodward, C. Vann, "The Strange Career of Jim Crow," New York, 1957, pp. 38-47, 60-66.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING

State or other jurisdiction	Minimum age	U. S. citizen	Residence in State	Residence in County	Residence in District	Literacy test
Alabama	21	★	2 yrs. (e)	1 yr.	3 mo.	....
Alaska	19	★	1 yr.	......	30 da.	(c)
Arizona	21	★	1 yr. (e)	30 da.	30 da.	★
Arkansas	21	★	12 mo.	6 mo.	1 mo.	....
California	21	(g)	1 yr. (e)	90 da.	54 da.	★
Colorado	21	★	1 yr. (e)	90 da.	15 da. (h)	....
Connecticut	21	★	1 yr. (e)	......	6 mo.	★
Delaware	21	★	1 yr.	3 mo.	30 da.	★
Florida	21	★	1 yr.	6 mo.	......	....
Georgia	18	★	1 yr.	6 mo.	......	(j)
Hawaii	20	★	1 yr.	......	3 mo.	★ (k)
Idaho	21	★	6 mo. (e)	30 da.	......	....
Illinois	21	★	1 yr. (e)	90 da.	30 da.	....
Indiana	21	★	6 mo.	60 da. (m)	30 da.	....
Iowa	21	★	6 mo.	60 da.	10 da.	....
Kansas	21	★	6 mo. (e)	30 da. (m)	30 da.	....
Kentucky	18	★	1 yr.	6 mo.	60 da.	....
Louisiana	21	★	1 yr.	1 yr.	3 mo. (n)	★
Maine	21	★	6 mo. (e)	3 mo.	3 mo.	★
Maryland	21	★	1 yr.	6 mo.	6 mo.	....
Massachusetts	21	★	1 yr.	......	6 mo. (o)	★
Michigan	21	★	6 mo.	......	30 da.	....
Minnesota	21	(g)	6 mo.	......	......	....
Mississippi	21	★	2 yrs.	......	1 yr. (q)	★
Missouri	21	★	1 yr. (e)	60 da.	60 da.	....
Montana	21	★	1 yr.	30 da.	......	....
Nebraska	21	★	6 mo. (e)	40 da.	10 da.	....
Nevada	21	★	6 mo.	30 da.	10 da.	....
New Hampshire	21	★	6 mo.	......	6 mo.	★
New Jersey	21	★	6 mo. (e)	60 da.	......	....
New Mexico	21	★	12 mo.	90 da.	30 da.	....
New York	21	(g)	1 yr.	4 mo.	30 da.	(s)
North Carolina	21	★	1 yr.	......	30 da.	★
North Dakota	21	★	1 yr.	90 da.	30 da.	....
Ohio	21	★	1 yr. (e)	40 da.	40 da.	....
Oklahoma	21	★	1 yr.	6 mo.	30 da.	....
Oregon	21	★	6 mo. (e)	......	30 da.	★
Pennsylvania	21	★	1 yr. (t)	......	60 da. (u)	....
Rhode Island	21	★	1 yr.	......	6 mo.	....
South Carolina	21	★	1 yr. (v)	6 mo.	3 mo.	(w)
South Dakota	21	★	1 yr.	90 da. (x)	30 da. (x)	....
Tennessee	21	★	12 mo.	3 mo.	......	....
Texas	21	★	1 yr.	6 mo.	6 mo.	....
Utah	21	(g)	1 yr.	4 mo.	60 da.	....
Vermont	21	★	1 yr.	......	3 mo. (m)	....
Virginia	21	★	1 yr.	6 mo.	30 da.	★
Washington	21	★	1 yr.	90 da.	30 da.	★
West Virginia	21	★	1 yr.	60 da.	......	....
Wisconsin	21	★	1 yr. (e)	......	10 da.	....
Wyoming	21	★	1 yr.	60 da.	10 da.	★
Guam	18		2 yrs.	......	90 da. (ac)	....
Puerto Rico	21		1 yr.	......	1 yr.	....
Virgin Islands	21	★	1 yr.	......	60 da.	★

NOTE: No state has property qualifications for voting in a general election. Some states have property qualifications for voting on bond issues or special assessments.

With ratification of the 24th amendment to the United States Constitution in January, 1964, the poll tax is now prohibited as a requirement for voting in national elections. At the time of ratification, states requiring the poll tax qualification for voting were: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

(a) All states which have permanent registration, except Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Maine, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Oregon and South Dakota, make it subject to cancellation for failure to vote at certain specified intervals.

(b) Registration is permanent unless removed for cause.

(c) Must be able to read or speak the English language.

(d) Municipal election.

(e) Special residence qualifications for voting in presidential elections, by residents who have not lived in the state long enough prior to a national election to meet the regular residence requirement: Alabama, 1 year in state, 6 months in county, 3 months in district; Arizona, no residence requirement; California, 54 days; Colorado, 6 months; Connecticut, 60 days in state and town; Idaho, 60 days; Illinois, 60 days; Kansas, 45 days in ward or township; Maine, no residence requirement; Missouri, 60 days; Nebraska, no residence requirement; New Jersey, 40 days in state and county; Ohio, Oregon and Wisconsin, no residence requirement.

(f) Except for irrigation district elections.

(g) Must have been citizen 90 days.

(h) City or town, 30 days.

(i) All except certain minor elections.

(j) Under 1958 Registration Act, a person must read and write section of Constitution in order to register. If unable to do this (unless physically disabled) he must answer 20 of 30 questions prescribed in act.

(k) English or Hawaiian language, except for physically disabled.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING—Continued

Registration: Type: Permanent(a): All areas	Registration: Type: Permanent(a): Some areas	Registration: Type: Periodic: All areas	Registration: Type: Periodic: Some areas	Registration: Type: Periodic: Frequency	Registration: Coverage: All elections	Registration: Coverage: Some elections	State or other jurisdiction
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Alabama
....	★	....	....	....	(d)	....	Alaska
★	....	....	....	....	(i)	....	Arizona
....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Arkansas
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	California
★	....	....	....	....	....	(i)	Colorado
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Connecticut
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Delaware
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Florida
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Georgia
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Hawaii
★	....	....	....	....	★	(l)	Idaho
★	....	....	....	....	....	(l)	Illinois
★	....	....	....	....	....	(i)	Indiana
....	★	....	★	4 years	....	(i)	Iowa
....	★	....	★	....	★	....	Kansas
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Kentucky
....	★	....	★	4 years	★	....	Louisiana
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Maine
....	★	....	★	....	★	....	Maryland
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Massachusetts
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Michigan
....	★	....	★	....	(i)	....	Minnesota
★(s)	....	....	....	....	★(r)	....	Mississippi
....	★	....	★	4 years	★	....	Missouri
★	....	....	....	....	....	(i)	Montana
....	★	....	....	....	....	(i)	Nebraska
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Nevada
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	New Hampshire
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	New Jersey
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	New Mexico
....	★	....	★	Annual	....	★	New York
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	North Carolina
....	....	....	....	....	....	....	North Dakota
....	★	....	★	....	★	....	Ohio
★	....	....	....	....	(p)	....	Oklahoma
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Oregon
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Pennsylvania
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Rhode Island
....	....	★	....	Decennial	★	....	South Carolina
★	....	....	....	....	....	★	South Dakota
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Tennessee
(y)	(y)	(y)	(y)	Annual	★	....	Texas
★	....	....	....	....	....	(i)	Utah
....	....	★	....	Every elec.	....	★	Vermont
(z)	....	....	....	....	★	....	Virginia
★	....	....	....	....	(aa)	....	Washington
★	....	....	....	....	(ab)	....	West Virginia
....	★	....	....	....	★	....	Wisconsin
....	....	★	....	Every gen. elec.	....	★	Wyoming
★	....	....	....	....	★(r)	....	Guam
★	....	....	....	....	★	....	Puerto Rico
....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Virgin Islands

For all state and federal elections.

Township.

Municipality, four months.

In city or town.

Except school district elections.

Ministers of the Gospel and their wives may vote after 6 months residence.

Registration is for all elections of state and county, but must be registered in municipality also to vote in municipal elections.

A person who became entitled to vote after January 1, [illegible], must be able, except for physical disability, to read and write English.

Six months if previously an elector or native of the state.

Persons who are qualified to vote in an election district prior to moving and who move within 60 days preceding an election may vote in the election district from which they move.

(v) Ministers of the Gospel, teachers in public schools, and their spouses may vote after 6 months' residence.

(w) Reregister every 10 years. Must read and write any section of the Constitution, or have paid all taxes on property owned and assessed at $300 or more.

(x) No elector who has changed his residence from one county or precinct to another loses his right to vote in his former county or precinct until he acquires voting residence in the new one.

(y) Constitution provides for registration in cities over 10,000, but a system of determining eligibility based on poll tax receipts and exemption certificates was used in lieu of registration.

(z) Except in some cities.

(aa) Except township elections.

(ab) All elections except special elections

(ac) [illegible]inct.

LIMITATIONS ON CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES IN THE STATES

State or other jurisdiction	Applies to		Filing of statements required				Required times for filing statements	Contributions by corporations prohibited	Contributions by unions prohibited	Contributions from other sources prohibited or limited‡	Restrictions on character of expenditures	Total expenditures by candidate limited	Amount spent in behalf of candidate limited
	Elections*	Candidates†	Campaign receipts by parties	Campaign receipts by candidates	Campaign disbursements by parties	Campaign disbursements by candidates							
Alabama	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	Yes	No	Yes	Within 15 days after a primary and within 30 days after a general election	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes(a)	No
Alaska	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	No	None	...	...	No	No	No	No
Arizona	P,G	Statewide, Sen. (b), Rep. (b)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Receipts and expenditures after election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes(c)	...
Arkansas	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	Yes	Corrupt practice pledge before, candidate expenses after election	...	...	No	No	Yes(d)	No
California	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	After election	No	No	Campaign contributions solicited or received from a licensee by an elective state officer issuing licenses	Yes	No	No
Colorado	P,G(e)	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 10 days after a primary and within 30 days after a general or special election	No	No	No	No	No	No
Connecticut	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	After election	Yes	No	Contributions by person under an assumed name	Yes	Yes	No(f)
Delaware	(g)	(g)	No	No	No	No	....	No	No	No	No	No	No
Florida	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Before and after election	Yes	No	Limit of $1,000 contribution from any one person; contributions prohibited from holders of horse or dog racing permits and licenses for sale of intoxicating beverages, operators of public utilities franchised or regulated by the state, or partners, officers, or directors of unincorporated or incorporated holders of such permits, licenses or franchises	Yes	No	No
Georgia	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	No	Within 20 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Guam	P,G	Statewide	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 15 days after election	No	No	No	...	...	...
Hawaii	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	Yes(h)	Yes	Within 20 days	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Idaho	P	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	Yes	Within 20 days after election	No	No	No	Yes	Yes(b)	No

Illinois	(g)	(g)	No	No	No	No	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Indiana	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	No	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Hawaii	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	Yes(i)	Yes	Within 20 days [illegible]						
Idaho		[illegible] Rep.	No	No	No	Yes	Within 20 days after election	No	No	No	Yes	Yes(h)	No
Illinois			No	No	No	No		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Indiana	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after election	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	[illegible]
Iowa	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Candidates: within 30 days after election; parties: within 30 days after general election	Yes	No(j)	Funds donated by a nonresident person, firm, or corporation may not be used by any person or political organization for the purpose of conducting a campaign for political office	No	Yes	No
Kansas	P,G	Statewide	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	After election	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Kentucky	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	Yes	No	Yes	15 days before and 30 days after election	Yes	No	Persons with whom candidate must deal in his official capacity	Yes	Yes	Yes
Louisiana	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	No	None	Yes	No	All state and city classified employees; members of state and city civil service commissions; registrars of voters and employees; certain classified police and firemen; all municipal officers and employees operating under commission form of government	No	No	No
Maine	P,G	Statewide	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Preliminary report not less than 10 nor more than 15 days before election; final report within 30 days after election	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Maryland	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 20 days after election	Yes	No	[illegible] $2,500 contributions by any one not a candidate	Yes	Yes(k)	Yes
Massachusetts	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 14 days after primary; second Tuesday preceding general election and within 14 days after general election	Yes	No	By public officers or employees	Yes	No	No
Michigan	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	After election but before certification to office	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Minnesota	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8 days before and within 10 days following primary; 8 days before and 10 days following general election	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mississippi	P	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No(b)	Yes(b)	No(b)	Yes(b)	Contribution statements filed 1st and 15th each month of campaign	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Missouri	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
Montana	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Candidates, within 10 days after election; parties, within 15 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes(l)	No

U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

LIMITATIONS ON CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES IN THE STATES—Continued

State or other jurisdiction	Applies to: Elections*	Applies to: Candidates†	Filing of statements required: Campaign receipts by parties	Filing of statements required: Campaign receipts by candidates	Filing of statements required: Campaign disbursements by parties	Filing of statements required: Campaign disbursements by candidates	Required times for filing statements	Contributions by corporations prohibited	Contributions by unions prohibited	Contributions from other sources prohibited or limited‡	Restrictions on character of expenditures	Total expenditures by candidate limited	Amount spent in behalf of candidate limited
Nebraska	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	After election	Yes	Only if union is a corpotion	No	Yes	No	No
Nevada	(g)	(g)	No	No	No	No	....	No	No	No	No	No	No
New Hampshire	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	First statement Wednesday (6 days) before; second one Friday (10 days) after election (m)	Yes	Yes	Any partnership as such or any partner acting in behalf of such partnership; any person employed in the classified service of the state; a personal contribution in excess of $5,000 except by candidate himself; or a contribution if made anonymously, or in guise of a loan, or concealed, or without knowledge of candidate or his agents or political committee	Yes	Yes(n)	Yes
New Jersey	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Friday or Saturday before and 20 days after election	Yes(i)	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
New Mexico	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Candidates, within 10 days after election; parties, within 30 days after election	No	No	No money of political party may be spent on behalf of primary candidate	No	Yes(o)	No
New York	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Before and after elections	Yes	No	Contributions by owners of polling places barred	No	Yes	Yes
North Carolina	(g)	(g)	Yes	Yes	Yes (in general elections)	Yes	Before and after elections	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
North Dakota	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	Yes	15 days after elections	Yes	No	A contribution made or received under other than the donor's own name	Yes	Yes(p)	Yes
Ohio	P,G	Statewide, Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	By 4:00 p.m. 45th day after election	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Oklahoma	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Candidates within 15 days after any election; party campaign committees within 10 days after any general election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Oregon	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	15 days after election	(q)	No	....	Yes	Yes(l,r)	No
Pennsylvania	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after each primary and general election	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No

Oregon......	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Within 30 days after	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]											
Puerto Rico	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	No	[illegible] to the amount of $300 in an election year, and $[illegible]00 in other years		No	No
Rhode Island..	(g)	(g)	No corrupt practices act (t)			...	....	...	...	....	...	...	...
South Carolina	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	Yes	Before elections	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
South Dakota.	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after elections	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes(u)	Yes
Tennessee.....	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	Yes	Yes	Candidate's statement 5 to 10 days before convention or election; manager's within 30 days after	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Texas.........	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	Yes	No	Yes	Before and after elections	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Utah..........	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	2nd Sat. after 1st disbursement; 2nd Sat. each calendar month thereafter; Sat. preceding any primary or election	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Vermont......	P	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	Yes	Within 10 days after primary	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Virginia.......	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	...	...	...	Yes	Within 30 days after election, caucus, convention or primary election	...	...	No	Yes	Yes	...
Washington...	P	Statewide (v) Sen., Rep.	No	Yes	No	Yes	After primary [illegible]		No	No	No	No	
West Virginia.	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Before and after elections		No	No	Yes	Yes	
Wisconsin.....	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	[illegible] preceding primary or election; Sat. following primary or election		No	Contributions by cooperative associations	Yes	Yes	
Wyoming.....	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 20 days after election	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes(w)	Y[illegible]

---

*P—primary election; G—general election.

†The abbreviations Sen. and Rep. in this column stand for United States Senator and United States Representative.

‡This column only shows prohibitions and restrictions on sources and limitations on amounts of contributions. It does not include procedural limitations such as prohibitions on making gifts directly to candidates shortly before elections.

(a) Newspaper and radio advertising exempt.

(b) Only in primary election.

(c) Expenditures limited at primary election, exclusive of money expended for stationery, postage, printing and advertisements in newspapers, motion pictures, radio and television broadcasts, outdoor advertising signs, and necessary personal, traveling or subsistence expenses.

(d) Travel and hotel expenses of candidate exempted.

(e) Also applies to special elections to fill vacancies in U. S. Congress.

(f) If spent by independent political committee.

(g) No limitation.

(h) By agent or committee acting for or on behalf of any candidate.

(i) Illinois: by insurance corporations only; New Jersey: by public utilities, banks and insurance corporations.

(j) State statute prohibits contribution only if union is a corporation.

(k) Postage, telegrams, telephoning, stationery, printing, advertising, radio and television programs, publishing, expressage, travel and board exempted.

(l) Expenditures of relatives and associates deemed to be those of candidate himself.

(m) Candidates for State Senator or Representative to the General Court who have expended a sum in excess of $200 are required to file second statement only (not later than second Friday after primary or election).

(n) Candidate's contribution to the state committee, his filing fee, personal travel and subsistence expenses, or services of his regular employees in discharging duties of a public office, are exempt.

(o) Exclusive of sums expended for necessary personal, traveling or subsistence expenses. No limit for candidate for State Representative in primary election.

(p) Expenses for personal travel and printing in state publicity pamphlet exempted.

(q) Certain corporations only.

(r) Primary election: 15 per cent of 1 year's compensation or salary of office for which candidate; General election: 10 per cent of 1 year's compensation or salary for which candidate. Not restricted to less than $250.

(s) Act No. 110, 1957, created an electoral fund against which each principal political party in the commonwealth can draw up to $75,000 annually, or up to $150,000 in election years. The act enumerates the character of the expenditures which can be paid from the fund.

(t) Only restrictions are those imposed by federal statutes.

(u) Printing or circulation of written or printed matter exempted.

(v) Partisan primaries only.

(w) Traveling expenses exempted.

1966 ELECTION CALENDAR

Elections for Governor, Senator, U.S. House

GENERAL ELECTION - ALL STATES - NOVEMBER 8

STATE	PRIMARY DATE *(a)*	FILING DEADLINE	STATE PARTY CONVENTIONS *(b)*	U.S. SENATORS TERMS EXPIRE	GOVERNORS TERMS EXPIRE	U.S. HOUSE SEATS (All Up)	CURRENT LINEUP U.S. HOUSE SEATS
Alabama	D-May 3/May 31	March 1	R-June	Sparkman (D)	Wallace (D)#	8	3-D; 5-R
Alaska	Aug. 9 *(c)*	May 1		Bartlett (D)	Egan (D)	1	1-D
Arizona	Sept. 13	July 14			Goddard (D)	3	2-D; 1-R
Arkansas	July 26/Aug. 9	April 27		McClellan (D)	Faubus (D)	4	4-D
California	June 7 *(c)*	March 25			Brown (D)	38	23-D; 15-R
Colorado	Sept. 13 *(d)*	July 30 *(d)*	July ((*d*)	Allott (R)	Love (R)	4	4-D
Connecticut	*(e)*	*(e)*	June *(e)*		Dempsey (D)	6	6-D
Delaware	*(f)*	*(f)*	Aug. *(f)*	Boggs (R)		1	1-D
Florida	May 3/May 24	March 1			Burns (D)	12	10-D; 2-R
Georgia	Sept. 14/Sept. 28 *(c)*	July 31		Russell (D)	Sanders (D)#	10	9-D; 1-R
Hawaii	Oct. 1	Sept. 1			Burns (D)	2	2-D
Idaho	Aug. 2 *(e)*	May 7 *(e)*	June 10-11 *(e)*	Jordan (R)	Smylie (R)	2	1-D; 1-R
Illinois	June 14	March 28		Douglas (D)		24	13-D; 11-R
Indiana	May 3	*(Late March)*				11	6-D; 5-R
Iowa	Sept. 6 *(g)*	July 5 *(g)*	June *(g)*	Miller (R)	Hughes (D)	7	6-D; 1-R
Kansas	Aug. 2	June 20		Pearson (R)	Avery (R)	5	5-R
Kentucky	May 24	March 30		Cooper (R)		7	6-D; 1-R
Louisiana	Aug. 13/Sept. 17	June 8		Ellender (D)		8	8-D
Maine	June 20	April 1		Smith (R)	Reed (R)	2	1-D; 1-R
Maryland	Sept. 13	July 5			Tawes (D) #	8	6-D; 2-R
Massachusetts	Sept. 20 *(c,h)*	Aug. 2	June *(h)*	Saltonstall (R)	Volpe (R)	12	7-D; 5-R
Michigan	Aug. 2	June 14		McNamara (D)	Romney (R)	19	12-D; 7-R
Minnesota	Sept. 13	July 19		Mondale (D)	Rolvaag (D)	8	4-D; 4-R
Mississippi	June 7/June 28	April 8		Eastland (D)		5	4-D; 1-R
Missouri	Aug. 2	April 26				10	8-D; 2-R
Montana	Aug. 16	July 7		Metcalf (D)		2	1-D; 1-R
Nebraska	May 10	March 11		Curtis (R)	Morrison (D)	3	1-D; 2-R
Nevada	Sept. 6	July 20			Sawyer (D)	1	1-D
New Hampshire	Sept. 13	July 28		McIntyre (D)	King (D)	2	1-D; 1-R
New Jersey	June 1 *(c)*	April 22		Case (R)		15	11-D; 4-R
New Mexico	May 3 *(e)*	March 15 *(e)*	Before March 1 *(e)*	Anderson (D)	Campbell (D) #	2	2-D
New York	June 21 *(c,i)*	May 17 *(i)*	Before Aug. 3 *(i)*		Rockefeller (R)	41	27-D; 14-R
North Carolina	May 28/June 25	March 18		Jordan (D)		11	9-D; 2-R
North Dakota	Sept. 6 *(h)*	July 28 *(h)*	April *(h)*			2	1-D; 1-R
Ohio	May 3	Feb. 2			Rhodes (R)	24	10-D; 14-R
Oklahoma	May 3/May 24	March 4		Harris (D)	Bellmon (R) #	6	5-D; 1-R
Oregon	May 24	March 15		Neuberger (D)†	Hatfield (R) #	4	3-D; 1-R
Pennsylvania	May 17	March 8			Scranton (R) #	27	15-D; 12-R
Rhode Island	Sept. 13 *(j)*	June 30 *(j)*	Before July 2 *(j)*	Pell (D)	Chafee (R)	2	2-D
South Carolina	D-June 14/June 28	May 15	R-March	Russell (D)*, Thurmond (R)	McNair (D)	6	5-D; 1-R
South Dakota	June 7	April 23		Mundt (R)	Boe (R)	2	2-R
Tennessee	Aug. 4	June 6		Bass (D)	Clement (D) #	9	6-D; 3-R
Texas	May 7/June 4	Feb. 7		Tower (R)	Connally (D)	23	23-D
Utah	Sept. 13 *(k)*	May 10 *(k)*	June *(k)*			2	1-D; 1-R
Vermont	Sept. 13	Aug. 3			Hoff (D)	1	1-R
Virginia	D-July 12/Aug. 16	April 13	R-Before July 12	Robertson (D)		10	8-D; 2-R
Washington	Sept. 20	July 29				7	5-D; 2-R
West Virginia	May 10	Feb. 5		Randolph (D)		5	4-D; 1-R
Wisconsin	Sept. 13 *(l)*	July 12 *(l)*	May *(l)*		Knowles (R)	10	5-D; 5-R
Wyoming	Aug. 16	July 6		Simpson (R)	Hansen (R)	1	1-D

(a) Where two dates are listed, first is regular primary and second is run-off primary. Run-offs required in these states when no candidate wins majority in first primary.

(b) Includes only conventions which nominate or recommend candidates for Governor, Senator or House. In states where convention dates have not yet been set, months in which conventions are customarily held are given.

(c) Date subject to change by the Legislature.

(d) Colorado -- Party conventions may designate one or more candidates who have priority position on primary ballot; nomination in primary.

(e) Connecticut, Idaho and New Mexico -- Nominations are made by party conventions. Any unsuccessful candidate for a nomination who receives at least 20 percent of the convention vote may, if he wishes, require the nomination to be settled in a primary. State conventions in Connecticut must be held between June 1 and July 15. District conventions nominate House candidates, usually in June.

(f) Delaware -- Nominations are made at party conventions.

(g) Iowa -- Under a newly adopted system, Democrats plan to endorse candidates in statewide convention prior to the filing deadline; nomination by primary. Republicans plan only to "encourage" some candidates and "discourage" others from entering primaries.

(h) Massachusetts and North Dakota -- Party conventions endorse only; nomination is in primary.

(i) New York -- Conventions nominate gubernatorial candidates; House nominees selected in primary.

(j) Rhode Island -- State Committees endorse only; nomination in primary.

(k) Utah -- State conventions designate names for ballot. If a candidate receives more than 80 percent of convention vote he is nominated. Otherwise, the top two runners in convention balloting are certified for the primary election.

(l) Wisconsin -- Republicans endorse statewide candidates in convention; nomination in primary.

* *Serving interim appointment*

# *Governors ineligible to succeed themselves*

† *Announced retirement*

Copyright 1965 by Congressional Quarterly, Inc. and reproduced with their permission.

Voting
General

III. VOTING AND CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION

Lunar Room, 4th Floor

Chief Consultants:

Wiley Branton
Special Assistant to the Attorney General

Sterling Tucker
Director, Washington Urban League

Co-Chairmen:

Richard Scammon
Governmental Affairs Institute
Washington, D. C.

Clarence Coleman
Director, Southeast Region, Urban League

Staff Aides:

Yvonne Bradley
D'Ette Looney
Edith Allen

VOTING

Official Observers

John W. Macy, Jr.
Chairman
Civil Service Commission
19th and E Streets, N.W.

John Doar
Assistant Attorney General
Department of Justice

A. Ross Eckler
Acting Director
Bureau of the Census
Suitland, Maryland

VOTING

Resource Consultants

Wilson Matthews
Director
Office of Hearing Examiners
Civil Service Commission
19th and E Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Howard Glickstein
General Counsel
Civil Rights Commission
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

VOTING

ARONSON, Arnold

CAMPBELL, Mrs. John

CLAY, William

COLEMAN, Clarence

COOK, Dr. Samuel Dubois

DAVIS, Edward

GOMILLION, Dr. Charles G.

**GOODWIN, Richard

GUYOT, Lawrence

**HATCHER, Richard

HENRY, Aaron

HILL, Jesse

JORDAN, Barbara

JORDAN, Vernon E., Jr.

LUCK, Dr. Herman David

McKISSICK, Floyd

**McLAIRN, Charles

MILES, Richard

MOON, Henry Lee

MOORE, Cecil

MOORE, Ronnie

PATTON, W.C.

RAMSEY, Claude

REUTHER, Roy L.

ROCHE, John

SCALES, Dr. James

SCAMMON, Richard M.

SPIKE, Robert

**STOKES, Carl

SUGARMON, Russell, Jr.

TYLER, Gus

WASHINGTON, Robert L.

WEIGHTMAN, Philip

**WILLIAMS, Hosea

WILSON, James Q.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATERIALS

1. Memorandum to Planning Session Participants, dated November 12, 1965, from Berl I. Bernhard, Executive Director.

2. Memorandum to Planning Session Participants from Voting and Citizenship Participation Committee Co-directors, dated November 12, 1965.

3. Agenda Paper #3, Voting and Citizenship Participation.

4. Pages 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29, tables reproduced from The Book Of The States, 1964-1965.

5. 1966 Election Calendar, reproduced from Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1965.

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.
CO-CHAIRMEN

BERL I. BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1800 G STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TEL: 737-9010

November 12, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Planning Session Participants

FROM: Berl I. Bernhard
Executive Director

We are delighted to learn that you have been able to accept the invitation to participate in the Planning Session for the White House Conference which will take place here in Washington on November 16-18.

Enclosed you will find material relevant to the session to which you will contribute. These statements are intended to be provocative rather than conclusive; the aim of the Planning Session is to explore all appropriate issues and points of view. Please review the statements and come prepared with substantive reactions in specific terms.

Our hope is that the Planning Session will sharpen the issues, and make recommendations in terms of constructive alternatives in preparation for the Spring Conference.

It is also our hope that these matters can be discussed without premature press treatment, and we ask you to keep the material within your own counsel until the Planning Session convenes. The working sessions at the Hilton will not be open to the press, but press briefings will be held.

For your convenience in receiving credentials and additional materials, you may register for the Planning Session any time after 2:00 p.m., November 16th, at Conference Headquarters, Washington Hilton Hotel.

We look forward to seeing you on the 16th.

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR
CO-CHAIRMEN
BERL I. BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1800 G STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TEL: 737-9010

November 12, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Planning Session Participants -
Voting and Citizenship Participation

FROM: Sterling Tucker and Wiley A. Branton
Committee Co-directors

RE: Agenda for Committee Discussions

We are pleased to learn of your acceptance of the invitation to attend the Planning Session of the White House Conference and look forward to greeting you at the reception at 8 p.m. next Tuesday.

Following an opening general session on Wednesday morning, the various committees will meet separately. Our Committee has been designated VOTING AND CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION. The enclosed agenda paper is submitted to stimulate your thinking on specific proposals for enhancing citizenship participation among Negroes by the Government (federal, state and local) and by political parties, civil rights organizations and private groups. While we feel that the issues and problems which this Committee will be dealing with are pretty clear and that what we need are proposals for solution, nevertheless, we want you to feel entirely free to raise the problems if they are not clear.

The agenda paper is only a guide, and we look to you for full participation and discussion for realistic proposals as well as bold and imaginative ideas for coping with the problems of citizenship participation. Additional materials will be distributed at the Planning Session.

We are of the opinion that there is enough difference in the barriers which inhibit Negroes from full citizenship participation in the North from those in the South to justify splitting into two separate groups later in our discussion for consideration of the problems and proposals on a regional basis.

PLEASE CHECK YOUR MAIL BOX AND CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS AT THE HOTEL FOR ANY LAST MINUTE INSTRUCTIONS OR MATERIALS.

# PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

WORK GROUP ON HEALTH AND WELFARE
Mr. Lisle C. Carter, Director

AGENDA PAPER #4
HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES
Dr. John Turner and Mrs. Cernoria Johnson

The purpose of our deliberations is threefold: (a) To identify the major problems and issues in the areas of health and welfare that affect Negroes; (b) To raise critical questions which emerge from such problems; (c) To suggest a number of alternative recommendations for public policy and strategy that have both short and long-range potential for resolving these problems.

The fundamental question before this session of the conference is: How should health and welfare services be mobilized, supported, organized, and delivered if they are to contribute effectively to equalizing opportunities between Negroes and whites for achieving the best in American life.

I. Basic Income Maintenance

A. Should Federally supported basic income maintenance be a goal of public policy? If so,

1. For what people should public funds be utilized to assure subsistence at a level of decency?

(a) Should income maintenance be a matter of right for all who meet specified conditions? If so, what conditions? If not, what are the alternatives?

(b) Should there be variations in what is considered "subsistence at a level of decency" which depend on factors other than a definition of "decency"?

2. How should public income maintenance funds be distributed to achieve maximum effectiveness?

3. What are the implications for families and individuals of various methods of effecting income maintenance, including family allowances, public assistance, temporary and permanent disability payments, negative income tax, guaranteed annual income, social insurance and other retirement benefits, and unemployment insurance? Among the foregoing methods, what modifications must be achieved if existing programs are to be most effective?

B. What are some of the major obstacles to achieving desirable and equitable forms of income maintenance? For example:

(a) Public attitudes toward people who are economically dependent.

(b) Fear of too much involvement by the Federal government and of the diminution of State's rights.

What are the strategies that should be used to overcome these obstacles and bring about desirable income maintenance programs?

C. What can be done in the short-run to bring public assistance standards in all states to a uniform level of decency?

1. What should be done to insure that place of residence in no way affects either the baseline by which "minimum subsistence" welfare grants are determined and paid to families and individuals, or affects the availability of supportive social welfare services? What must be done to stimulate a total redesigning of Federal-state relations so as to wipe out current severe inequities among the states, many of which have only partially drawn on available Federal matching potential for either grants or services?

2. What should be done to assure that public assistance grants are based on financial need alone, with no discrimination against adults who are not aged, seriously disabled, blind, or parents of minor children?

3. What policies and practices should be adopted by welfare agencies to assure that (a) welfare clients can live in housing that is decent, safe, sanitary; (b) there is no racial discrimination in housing which is subsidized by public funds; and (c) that public funds do not support sub-standard housing?

II. Organization and Delivery of Health and Welfare Services

A. To what extent are the existing Negro-White differentials in welfare financial grants and in the provision of welfare services, the product of the present system of Federal-state-and -local programs?

   1. Does the system tend to increase the dependency of Negro families?

B. Is it desirable to continue the present system wherein public assistance agencies unify the provision of cash grants and of health and welfare services? Is it possible for anyone whose survival depends on public assistance cash grants--90% of which are given under investigatory surveillance--to make use of counselling and other social services, provided by the same worker in the agency? What chance has a grantee of talking with a worker in a straightforward, non-servile manner? What are the disadvantages of structural separation of the money eligibility process and the social service functions?

C. To what extent do existing Negro-white differentials in health status reflect differences in access to health and medical services, and to what extent do they reflect other circumstances of Negro life, including unequal opportunities for decent housing, education, and income?

D. To the extent that these differentials reflect differential access to high quality services, what must be done to make these services available and accessible?

   1. What are the forms that racial discrimination takes in the provision of health and welfare services?

      a. What services are totally unavailable to Negroes?

      b. What services are inferior--in the nature of the service or in the circumstances under which the services are provided--when they are rendered to Negroes?

c. What services are available to Negroes and whites under different auspices or circumstances (e.g., voluntary agencies which provide certain services to whites and refer Negroes to public agencies; differential requirements for hospital admittance between Negroes and whites).

d. What policies and practices do public and voluntary agencies pursue that perpetuate discrimination (e.g., racially-based differences in the granting of hospital privileges to physicians; physical segregation and segregation of caseloads, matching races of providers and recipients of service).

2. What can be done to eliminate racial segregation in the provision of health and welfare services?

3. What must be done to bring essential health and welfare services to sections of the country where they do not now exist, and in which large numbers of Negroes live?

. To what extent is the problem of making high quality health and welfare services available to Negroes dependent on public policy with regard to the availability of high quality health and welfare services for the poor, and the availability of high quality health and welfare services for all Americans?

1. Should distinctions in this regard be made between those services which are predicated on the existence of deprivation, and those which are needed by all?

2. How can the goals of accessibility, responsiveness, and personalization of services be attained without developing or maintaining separations between classes and races?

F. What should be done to assure that policies and practices of public and private agencies make unified and comprehensive health services readily available and accessible to individuals and families? Welfare services?

1. To what extent should services be integrated and coordinated to assure the most effective provision of service?

a. What mechanisms of coordination and integration are appropriate with regard to various types of services and agencies?

b. What should be the relationship between publicly financed health services and publicly financed welfare services?

2. What kinds of social and health services are most effectively rendered at the neighborhood level?

3. Is there a conflict between the goals of integrating all services needed by disadvantaged families ("one door" of entry) and providing certain services (e.g., health services) under auspices which serve all socio-economic groups?

4. How do existing governmental policies promote or deter the provision of unified and comprehensive health services? Of welfare services, including child welfare?

G. What changes are needed in policies and practices of private agencies and planning bodies relating to the expenditure of voluntary health and welfare funds? How can voluntary health and welfare agencies and planning councils set higher priorities on services that are oriented to the needs of poor people? How can private agencies be encouraged to change their methods of client selection to more effectively serve those whose need is greatest?

H. What are the implications of existing differentials in white-nonwhite fertility?

I. To the extent that these differentials reflect differential access to family planning services and information, what are the special considerations involved in making such services and information available?

1. What is the appropriate role of the following, in making high quality family planning services and information available: Official health agencies and institutions? Official welfare agencies? Voluntary agencies and institutions, including hospitals? Federal, state, and local governmental bodies?

2. What are the circumstances under which family planning information and services should be made available?

What must be done to assure that no form of compulsion or coercion is associated with the provision of family planning services and information?

3. What are the most effective ways to bring about needed action?

III. Making Services More Responsive to Client Needs

A. What must be done about the way health and welfare services are organized and delivered to make them more effective and responsive to meeting client needs?

   1. What changes are needed in the policies and practices of public and private health and welfare agencies to create a setting in which the recipients of services become "consumers", with some control over the circumstances of their own lives and, in particular, the circumstances under which they receive health and welfare services?

   2. What changes are needed in the relationship between the agency and the client so that the client can more effectively influence the nature of services received and the circumstances under which they are rendered?

   3. What changes are necessary in the way professional and non-professional manpower is recruited, trained, and utilized?

      a. How can agencies be encouraged to reassess and redefine their tasks to delineate those areas where professionals can function most effectively and those in which trained non-professionals would function most appropriately and effectively?

      b. In the provision of services, how can agencies be encouraged to employ (in the provision of services) the poor and others who traditionally have been regarded primarily in the role of passive recipients of services?

      c. What changes need to be made in the education, recruitment and assignment of professionals (social workers, nurses, doctors, etc.) to make them more effective in meeting the needs of those served?

d. What is needed to stimulate and develop active efforts to encourage and support the recruitment, education, on-the-job training, and use of Negroes on jobs with promotional promise in the human service occupations?

4. Would the needs of clients be more effectively met if they were represented by client "advocates" or client "agents"? Can these roles best be filled by trained non-professionals, social workers, lawyers, others? Under whose auspices should these "advocates" work?

B. What changes are needed in Federal legislation and policies governing the expenditure of Federal funds to make services more effective and responsive to clients needs?

IV. Methods to Bring About Needed Action

A. What priorities should be assigned to various proposals for short term and long term action?

B. What additional information is needed in order to provide the basis for immediate planning and action?

C. What action should be taken by

1. Local Groups of Users of Health and Welfare Services?

2. The Federal government?

3. State and local governments?

4. Professional organizations?

5. Industry?

6. Community Action Agencies?

7. Organized labor?

8. Groups of "opinion makers"?

Health
General

BIBLIOGRAPHY MATERIAL

Health and Welfare

1. Mr. Berl I. Berhnard's memorandum to Planning Session Participants dated November 12, 1965.

2. Mr. Lisle C. Carter, Jr. memorandum to Planning Session Participants dated November 12, 1965.

3. Agenda Paper #4 - Health and Welfare Services, Dr. John Turner and Mrs. Cernoria Johnson.

4. Paper on "New Possibilities: Services, Representation and Careers" prepared by Dr. Frank Riessman.

5. "The Civil Rights Act of 1964" - U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of the Under Secretary - August 1964.

6. Title 45--Public Welfare, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare - December 4, 1965, "Part 80-Nondiscrimination in Federally-Assisted Programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare-Effectuation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

7. "Equal Opportunity in Hospitals and Health Facilities - Civil Rights Policies Under the Hill-Burton Program," - U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, dated March 1965.

8. "Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty," by Mollie Orshansky, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

9. "Welfare and Child Health Provisions of the "Medicare" Act," U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.
CO-CHAIRMEN
BERL I. BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1800 G STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TEL: 737-9010

November 12, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Planning Session Participants

FROM: Berl I. Bernhard
Executive Director

We are delighted to learn that you have been able to accept the invitation to participate in the Planning Session for the White House Conference which will take place here in Washington on November 16-18.

Enclosed you will find material relevant to the session to which you will contribute. These statements are intended to be provocative rather than conclusive; the aim of the Planning Session is to explore all appropriate issues and points of view. Please review the statements and come prepared with substantive reactions in specific terms.

Our hope is that the Planning Session will sharpen the issues, and make recommendations in terms of constructive alternatives in preparation for the Spring Conference.

It is also our hope that these matters can be discussed without premature press treatment, and we ask you to keep the material within your own counsel until the Planning Session convenes. The working sessions at the Hilton will not be open to the press, but press briefings will be held.

For your convenience in receiving credentials and additional materials, you may register for the Planning Session any time after 2:00 p.m., November 16th, at Conference Headquarters, Washington Hilton Hotel.

We look forward to seeing you on the 16th.

Planning Session For
The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"

A. Philip Randolph
Honorary Chairman
Morris B Abram
William T Coleman, Jr
Co-Chairmen
Berl I. Bernhard
Executive Director

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

November 12, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Planning Session Participants

FROM: Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
Work Group Director
Work Group on Health and Welfare

We are very pleased that you have agreed on such short notice to participate in the Work Group on Health and Welfare. We have been fortunate to secure participation by a number of persons knowledgeable and experienced in the elds of health, welfare, and civil rights.

The first order of business will be to review the proposed agenda for possible additions and deletions. It is hoped that discussion of facts and issues will serve as a basis for the development of specific, and possibly alternate, proposals and of recommendations for putting them into effect. It should be clear that the proposed agenda is intended to be suggestive and that it will be the responsibility of the participants at the planning session to determine finally how best to accomplish these stated goals.

In addition to the agenda paper, we are enclosing a paper by Dr. Frank Riessman prepared especially for the Planning Session. Also enclosed are other relevant materials, some of which may already be familiar to you.

Other papers and materials will be available at the Planning Session.

nclosures

IV. HEALTH AND WELFARE
Jupiter Room, 6th Floor

Chief Consultant:	Lisle Carter Assistant Director for Interagency Relations Office of Economic Opportunity
Co-Chairmen:	James Dumpson Professor of Social Work Hunter College, New York
	Whitney Young Director, National Urban League
Staff Consultants:	Mrs. Cernoria Johnson Director, Washington Bureau National Urban League (staff reporter)
	Miss Elizabeth Bamberger Acting Chief of Health Programs Division Community Action Programs (staff reporter) Office of Economic Opportunity
Staff Aides:	Vicky Stephens Edna Hopkins

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Official Observers

Dr. William H. Stewart
Surgeon General
Public Health Service
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Dr. Ellen Winston
Commissioner of Welfare
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Wilbur J. Cohen
Under Secretary of Health,
Education and Welfare
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Philip Lee
Assistant Secretary of Health and
Scientific Affairs
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Shelton B. Granger
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Dr. Julius Richmond
Director, Project Head Start
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N.W.

Sanford Kravitz
Director
Program Development Division, CAP
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N.W.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Research Consultants

Dr. Arthur Lesser
Deputy Chief
Children's Bureau
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

John J. Hurley
Deputy Director
Bureau of Family Services,
Welfare Administration
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Dr. Richard Smith
Public Health Officer
Office of Surgeon General
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Annie Lee Sandusky
Chief, Child Welfare Branch
Children's Bureau
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Edgar May
Assistant Director
Office of Inspection
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N.W.

Walter Lewis
Director, Federal Programs
Civil Rights Commission
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

ABERNATHY, Ralph Rev.

BAUMGARTNER, Dr. Leona

**BERRY, Margaret E.

BRANCH, Stanley

BOONE, Richard

CLEMENT, Dr. Kenneth W.

CORCORAN, Monsignor Lawrence

**CORNELY, Dr. Paul

**CRUIKSHANK, Nelson H.

DANSTEDT, Rudolph

DELLA QUADRI, Dr. Fred

DEVINE, Anne

**DORSON, Professor Norman

DUMPSON, James R.

FAUNTROY, Rev. Walter

FORTUNE, Dr. Hilda

GARMAN, Betty

HAUGHTON, James G., M.D.

HAYES, Ralphus

HILLIARD, Raymond M.

**JAMES, Dr. Grace

JONES, Jeweldean

LARSON, Marvin

LAWS, Clarence A.

LINDSAY, Dr. Inabel Burns

POUSSAINT, Dr. Alvin

RABY, Al

RIESSMAN, Frank

ROBINSON, William H.

SCHWARTZ, Edward Edgar

SIEGMAN, Rabbi Henry

**SENGSTACKE, John H.

**TAYLOR, Dr. Christopher

TURNER, Dr. John B.

**WEGMAN, Dr. Myron

**WICKENDEN, Miss Elizabeth

WILKINS, Mrs. Aminda

**WILLEN, Mrs. Pearl

# PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER #8
EDUCATION
Dr. Kenneth Clark

THE SCHOOL AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: AIMS AND ISSUES

Wednesday Morning Session

1. The Current School Desegregation Picture

What are the salient developments and trends?

in northern urban communities?
in southern urban communities?
in southern rural communities?
in border communities - rural and urban?

What are the developments and trends in higher education, technical and professional training?

What are some of the constants and what are some of the variants?

What are the implications of these for social policy?

2. The Current Role of Government

What specific role is government playing in the school desegregation process?

the federal government?
the state government?
the local government?

What about compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

3. Immediate and Specific Desegregation Needs

What is the most important thing that can be done now?

by the government - federal, state, local?
by the community or designated parts of it?
by individual citizens?

Wednesday Afternoon Session

Some Specific School Desegregation Issues

1. What should be done, if anything, about the practice and concept of:

   neighborhood school patterns?

   open enrollment, freedom of choice, and other voluntary transfer plans?

   the Princeton plan and other forms of pairing?

   rezoning and changing feeder patterns?

   4-4-4 plan?

   tracking and other efforts at ability pairing?

2. What should be done, that is not being done, about:

   the displacement of Negro teachers in some areas?

   the intimidation of Negro parents in some areas?

   requiring or encouraging suburban school systems to help meet the educational needs of central city children?

   broadening the base of participation in policy-making?

   increasing Negro and low-income representation in the staffing of education institutions?

   revising and adapting courses of study and methods of teaching, particularly in center city schools?

3. In view of existing and prospective programs of federal aid to education, what should be done to:

   assure that school construction funds are used to diminish rather than preserve or extend de facto segregation?

provide for a combination of desegregation and the high quality of faculty and instruction that will stabilize desegregated enrollment?

require as a precondition of aid the kind of metro planning for the school systems that will commit local policy and practice to the twin goals of desegregation and quality?

bring state law and policy into support of these goals?

THE SCHOOL AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: NEW TECHNIQUES AND PROGRAMS

Thursday Morning Session

Techniques and Programs - Current

1. School Enrichment Programs

What has been the experience, and what can be expected with reference to the various programs that operate at different age levels, such as:

the Great Cities type of program; the school as a center of neighborhood activities and services?

Child Development Centers (Head Start) and other preschool programs; cognitive and cultural programs?

Higher Horizons and special college preparatory programs designed to remediate or compensate?

the pairing of institutions of higher learning - e.g. Tuskegee Institute and the University of Michigan?

programs of exchange and cooperation - e.g. the Educational Improvement Project of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools?

What changes or innovations need to be made in current programs if they are to meet their objective of providing better training for all, and especially for the disadvantaged?

2. Training for the World of Work

What has been the experience, and what can be expected with reference to the various job-oriented programs, such as:

special vocational training?
remedial training and re-education?
training for non-professional careers?
vocational aspects of continuing education for adults?

What changes or innovations need to be made in job-oriented programs for which the public schools have some responsibility?

Thursday Afternoon Session

Techniques and Programs - Projected

1. What should the goals of educational planning be?

    selective rebuilding?
    reorganization on a large scale?

2. What are the priorities, time schedules, and means of implementation for the indicated changes and innovations in such areas as:

    teacher recruitment and training?

    administrative recruitment and training?

    the educational policy-making apparatus and process?

    the organization and distribution of schools - e.g. educational parks, consolidations?

3. How can popular support be mobilized for the changes and innovations in education necessary "to fulfill these rights"?

* * * * * *

AMERICAN EDUCATION TODAY: THE CASE FOR REORGANIZATION*

KENNETH B. CLARK

The Present Picture

It is now clear that American public education is organized and functions along social and economic class lines. A bi-racial public school system, wherein approximately 90 per cent of American children attend segregated schools, is one of the clearest manifestations of this fact. The difficulties encountered in attempting to desegregate public schools in the South as well as in the North point to the tenacity of the forces seeking to prevent any basic change in the system.

The class and social organization of American public schools consistently makes for a lower quality of education in the less privileged schools. The schools attended by Negro and poor children have less adequate educational facilities than those attended by more privileged children. Teachers tend to resist assignments in Negro and other underprivileged schools and generally function less adequately in these schools. Their morale is generally lower; they are not adequately supervised and they tend to see their students as less capable of learning. The parents of the children in these schools

*Prepared for the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"
November 16-18, 1965, Washington, D. C.

are usually unable to bring about any positive changes in the conditions of these schools.

The educational inefficiency which characterizes these schools results in:

1. marked and cumulative academic retardation in a disproportionately high percentage of the children who attend these schools; the process begins in the third or fourth grade and increases through the eighth grade;
2. a high percentage of dropouts in the junior and senior high schools; these students are characteristically unequipped academically and occupationally for a constructive role in society;
3. a pattern of rejection and despair and hopelessness resulting in massive human wastage.

Given these conditions, American public schools have helped to block economic mobility for some and have tended to intensify class distinctions in our society. To the extent they do this they are not fulfilling their historic function of facilitating mobility among Americans.

In effect, the public schools have become captives of the middle class in our society. The controlling middle class has not as a rule geared the schools' programs to aiding others to move into the middle class. It might even be possible to interpret the role of the controlling middle class in some school situations as that of using the public schools to block further mobility.

What are the implications of this existing educational anomaly? It is a serious question whether the Nation can afford the continuation of the wastage of human resources at this period of world history. We cannot conclusively demonstrate a relation between educational malfunctioning and other symptoms of personal and social pathology such as crime, delinquency, and urban decay, but there is strong suggestive evidence that these are correlates.

Increasing industrialization and automation of our economy will demand larger numbers of skilled and educated workers and fewer uneducated workers. The manpower needs of contemporary America require society to pay the added burden of re-educating the mis-educated. This is a double taxation. To the costs of inefficient public education should be added some of the costs of crime and family instability and some of the consequences of an artificial constriction of the labor and consumer market.

Beyond these material disadvantages are the human costs inherent in the thwarting of the demand for equality of educational opportunity. This thwarting contributes significantly to a cycle of socio-economic pathology--poor education, menial jobs, unemployment, family instability, group and personal powerlessness.

The obstacles which interfere with the attainment of efficient public education fall into many categories. Among those obstacles are those which reflect historical premises and dogmas about education, administrative realities, and psychological assumptions and prejudices.

The historical premises and dogmas include such notions as the inviolability of the Neighborhood School concept - a notion which might include the belief that schools should be economically and racially homogeneous.

In evaluating these historical premises as a basis for the reorganization of school systems to meet contemporary needs, one is required to determine as realistically as possible the relative advantages of neighborhood schools versus the disadvantages of racially homogeneous schools which are educationally inefficient.

The administrative barriers involve such problems as those incurred in the transportation of children from residential neighborhoods to other areas of the city. Here again the issue is one of the relative advantages of maintaining the educational status quo versus the gains that come from following the strong imperatives for change.

The residual psychological and intellectual biases take many forms and probably underlie the apparent inability of society to resolve many of the historical and administrative problems related to providing quality public education. Initially, the academic retardation of Negro children was explained in terms of their inherent racial inferiority. The existence of segregated schools was supported either by law or explained in terms of the existence of segregated neighborhoods. More recently, this justification of segregated schools by theories of racial inferiority and by tradition and law has given way to a more subtle rationale and basis for continued inefficient education. Among the examples of such rationalizations and support are the theories of "cultural deprivation" and the related beliefs and assertions that the culturally determined educational inferiority of Negro children will impair the ability of white children to learn if they are taught in the same classes. It is assumed that because of their background, Negro children and their parents are poorly motivated for academic achievement, and that these children will not only be unable to compete with white children but will also retard the educational development of the white children. The implicit, and at times explicit, assumption of the theories and programs stressing cultural deprivation is that the environmental deficits, which Negro children bring with them to school, make it difficult, if not impossible, for them to be educated either in racially homogeneous or racially heterogeneous schools. This point of view, intentionally or not, tends to support the pervasive rejection of Negro children and obscures and intensifies the basic problem of providing quality education for all.

There are more flagrant sources of opposition to effective desegregation of American public schools. White citizens groups in the South, parents and taxpayers groups in the North, and boards of education controlled by whites, who identify either overtly or covertly with the more vehement opposition to change, are examples of effective resistance. School officials and professional educators have defaulted in their educational responsibility for providing educational leadership. They have tended, for the most part, to go along with what they believe to be the level of community readiness and the "political realities." They have been accessories to the development and use of various subterfuges, and devices which give the appearance of change but little substance. They have failed to present the problem of the need for school reorganization in educational terms. This failure seems equally true of individual teachers and teachers' organizations. In some cases, teachers, textbooks, and other teaching materials have contributed to racism in education -- or have failed to counter it.

Representatives of those who are the chief or most obvious victims of racially determined educational deficiency have attempted to bring about change in the organization of American public education by a variety of methods. Chief among the methods used are litigation, negotiations with school boards and school officials, and direct action such as boycotts and sit-ins.

The ten years since the Supreme Court decision of 1954 have been marked primarily by token desegregation in Border states, minimal desegregation in the Deep South, and paradoxically the spread of de facto segregation in the North. Within the past year, federal civil rights legislation has sought to accelerate public school desegregation through the use of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. There remains a serious question as to whether the compliance requirements for federal aid to localities will be so loosely interpreted as to be virtually meaningless in attaining this goal. The reversal of the United States Commissioner of Education's decision to withhold aid from the Chicago school system is a serious omen that Title VI can become a mockery.

This evidence strongly suggests the need for sustained and increased pressure on the part of civil rights agencies,if the intent of the Brown decision is not to be thwarted and evaded by tokenism and other devices. So far there appears to be no serious attempt to bring about large-scale desegregation of American public schools. There seems little awareness of the need to reorganize public education as a whole to obtain maximum educational efficiency for all children.

Instead, there has developed within the past three or four years a plethora of special educational projects which seem to stem from and reflect an acceptance of the cultural deprivation explanation of the problem. These "enrichment" programs, "special summer programs," and preschool programs demonstrate that when Negro children from any socio-economic level are taught efficiently they learn, generally at the same rate as other children. However, these programs must also be understood as a contemporary version of separate but equal education.

All special programs of this kind do some good, help some children, and underline the inadequacy of their regular education. But, they obscure the basic fact that underprivileged children are being systematically shortchanged in their regular segregated and inferior schools. The crucial issue is the extent to which the uncritical acceptance of these programs reflects a commitment to continue segregated education.

A Program for Change

The minimum requirement for increasing the efficiency of education for all American children is the total reorganization of American public education. Such a transformation must be based upon:

1. A re-examination and restatement of the goals of public education as a significant force in strengthening and extending American democracy.
2. Reorganization of educational facilities to insure high quality administration and personnel needed to achieve these goals. This involves locating school buildings according to criteria other than those related to the traditional neighborhood concepts. Such new concepts of location would take into account modern urban transportation possibilities. In this regard, the model of public education in rural areas may offer possibilities for increasing educational efficiency of urban and suburban school systems. Centralization and consolidation of schools are generally accepted in rural areas and by county and state school boards as necessary for educational efficiency of these schools. The neighborhood school may have no more functional advantage in contemporary

education in the metropolis than did the one-room school in the country.

There remain, however, some hard questions that need realistic answers. To what extent are educational parks a more economical way of financing public schools in densely populated urban and suburban areas? To what extent is it possible to consolidate uneconomic small school districts into a larger regional or metropolitan school system? Are not educational parks essential to the attainment of democratic goals of public education-given widespread residential segregation?

A Role for the Federal Government

The most obvious role for the Federal Government in accelerating equal educational opportunity for all children and decreasing racially segregated schools is that role intended by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In the enforcement of Title VI, the United States Office of Education could tie federal aid to localities to actual obedience to federal court decisions on desegregation of public schools.

Further, the Federal Government through the Office of Education and other relevant departments could encourage movement toward large-scale reorganization of public school systems by demonstrating its willingness to share liberally in the financing of the building of educational parks. It is appropriate that the Federal Government bear a substantial proportion of the costs for more liberal, daring and imaginative plans for the modernization of education in local communities broadly defined.

Special federal grants could be made to those localities which demonstrate increased educational efficiency by an increased rate of growth of student academic achievement. Consideration could be given to some system whereby each school district is required by the state to function up to a minimum level of educational efficiency in order to receive additional federal aid. In order to institute such a system it would be necessary for the United States Office of Education to establish standards and to see that these standards are maintained. Under such a system each school district would be helped by the Federal Government to obtain, and to do, whatever is required to achieve these standards.

* * * * * * * *

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LEGIBILITY IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

TWO PROBLEMS AND TWO PROPOSALS: NEEDED FEDERAL ACTION IN RACE AND EDUCATION

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Harvard University

Two immediate problems, among many others, hinder the necessary upgrading and desegregation of education for Negro-American youth. The first involves secondary education, the second higher education. This brief memorandum is an attempt to state these problems concisely and offer modest suggestions for federal action that would at least begin their alleviation.

(1) *A problem and a proposal at the secondary level.* As Negro-American migration off of the farms and into our nation's largest urban areas continues apace, the dominant educational issues surrounding Negro-American youth become increasingly inseparable from those of inner cities. And as the out-migration of advantaged whites from inner cities to the suburbs continues apace, the depleting tax base and white school percentage makes the task of achieving educational excellence in multiracial schools ever more difficult. This hard reality is true even if we were to assume complete good faith on the part of inner city school systems - an unjustified assumption, of course, for most of our cities.

Clearly, the suburban rings around our inner cities cannot remain "white nooses around the Negro's neck" if the needed simultaneous changes of upgrading and desegregation is to take place in our inner city school systems. The suburbs must revert from a noose to a positive force, for the inner cities cannot go it alone. This shapes a key problem for Negro-American education: *How can we involve the resources of the prosperous white ghettoes in the educational concerns of the inner city?*

One modest proposal would entail federal legislation offering significant federal financing for joint inner city - suburban ventures. For example, building funds might be offered for new schools to be placed near or on the borders of the inner city and suburb so as to draw its student body from both areas. Perhaps, the better-financed suburb might be largely responsible for the school's administration; and federal monies could compensate the inner city in part for its lost in per-day and per-pupil subsidies. Any needed transportation of students might also be covered by the federal grant.

Admittedly, there are special problems raised by suvh a proposal – especially the tipping of the delicate scales between federal and local school authority. Yet the basic principle seems sound – even if the details might differ from these outlined here. Inner city and suburban school systems typically view each other with suspicion and competitiveness; such legislation as this would initiate a program in which cooperation between the two types of systems would at last reap obvious mutual benefits. If the needs for new buildings and other educational expansion were to be aided by the federal government largely on the basis of joint proposals, an initial step toward the desparately-required involvement of suburbs in inner city educational problems would finally have been made.

(2) A problem and a proposal at the college level. Much is being made these days of the problem of upgrading predominantly-Negro institutions of higher learning. It is becoming fashionable for prestigious northern universities "to adopt" a Negro college in the South and carry on mutual exchanges of students, administrators, and faculty. Other plans call for massive exchanges by whole blocks of large universities in the North and the smaller Negro colleges in the South.

Since we have run out of time in American race relations, we need all such efforts that can be mounted. Yet there are at least two fundamental weaknesses to these plans: (1) the wide disparities between the adopter and the adopted in these so-called "exchanges" are inherently somewhat patronizing, even paternalistic, in tone; and (2) these North-South arrangements do little to break down the barriers to improved interracial cooperation where the Negro colleges actually exist – in the South. The problem thus becomes: *How can we upgrade and desegregate Negro institutions of higher learning in an unpatronizing manner which involves the South itself?*

Another federal action which could lead to an answer in this query is also aimed at engendering cooperation where suspicion and competitiveness has previously existed. Southern colleges, Negro and white, are today continuously bombarding Washington with *separate* requests for federal aid. But none of these requests raise the possibility of combining efforts across racial lines to have a common library, a common physics laboratory, joint faculty appointments, etc.

Consider Nashville. Within a few miles, four institutions of higher learning are receiving federal funds to go their racially-separate ways – Fisk, Peabody, Tenn. A & I, and Vanderbilt. Or consider Atlanta with its separate Atlanta University complex, Georgia State College, Georgia Tech, and Emory. Or New Orleans with Dillard, Tulane, and the branch of L.S.U. Or Richmond with its Virginia Union, R.P.I., and University of Richmond. Or Houston with the University of Houston, Texas Southern, and Rice. Or Baton Rouge with L.S.U. and Southern University. Or Raleigh with N.C. State, St. Augustine's, and Shaw. Throughout the South such opportunities abound for the federal government to insist on joint proposals across campus and racial lines.

This approach has a number of advantages. First, it would lead to a less patronizing situation than at present, for predominantly-white colleges in the South are not nearly so prestigious and prosperous as the "adopting" colleges in the North, and, in addition, there will be tangible benefits in this arrangement for all concerned. Second, it should speed the desegregation of both types of schools by fostering joint classes and facilities. Third, it overcomes barriers where the Negro colleges are located – in the South, not New England or the Midwest. And, finally, federal insistence on joint college proposals in the South would be economically-efficient in a region which has traditionally squandered its meager resources on two economically-inefficient types of institutions.

School Segregation Is a Problem in Ohio

PHILIP ROTHMAN
Chairman
Education Dept
Antioch College

MOST OHIO teachers, administrators, school board members, and parents were shocked by events in the Watts district of Los Angeles and have been concerned about social problems in Mississippi and Alabama. Still, they are complacent about the segregation that exists in Ohio schools. This complacency is justified by beliefs that hardly any "real" segregation exists in Ohio schools, that if any such segregation does exist it does not do any "real" harm to children, and that where such segregation exists the "real" causes are outside the responsibility and ability of the schools to influence.

The nature of reality is always subject to interpretation by the beholder, but to this beholder the "real" conditions are embodied in the following propositions

1. Ohio schools are segregated.
2. This segregation is extremely harmful to Ohio school children and especially to Negro children.
3. The schools share responsibility for the development of this segregation and can do something about it.

The proposition that schools are segregated depends upon a definition of segregation. Some people refer to use terms such as "racially unbalanced" or "predominantly Negro" and to reserve the term "segregated" for a totally separated situation. This makes it easier to be complacent, for then fewer schools can be called segregated.

It seems to me that the presence of a few members of the other race does not significantly change the reality of the situation—that most Negro children are "separate(d) from the rest and collect(ed) in one place," and that is the definition of "segregate" that I find in my *Thorndike-Barnhart High School Dictionary*.

It really does not take a statistical expert to verify the existing condition. A visit to schools throughout the state will give ample evidence to the casual observer. It would take careful selection to find a school in which there is any significant mixture of Negro and white and most schools would be clearly distinguishable as "white schools" or "Negro schools."

Actual statistics are not readily available. School administrators proudly state that they do not designate children by race. However, in one major Ohio city where such figures were made available, the statistics show that in the elementary and junior high schools more than 50 per cent of the schools were predominantly white and 25 per cent of the schools were predominantly Negro, while in the senior high schools, 50 per cent were predominantly white while 17 per cent were predominantly Negro. Unfortunately, many of the schools in the one quarter which are not segregated seem to be in that category only temporarily as schools in transition toward a segregated status.

This school system is not unusual; it is typical of the patterns to be found in Ohio's large cities, in middle-sized cities, and even in some small cities. The segregated status of schools in most suburban areas is too obvious to need enumeration.

The final touch to this picture is the evidence that the situation is getting worse rather than better. All indications are that Ohio schools are more segregated today than they were ten or twenty years ago, and, unless positive measures are taken, they will grow more and more segregated. It is indeed ironic to find the schools of the Southern states moving with slow but increasing progress toward desegregation, while Ohio schools move in the opposite direction.

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children." These words from the Supreme Court decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education* pertain to the children of Ohio as well as to the children below the Mason-Dixon line. Still, many sincere and conscientious citizens refuse to accept them. They are sure that school systems in Ohio provide good schools for all children and that Negro children and white children have equal opportunities to learn regardless of the segregation which exists.

To me, the facts are clear. Here,

"If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears." — Henry David Thoreau

as elsewhere, separate education cannot be equal education. Separate schools for Negroes inevitably become inferior schools. In the contest for a share of inadequate resources, white parents seeking to protect the educational welfare of their children will inevitably wield greater influence and secure a greater share than Negro parents speaking up for their children. This was recently demonstrated in one Ohio city where the predominantly Negro schools as compared to predominantly white schools were found to have twice as many substitutes, three times as many temporary classrooms, 60 per cent overcrowded schools as compared to 13 per cent, twice as many teachers who did not have the basic requirements for a standard contract, and significantly fewer teachers with the master's degree. This city is not unusual. Similar statistics have been found in a study of another large Ohio city and undoubtedly exist throughout the state.

More important even than these statistics is the fact that for Negro children, emerging from a heritage of denial, the condition of being set apart from their fellows is a confirmation of their non-acceptance into the broader society and a severe blow to their motivation to learn. This combination of less adequate facilities and lowered motivation must lead to impaired learning ability and lowered achievement. That it does so is readily evident in the test statistics of one of Ohio's major cities.

When the mean test scores of children in predominantly Negro schools are compared to the mean test scores in predominantly white schools, the damage done to Negro children becomes shockingly evident. In the first recorded I.Q. test, given in the third grade, the children in the white schools scored an average of 102.5, and the children in the Negro schools scored 92.4. Thus, by the third grade the Negro children were a full 10.1 I.Q. points behind.

Since the weight of psychological and anthropological opinion is clearly against genetic racial differences in I.Q., this difference is attributable to environmental factors. It may well be suggested that the bulk of these factors at this time are the result of deprivation in the home and neighborhood and the school can hardly be held responsible.

We might expect, however, that as these children progress through a school system devoted to enlarging each child's capacities, at least some of this difference would be made up, but, no, the opposite occurs. By the ninth grade, the mean scores in the white schools have progressed to 106.6. The children in these schools, benefiting from a good educational program, have enhanced their ability to learn. But the children in the Negro schools now average a score of 87.7! They now are a full 18.9 I.Q. points behind their counterparts. The school years, rather than enhancing the ability to learn, have deadened it.

Ability Gaps Grow

Achievement scores also reflect the growing gap in ability. Thus, in second grade reading achievement tests, the Negro children score four tenths of a grade level behind the white children, a relatively small handicap; but by the time eighth grade is reached, the gap has widened to a full 2.4 grade levels, a severely limiting deficit. In arithmetic, also, the difference grows greater as the children move through the schools, increasing from a deficiency of 1.1 grade levels at fourth grade to 1.6 grade levels at eighth grade.

Again, this school system is not unusual. Studies in a second major Ohio city reveal the same unfortunate pattern. There can be little doubt that the pattern is representative and not unique.

While white children do not suffer in the development of their learning abilities as a result of the segregation of their schools, they still pay a penalty. School years spent in a protected, secluded environment provide an inadequate preparation for living in a world in which colored peoples must be met, worked with, lived with, understood, and accepted. It should not be surprising that large numbers of our youth, Negro and white, seem somewhat cynical about The American Dream.

There are some who would accept all of the foregoing but consider it an unfortunate circumstance for which the school is not responsible and over which the school has no control. After all, they say, the neighborhood school is a fundamental concept in American education and must be protected. If the neighborhood school results in segregation, that is a condition which is the result of housing patterns which should be changed. But such change is outside the domain of the school.

The trouble with this position is that it does not conform to the facts. The neighborhood school concept is a valuable one, but not when it becomes a euphemism for segregation. There is no such thing as a neighborhood into which a school is placed. The neighborhood is defined by placing a school and setting its district. In the past, such neighborhoods have been constructed to meet many needs and purposes, including the maintenance of all white and all Negro schools.

When it became apparent that the maintenance of small, local, rural schools produced substandard education, it was found possible to redistrict and redefine neighborhoods so as to provide better schools and better educational opportunities. Local districts and parents often objected, but determined educational leadership at local and state levels moved steadily towards eliminating the inferior arrangement. It is certainly within the capacity of local and state leadership to do the same with respect to eliminating an even more crying inadequacy.

It is not suggested here that it will be easy; the errors of half a century and more are not easily eliminated. But, through careful redistricting, planned placement of new school sites, wise assignment of teachers, elimination of some schools, and consolidation of others, the schools of Ohio can become true ladders of opportunity for all American youth. □

The Negro College Student: Some Facts and Some Concerns

Kenneth B. Clark

"We must assume the risks that are required to make our colleges relevent to a civilization desperately in need of the critical and creative intelligence of committed human beings. We must do everything we can to control the greatest contemporary danger — the ravages of a soulless, valueless intelligence."

This article is adapted from Dr. Clark's address to the ACAC Ninteenth National Conference on Admission to College on October 7, 1963, in Philadelphia.

FOR more than fifteen years, the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students has been engaged in recruiting and advising Negro students who wish to enter interracial colleges throughout the country — particularly in the northeastern and mid western sections. Over three thousand Negro students have benefited from this important program. The files of NSSFNS contain a valuable store of information about the background of these students, their high school preparation, test scores, and other relevant information that makes it possible to understand more clearly the relationship between these factors and college success for these students.

Twice during the past ten years, NSSFNS conducted systematic follow-up studies of some of its alumni. The findings of these two studies could contribute to more than an understanding of the chances of success in college for these Negro students; they also might contribute to a more systematic understanding of the complexity of the college admissions process and the significance of certain variables in predicting college success. The findings might even stimulate some thinking on the over-all problem of the significance, the purpose, and the function of college education in contemporary America.

The first NSSFNS follow-up study of Negro students from southern, segregated high schools who were granted scholarships to attend northern, interracial colleges showed that during the first year of college, these Negro students consistently were over-achievers. Their average College Board scores were significantly below the average for students generally admitted to these colleges. In spite of this fact, the performance of these students was creditable, and for some, superior, during their freshman and sophomore years. It was clear from these findings that scores on standardized scholastic aptitude tests did not have the same predictive value for the top Negro students coming from southern, segregated high schools that they appear to have for the general applicants to colleges.

A more recent and more extensive follow-up study of five schools of NSSFNS alumni confirmed this finding, and contributed to an even clearer understanding of this consistent pattern of over-achievement in the Negro college student.[1] This later study had the advantage of including a larger number of students (509 as contrasted to 153) over a period of their entire college careers, and in some cases even included information concerning their post-college adjustment. The basic data for this study consisted of the pre-college information found in the NSSFNS files, college transcripts, and information revealed by the students' answers to a questionnaire.

The major findings of this study may be summarized as follows:

1. The net dropout rate for those Negro college students who had contact with NSSFNS and who attended an interracial college was less than one-fourth the national net college dropout rate.

2. The usual predictions of college success that seem to hold for the general population did not apply to these students. For example, the median family income of these students was approximately $4,000 per year, while that of the general college population who drop out of college is over $5,500. The median SAT score for the NSSFNS alumni was below 400, whereas the average score for all college students is approximately 500. By these standards it would be expected that these Negro students would have a higher dropout rate than their white counterparts rather than the reverse.

Kenneth B. Clark is research director of the Northside Center for Child Development in New York and is professor of psychology in the College of the City of New York. He is also a member of the New York State Youth Commission. Dr. Clark earned his A.B. and M.S. degrees at Howard University and his Ph.D. in psychology from Columbia University.

---

[1] A full report has been published: *The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges*, by Kenneth B. Clark and Lawrence Plotkin (New York: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1963) 60 pp.

Reprinted from the JOURNAL OF THE
ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE ADMISSIONS COUNSELORS
issue of Winter, 1964

3. Reasons for dropping out offered by the NSSFNS alumni are in the following order:

financial reasons – 33%
personal reasons – 23%
academic reasons – 20%

None reported disciplinary reasons for having left college.

4. The college grades of the NSSFNS group were just about average: 31 per cent received an average of B – or better for the four years, and 50 per cent received an average of C+ or worse for their four years of college. Fewer than 10 per cent graduated with honors, and slightly better than one per cent reported election to Phi Beta Kappa. The college grades of the "did not respond" and "did not complete college" groups seemed to be somewhat below those who responded.

5. The following factors seemed to correlate positively with college success, as determined by grades, for the NSSFNS alumni:

a) Region of birth – Students born in the South tend to achieve somewhat higher college grades than those born in other parts of the country.

b) High school average – Students with higher grades in high school tend to have higher grades in college.

c) Occupation of parents – Students with higher grade averages in college tend to have a larger proportion of fathers who are professionals. There is a slightly less clear connection between the mother's occupation and college success.

d) Parents' education – If neither parent attended college, there is somewhat less chance that the student will complete college successfully. If one or both parents attended college, there is a stronger chance of the student's receiving better grades in college.

6. Pre-college test scores do not significantly predict college success for these students. The general finding that Negro college students score below the general population on the Scholastic Aptitude Test holds for this study. Yet, the percentage of these Negro students who are successful in college is greater than that of the higher-scoring total college-attending group.

7. The type of college attended seems to bear some relationship to the dropout rate and to college grades. The dropout rate is lower at Ivy League and other "prestige" colleges and is higher at non-prestige colleges. On the other hand, Negro students make better grades at non-prestige colleges than they do at Ivy League or prestige colleges.

8. The attitude of these Negro college students toward their racial status seems related to their general adjustment in college and to their college grades. In general, these students have a positive attitude toward themselves as Negroes and toward adjustment to college without regard to their race. Less than 20 per cent report meeting with embarrassing off-campus situations or believe that race excluded them from normal extra-curricular activities. The more academically successful the student, the less likely he is to report feelings of racial exclusion or to be concerned with problems of racial discrimination on or off the campus.

9. The low income of the families of these NSSFNS alumni required that they receive aid from outside the family in order to attend college. The major sources of support were part-time employment and scholarships. Over 80 per cent of these students must have some type of employment during their college career. They work from 7 to 22 hours per week. The relationship between the numbers of hours worked and college grades is suggested by the fact that 17 per cent of the students who did not complete college worked over 22 hours a week, while only 3 per cent of the most academically successful students carried this heavy work load.

10. The post-college performance of these students may be characterized as follows:

Somewhat more than half of these respondents are still unmarried. The modal number of years married is one or less; almost a third have been married more than three years. The separation and divorce rate seems somewhat lower than the national averages.

11. Public employment is the predominant occupation of these students. More than 40 per cent of them are in federal, state, or other governmental positions. The employment picture for these students may be described as follows for those whose duties can be classified:

40% were in professional or managerial positions
25% were in teaching
15% were in such specific professions as medicine, law, etc.

These data clearly demonstrate that the college-trained Negro is no longer required to hold a menial position. The responses do not suggest, however, that he has been fully integrated into private industry and commerce. He is still largely dependent upon governmental and public agencies for the utilization of his skills.

12. Over 80 per cent of these students report that they participate in some form of community affairs. However, when an analysis is made of the nature of the participation, it is found that 75 per cent of them have only nominal or practically no involvement whatever. Only 2 per cent could be said to be actively involved in community activites.

On matters of sensitivity to discrimination, it was found that, while during college there seemed to be a clear relationship between sensitivity to racial discrimination and college grades (with those students having lower grades being most sensitive), this relationship no longer prevails in post-college adjustment. The best academic groups tend to report as much discrimination, particularly in housing and public accommodation, as do the other groups.

In attempting to understand the post-college adjustment of these students, one cannot comprehend the meaning of a college experience for them specifically, or the significance of the college experience in general, merely through statistics. It is clear that these students are economically better off than the average Negro as a result of having attended college. They have better jobs, particularly in governmental agencies; they are teachers and professionals; and their standard of living is clearly superior to others of their group. This generally positive picture has as its only exception the evidence suggesting that the Negro college graduate is not yet being integrated into the private business, industrial, and communication fields in the same proportion as are white college graduates.

College for What?

The main area of concern for this observer, however, is the degree to which college education in contemporary America is relevant to the depth and intensity of personal commitment, social concern, and involvement in the significant, moral issues of our time. While the method of this study did not lend itself directly to this problem, what little evidence emerged did not suggest that these Negro graduates of interracial colleges were by any means as involved in, or committed to action for, interracial justice as were their less privileged and woefully less academically prepared brothers and sisters in the segregated, Negro colleges of the South. One was left with the impression that these students were, at best, perfunctory in their interest in this and similar problems. It should be pointed out, however, that these data were collected at a time prior to the recent thrust of the Negro for attainment of his rights as an American citizen. It is probable that a study of the attitudes or degree of personal comitment and action of Negro college students at interracial colleges today would elicit evidence of a higher degree of comitment and involvement.

It remains, however, a gnawing sense of concern and anxiety for this observer that the major intellectual spokesmen and writers among Negroes in this generation are not products of interracial colleges. James Baldwin, certainly the most eloquent and provacative moral essayist of our times, did not attend college at all. Ralph Ellison, whose literary potential was clearly evident in his first novel, *Invisible Man*, attended a southern Negro college for less than two years. The late Richard Wright did not attend college.

Probably the answer to this problem — if indeed it is a problem — of whether there is a de-energizing effect of the college experience in contemporary America cannot be found in an attempted analysis restricted to Negro college students, but must be sought in a broader study of the meaning of the college experience in America as a whole. When one dares to explore this issue, the disturbing image of the riots at the University of Mississippi emerges and dominates the past examples of such adolescent exuberance as football rallies and panty raids, which seem to have differentiated the American college experience from others throughout the world. The University of Mississippi, unfortunately, has become the symbol that demands the trite but still agonizing re-appraisal of all of us who are in any way involved in alleged education. How is it possible for America, the leader of Western democracy in the twentieth century, still to contaminate the sacred process of education with the superstition inherent in such designations as "white colleges," "Negro colleges," or even "interracial colleges?" If one defines the nature and goals of a college education primarily in terms of training human beings for more effective competition with other human beings for jobs, or if one sees the purpose of American colleges as being fulfilled through the training of scientific technicians for a nuclear and space age, or if one sees American colleges as fulfilling their role in the mass production of more affable and efficient civil servants or managers and executives for business and industry — then the events at the University of Mississippi are understandable, and the designation of colleges and universities in terms of skin color makes a type of primitive or efficient classificatory sense.

A concept of education geared to the capacity of students to organize their knowledge and information in terms that will lead to success in multiple-choice examinations is also convenient, direct, clear, and simple. This type of education can be conveniently reduced to a score. One can determine the success of a given educational institution by averaging the scores of its products. From this point of view the status of the University of Mississippi as an educational institution need not include any analysis of the relationship between the riots of the fall of 1962 and the complexities and subleties of the educational process. One need only ask what is the average score of these students on college entrance and graduate record examinations. If they are sufficiently high, this alone will justify the claims that this is an educational institution.

Consistent with this perspective is a determination of the degree of success of the graduates of the University of Mississippi. What is their average income? What positions of power do they hold in our economy, our government, our churches? If the president and the deans of that university can demonstrate that the graduates of that institution are generally more successful and powerful than are the graduates of other colleges and universities, then within this framework they have established the educational validity of their university. Such considerations would make irrelevant the bloodshed on that campus when a lone Negro dared to present himself for admission.

The influence of alumni upon their alma mater is consistent with these pragmatic aspects of American education. Financially successful alumni, and alumni with political power, demand to be heard and demand that their wishes be respected on matters of educational and social policy. The nature and direction of the influence of these alumni reflect the total of the educational process as it affected them. Their attitudes, their values, their breadth or constriction of vision reveal the meaning of education for them and should, they believe, determine the standards by which the faculty of a university evaluates its effectiveness. It might be a relevant fact in understanding the nature of the educational process in America as it is reflected in the behavior of students and the concerns of alumni to remind ourselves that the Meredith riots at the University of Mississippi were temporarily suspended during the week ends of important football games. The importance of football as a leavening and sobering aspect of the American educational process can therefore not be underestimated.

It would be easy and comforting to try to understand the complex educational problems posed by the University of Mississippi as if these problems were peculiar to this university, or shared only by such other educational anachronisms as the University of Alabama. This, unfortunately, is not true.

A most difficult, challenging, and disturbing definition of education would be one that included a concern for human values, social sensitivity, and the rigorous pursuit of truth and justice. Such a definition of education imposes upon an educational institution the obligation to demand that its students demonstrate that these characteristics have become an inherent part of their being. It would be the responsibility of the educational institution to make sure that not one of its products be certified as having fulfilled the requirements of education without giving some evidence of social and ethical sensitivity. An educated man should be recognized by his independence of thought, his capacity to feel the needs of his fellow man, and his passionate and courageous insistence upon the primacy of truth and justice in human relations.

It would be comforting to assert that many other institutions of higher education in America fulfill these requirements. A realistic rather than a wishful examination of contemporary American society makes it difficult to support the contention that the University of Mississippi is an exception and that other American universities are fulfilling their role as the moral guardians of our society. If this were true, then the University of Mississippi could not exist in its present form. This is a severe judgment. This statement seems to be that type of exaggeration or over-statement which one does not expect to find in a well-balanced or academic paper. But it is my contention that American colleges and universities have generally defaulted in the role of preparing students for a life of moral understanding and moral challenge and commitment.

I sometimes believe that too many college professors, under the guise of intellectual and scientific sophistication, deliberately seek to eliminate from the thinking of their students the soft or fuzzy concerns with social morality or ethical sensitivity. At its best, this comes under the guise of empiricism; and at its worst, it takes the form of a smart-alecky approach to any significant human problem or relevant social issue.

A society, and an educational system, that trains its young people to give priority to affability over critical and independent thought; to conformity, interchangeability, and standardized patterns of thought over individuality and creativity; to personal adjustment, getting along, and success over concern, commitment, and social sensitivity — is a society that is educating its young people for that moral emptiness and despair which will continue to erupt in more and more Universities of Mississippi. This type of superficial education can make it possible for educators, ministers, politicians, labor leaders, and other men of power to accept and rationalize the existence of "Negro schools" and "white schools," and other forms of institutionalized injustices and cruelties. This type of education — reinforced by many degrees, by pomp and ritual, can prepare students for the bland and vacuous life of the organization man, or the despair and emptiness of the suburban housewife. Within this suffocating context of desperation, this type of education can bring success. In fact, it assures success with minimum intellectual or spiritual effort. Is it too harsh to suggest that the present predicament of higher education in America is indicated by a syllabus which could be entitled: "How to prepare students for success in life without trying, without thinking, and above all, without feeling"?

But the imperatives of our times make this type of education no longer tolerable. The rapid social and technological changes and challenges of our times demand truly educated human beings. A totally educated person can be produced from only those colleges and institutions that take the problems of education seriously. There are no short cuts, gimmicks, or political manipulations toward the attainment of truth, wisdom, and justice. Primitive passions, social superstitions — no matter how pervasive and passionately held and defended, confusion and contamination of moral values; persistent demands for conformity or stereotype in thinking; and the various subtle or flagrant forms of anti-intellectualism are enemies of genuine education. No amount of practical or political magic or manipulation can change this fact.

Once a student enters college, he can be given an efficient, standardized, mass-produced education that makes minimum demands upon him as a thinking, feeling person — he can be put upon the road to the type of unidimensional success which can be measured by income and position, or the college experience can be the tortuous, turbulent, challenging search for ethical and intellectual meaning of the human predicament. The one direction leads to the continuation of the non-controversial, business-as-usual pattern of American education, and to that vague sense of personal ambiguity that psychiatric counselors find so prevalent in our college students. The other direction might lead to a sense of purpose, personal fulfillment, and the possibility of significant contributions to a society in desperate need of crucial and compassionate analysis and solutions. We must hope that our colleges have not so long defaulted that our society must look elsewhere for this help if it is to be saved. We must do more than hope. We must work and dare, and assume the risks that are required to make our colleges relevant to a civilization desperately in need of the critical and creative intelligence of committed human beings. We must do everything we can to control the greatest contemporary danger, if not the greatest danger mankind has ever faced — the ravages of a soulless, valueless intelligence.

John A. Griffin
Southern Education Foundation

Memorandum for the Education Section of the White House Conference on Civil Rights

The problems of Negro education in the South include at least the following categories:

1) the problems associated with compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964,
2) problems in the education of the disadvantaged,
3) Negroes in higher education and the future of the predominantly Negro college,
4) continuing education and basic adult education for Negroes,
5) the continuing disparity between educational efforts in the South and national norms.

1) The Problems Associated with Compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Under the orders issued by the U. S. Office of Education in accordance with Title VI, the number of Southern Negro pupils attending schools with whites either doubled or tripled in the fall, 1965. The U. S. Office says that some 7.5 per cent of the Negro school population is now desegregated and that the total is about 225,000; the Southern Regional Council says that this figure is too large and that the number is more likely to be about 150,000 students. Whichever figure is the more accurate, it is still true that the Civil Rights Act has produced acceleration of desegregation of schools but that the absolute numbers still have only token significance.

This is not to say, however, that progress made in the desegregation of Southern schools should be discounted entirely because it is seen as tokenism. In many surprising places, places where hard-core resistance might have been anticipated, some fairly conscientious efforts have been made to comply with the requirements spelled out under Title VI. When Gadsden County, Florida, transfers 60 Negro children to formerly all white schools, this step is significant given the facts and the circumstances of this particular county. This is more than tokenism, although it will become tokenism if additional steps do not follow. On the other hand, when another county accepts only three or four transfer applications of Negro children or reports that there have been no applications, it may be assumed that the school board and the administration are deliberately blocking even modest compliance with the Law.

In the fall, 1965, it has been apparent that there is widespread acceptance of the fact that Negro and white children will go to school together in the South; at the same time it is clear that there is no parallel acceptance of the fact that the Negro and white children will be taught by white and Negro teachers. Under desegregation schools have been closed in various parts of the South, and Negro teachers, even those with years of experience and under tenure, have been let go. This process might well be expected to accelerate in 1966 and 1967. The displacement of Negro teachers in the educational system of the South poses a wide range of problems: 1) the protection of the teacher's stake in his profession; 2) the loss of trained manpower; 3) the frustration of the whole purpose of the Civil Rights Act; 4) the frustration of democratic education and the shortchanging of Negro and white youth if they are taught by segregated faculties.

Some of the other problems arising under school desegregation are: 1) the inadequacies of Federal policy; 2) technical assistance, encouragement, and support for boards and administrators conscientiously attempting desegregation particularly in the difficult circumstances; 3) the desegregation of the teaching and administrative personnel; 4) the creation of a climate in the South with less emphasis on school desegregation as a necessary legal requirement and more emphasis on the desegregation as a necessary prerequisite for a democratic society; 5) the protection of children as much as possible in the pushes and pulls of the desegregation process.

2) Problems and the Education of the Disadvantaged

There are Southern educators who have almost an obsession with the vicious cycle that characterizes Negro education particularly. Too many Negro teachers who themselves were disadvantaged and inadequately prepared for their professions teach deprived children at elementary and secondary levels. Those who graduate and go on to college are most likely to be taught in a predominantly Negro institution, almost certainly a second-rate college. From these dreary circumstances Negro graduates have been completing the cycle and taking their places as teachers.

As desegregation progresses, the cycle is being broken in some places by the displacement of Negro teachers, but even the most optimistic figures claim that only 7.5 per cent of Negro youth in public schools are going to school with whites. It appears that now and perhaps for some time the largest proportion of Negro children will be taught by Negro teachers in predominantly Negro schools. A problem of deep concern to many educators is how the competence of these teachers, as well as the total school situation in which they work, may be upgraded.

On the other hand if we assume that increasing number of Negro children will be taught by white teachers, then there is another set of questions, similar but not necessarily the same, about how the Negro child will be taught. Is the white teacher brought up in a middle-class American culture capable of good teaching of disadvantaged pupils? Do the teacher training institutions need to prepare teachers more specifically for teaching in such special but not uncommon circumstances? Without special training can white teachers teach disadvantaged Negro children as well as Negro teachers?

3) Negroes in Higher Education and the Future of the Predominantly Negro Colleges

A disproportionately small percentage of Negro youth are in college in the U. S. This is accounted for by various causes: economics, motivation, availability of institutions, inconclusive evidence that college education makes enough difference for the Negro youth, etc.

Elaborate programs to identify academically talented Negro youth and to assist these youth to prepare for college have been mounted in the last few years by colleges and universities, particularly Ivy League institutions, foundation programs, and national scholarship programs. But despite these efforts only a fragment of Negroes in the college-age population group are exposed to higher education. Most of these enroll in predominantly Negro institutions in the South.

In the Southern states there are about 119 predominantly Negro colleges, nearly all of these found in the Nation. Half of these have an enrollment of less than

500 students. Most of the Negro colleges, in particular the private institutions, are poorly financed and staffed; most all the institutions are turning out graduates that have difficulties in qualifying for advanced study. But these are the institutions in which most American Negroes are receiving their experiences in higher education.

Thus, despite the desegregation of the predominantly white institutions, these Negro colleges and universities will continue to carry the heaviest load in the higher education of Negroes. Negro colleges must be continued for a number of reasons. In the first place until something can be done about the tyranny of test scores, Negro high school graduates will continue to have great difficulty in qualifying for the more selective colleges and universities of the South and the Nation. The problem of the biases in the testing devices is part of the problem of getting Negroes into first-rate institutions; obviously another part is the inadequacy of their educational experiences and the obstacles set up by deprivation. The mean score for entering freshmen in the public Negro colleges in the University System of Georgia in 1958-59 was 272.8 on the verbal score of the Scholastic Aptitude Test. Entering freshmen in 1964-65 had a mean score of 265.9. On the other hand, scores for freshmen entering the predominantly white institutions in the University of Georgia system were 395.6 in 1958 and 450.7 in 1964. The Negro scores were not only much lower in both years, but the scores showed no improvement over the period that white scores were moving steadily upward.

The future of the Negro college poses many vexing questions. Among these are: How many institutions can and should survive as desegregated institutions? What is the optimum timing for phasing out or changing the educational purpose of the clearly second-rate institutions? How all these institutions, even those that will eventually be phased out, may be up-graded now?

The general problem of higher education and the Negro suggests these questions: How can more Negro youth get into colleges and universities; What kinds of special assistance are appropriate and possible; Is it true that institutions are skimming only the cream of the high school graduates--and making little effort for the so-called "Risk student"; Is the interest in recruitment of Negro students too concentrated in the South; Is it not critical to the desegregation of our labor force and of American society in general that the Negro institutions not only be upgraded but also considerably diversified in their programs?

4) Continuing Education and Basic Adult Education for Negroes

Negroes more than most groups in the population represent adults in need of continuing education and basic adult education. The resources for such education need to be examined both in terms of their availability, the programs offered, and the distribution geographically.

Under the Poverty Program a very large literacy and basic education program is contemplated. Already a national effort to throw community strength behind this program is being mounted through the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A. How this program can be made as effective as possible is a major concern.

In relationship to the education of Negro youth, there are imperatives for the involvement of Negro parents. Dr. Sam Nabrit, Texas Southern University, points out that among Negro workers in skilled trades now earning satisfactory industrial wages, there are many Negroes who had little or no schooling and that they show little interest in public school programs for their own children. This is illustrative of the need for involvement of parents in educational programs for the sake of their children if not for their own educational advancement.

5) The Continuing Disparity Between Educational Effort in the South and National Norms

At the time of the Supreme Court decision in 1954, Southern states were gaining statistically in their outlays for schools, and there was sound basis for projecting that Southern education, as measured by such indices as expenditure per pupil, might well catch up with the Nation by the middle of the 1960's. But this has not happened. The estimated expenditure per pupil for current expenditures in 1964-65 was $484 for the U. S. No Southern state attained the National average. Mississippi was lowest with $273 and Louisiana was highest with $418. Although from time to time Southern states have made greater efforts for public education; that is, certain Southern states have given a larger percentage of their income to education than have more prosperous states in other regions. But in 1964 the estimated expenditures for elementary and secondary education as a percentage of personal income in the United States was 4.74 per cent. The Southeastern states spent 4.61 per cent of their income on schools. The lowest was Kentucky with 4.04; highest was Louisiana with 5.61 per cent.

Comparing the rate of growth in per pupil expenditures for current expenses from 1955-56 to 1964-65 it is seen that the National annual rate of growth has been at 5.7 per cent, but too many Southern states, though needing so urgently to catch up, still fall below the national rate of growth: Alabama at 4.9 per cent; Florida at 5.1 per cent; Louisiana at 4.5 per cent; South Carolina at 4.9 per cent; Tennessee at 5.3 per cent; Texas at 4.6 per cent. On the other hand several Southern states did exceed the National rate: Georgia at 6.1 per cent; Kentucky at 7.5 per cent; Mississippi at 6.3 per cent; North Carolina at 6.1 per cent; Virginia at 6.6 per cent.

Despite efforts made in the South during the last decade, the region's schools need thousands of classrooms and other facilities, more salary funds to close gaps between Southern and national levels, more libraries, larger enrichment programs, etc. The South is already more dependent on Federal funds than the other regions--6.8 per cent of revenue receipts from Federal funds in comparison with 4.3 per cent for the Nation. And now Federal allocations to schools greatly increase under new legislation, such as the Elementary and Secondary School Act. How far will such funds go in helping the South to catch up? If such legislation is not sufficient, then how are Southern schools--where half of all American Negroes get their education--to be brought up to national standards?

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Planning Session

1966

(2)

Education
General

EDUCATION MATERIAL

1. Memorandum to Members of the Planning Session, Kenneth B. Clark, November 12, 1965

2. Agenda Paper #8 - Education

3. American Education Today: The Case for Reorganization, Kenneth B. Clark

4. Memorandum for Education Section of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, John A. Griffin

5. The Negro College Student: Some Facts and Some Concerns, Kenneth B. Clark

6. Two Problems and Two Proposals, Thomas F. Pettigrew

7. School Segregation is a Problem in Ohio

Also Given to the Participants but Not Included Here:

8. Learning Together, A Book on Integrated Education, Ed. Meyer Weinburg, Chicago Integrated Education Associates, 1964

9. "Education in Central Harlem", Chapter 6, Youth in the Ghetto, HARYOU

10. Information on Southern School Desegregation - November 1965 (HEW, Office of Education)

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.
CO-CHAIRMEN
BERL I. BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1800 G STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TEL: 737-9010

November 12, 1965

TO: Members of the Planning Session

FROM: Kenneth B. Clark, Chairman of the Work Group on Education

We are very pleased that you will participate in the work group on education. The work group will consist of a limited number of persons highly versed in problems of education and civil rights.

It is suggested that discussion of current aims and issues in education serve as background to developing specific proposals, with recommendations for implementation.

The enclosed materials include an agenda paper covering some of the questions and issues which I think we ought to be covering. Also enclosed is a personal statement of my own putting forth positions on many of the subjects, for your consideration. A number of other background materials are added, and I hope that you will find it possible, even on this very short notice, to read them in advance of the Wednesday morning session.

VIII. EDUCATION

Chief Consultant:	Dr. Kenneth Clark Professor of Psychology City College, City University of New York
Co-Chairmen:	James Dixon President, Antioch College Yellow Springs, Ohio
	S. Milton Nabrit President, Texas Southern University Houston, Texas
Consulting Staff:	June Shagaloff (staff reporter) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People New York, New York
	Jean Fairfax American Friends Service Committee
	John Griffin Southern Education Foundation Atlanta, Georgia
	Jeanette Hopkins Harper & Brothers Publishers New York, New York
Staff Aides:	Harriet Parsons Marilyn Galvin

EDUCATION

Official Observers

John Gardner
Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare
Department of Health, Education & Welfare

Francis Keppel
Assistant Secretary
Department of Health, Education & Welfare

James M. Quigley
Assistant Secretary
Department of Health, Education & Welfare

David S. Seeley
Director
Equal Educational Opportunities
Department of Health, Education & Welfare

Otis Singletary
Director
Job Corps
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N.W.

Howard Nemorovski
Special Assistant to the Secretary
Department of Health, Education & Welfare

Mrs. Elizabeth Cole
Consultant, Office of Education
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Mrs. Ruby G. Martin
Assistant to the Assistant Secretary
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

George Culberson
Associate Director
Community Relations Service

EDUCATION

Resource Consultants

John Hope
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Peter Libassi
Deputy Director
Civil Rights Commission

Dean Determan
Department of Justice

EDUCATION

- **ALLEN, James E., Jr.
- ANTHONY, Paul
- ARRINGTON, Henry
- BARBEE, Lloyd
- BARRY, Jr., Marion
- **DEUTSCH, MARTIN
- DIXON, James
- ETHRIDGE, Samuel
- FREEMAN, David
- GANG, Seymour
- GIBSON, Dr. Elmer
- GORDON, Dr. Edmund
- GRIGG, Dr. Charles Meade
- JONES, Butler
- JONES, James
- LANDIS, Dr. James
- NABRIT, Dr. Sam M.
- **NOBLE, Dr. Jeanne
- PARRISH, Richard
- PASAMANIC, Benjamin
- PETTIGREW, Thomas
- **PITTS, Lucius
- **PLAYER, Dr. Willa
- ROBINSON, Isaiah E., Jr.
- ROGIN, Lawrence
- SEXTON, Patricia Cayo
- SHEPHERD, Sam
- TURNER, Ruth
- WHEELER, Robert Russell
- WHITE, Mrs. Charles

PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER #V
THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE
Dr. Hylan Lewis

SUMMARY

This planning session has a concern for the influences on contemporary family life, especially family life among Negroes. It is assumed that the aims of the working session are to propose policies and programs for the immediate future as well as long-term directions and programs. The agenda paper refers to some of the issues and some of the facts having to do with:

1. The effects of low income on family life

2. Family composition among Negroes--its characteristics, factors influencing it, and its consequences

3. Plans and programs aimed at strengthening family life, especially among the low income population.

Among the issues: the nature and extent of family disorganization among Negroes, the reasons given for it, the outlook for it, and of course what to do about it.

The measures of family disorganization most frequently used are the incidence of families headed by females, illegitimacy, and the attributes and behavior of the disadvantaged male. The nature of the prognosis and programs proposed are heavily conditioned by whether the indications of "family breakdown" are seen primarily as a heritage of slavery or as responses to current conditions.

Among the facts:

> Over-all, two-thirds of Negro families include two parents. The increase in the proportion of female-headed households has been less than five percentage points in 15 years, with no rise in the last five years. The evidence is that Negro-white differences in family structure diminish when controlled for income and that differences by income are more striking than differences by color; that factors attributable to the effects of inequities in housing, employment, health, and education account for a large amount of the difference between the figures for Negroes and whites.

The family and family behavior among Negroes show great range and variability; especially overlooked and underrated is the diversity among low income Negro families. When these are overlooked for any reason, there is danger that the depreciated, and probably more dramatic and threatening, characteristics of a small segment of the population may be imputed to an entire population.

Family and personal strengths, resiliencies and demonstrated capacities for change found at all levels are a prime resource to be taken into account in planning programs aimed at strengthening family life among Negroes.

QUESTIONS

1. What are the goals for all families?

   Are there special goals for different categories of families? --e.g., Negro families? Negro low-income families? Negro families in urban ghettos? urban problem families? rural problem families?

2. What is the most important single thing that needs to be done now to improve the quality of family life generally? For low-income families?

3. What should be the general objective with regard to low-income Negro families:

   (a) to propose a model to which all families should conform?

   (b) to offer the kinds of economic and social supports that seem best suited to allow families to work out their own forms and functions?

4. Among the Federal Government's efforts to strengthen the family which programs seem to be moving effectively in needed directions --i.e., programs such as the following:

   Aid to Families of Dependent Children

   public housing, and other Federal aid to housing

   day care

   vocational training and rehabilitation

   employment counseling and services

   training and use of non-professional aids

   family counseling and education

   medical and survivors' insurance

   foster family and group family care

   social and protective services for children

   Federal aids to education

5. What features in such programs require modification?

6. What innovations are required in current programs if they are to achieve their objectives of helping to strengthen family life?

7. Are the more adequate economic resources needed by low-income families to be supplied solely by improving the employment opportunities of family breadwinners? If so, how? If not, how?

8. What about non-job sources of family income--e.g., the family allowance? the negative income tax? the guaranteed annual income?

9. Assuming that children can be helped more effectively if their parents are involved, and that so far few major successes that stand up to scrutiny have been achieved in this direction, how shall effective involvement be accomplished?

   And, if some parents are unreached, or unwilling to be involved, what should our approach be with reference to the child?

10. Are surrogate male models desirable and feasible for boys and girls without fathers? If so, what kind and how introduced?

    Do any of the current programs--Big Brothers, neighborhood counselors, more male teachers, adult or near-adult aides in nursery schools and day care centers--offer promising leads?

11. Should day care centers offer, not only custodial care and opportunities for socialization, but also cognitive enrichment to enhance school readiness?

    What about such questions as: Is cognitive enrichment being sought at the expense of social and emotional development?

    Is nursery school cooperativeness cultivated at the expense of independence and coping abilities?

    Are the intellectual gains reported after preschool training likely to be stable? Or are they to be threatened by unfortunate school experiences later--overcrowded classes, with split shifts, inadequate teachers?

12. How translate into social policy and action the evidence that low-income Negro parents have high educational aspirations for their children?

13. In administering large programs aimed at eliminating the effects of poverty and discrimination on families, what principles of administration should be followed, and how can this be accomplished?

    For example, what are the relative advantages and disadvantages of Federal vs. local direction?

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contemporary Family Forms

- The Father--Present and Absent
- The Present Mother
- Children and Daytime Care
- Births Out of Wedlock
- Child Rearing Practices
- Some Familiar Generalizations

# PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER #V
THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE
Dr. Hylan Lewis

> ...the family is rooted in human nature -- in human nature conceived not as a bundle of instincts but as a product of social life;...the family may take protean forms as it survives or is reborn in times of cataclysmic social change; and...we can predict with some assurance the persistence of the family but not the specific forms which it may take in the future.1/

The viability of families, especially low-income families, is critically relevant to our national design and commitment "to fulfill these rights." The purpose of this agenda paper is to serve the working group's examination of stresses and potentials for contemporary families. The discussion is cued to "outside" as well as "inside," and to contemporary as well as historical, factors affecting the course and quality of family life, particularly among low-income Negroes. The aim is to focus attention on the policy and program implications of current family facts and issues. The agenda paper has been prepared with these goals of the planning session in mind:

(1) the proposal of directions and long-term programs that seem most promising for eliminating or reducing the factors that make for family stress and instability, and for maximizing the realization of family potentials

(2) the proposal of some specific programs, services or activities to be accomplished within a stated time.

It is through the family that the individual enters into the privileges and liabilities bestowed upon him as a citizen. And it is through the family that the effects of his citizen status first impinge on his inner circle and his inner self. The family acts, not merely as conduit, but rather as agent, reagent and catalyst. It defines the child's world for him; and it, initially, defines him to himself.

The functions of the family are discussed chiefly in terms of what it does for children, and the emphasis is accurate. Yet the viability of the family depends on the satisfactions and supports it offers to adults, since it is they who determine whether a family unit survives or dissolves. Moreover, what the family can offer to its children depends on the psychological, social, physical and economic status of the adults who preside over it.

It is often claimed that the United States is a child-centered country and, like most claims, this one is occasionally challenged. If we were child-centered, ask the challengers, would we be spending on education only a fraction of what we spend for defense? Would our most family-labeled program, Aid to Families of Dependent Children, have focused for so many years on the sex morality and employability of the mother, with so little official regard for the care of children while the mother works?

I. Contemporary Family Forms

A major issue in any discussion of the Negro family is the higher proportion of female-headed households among Negroes compared with whites.2/ The genesis of such families is, by some, attributed to slavery. Others reject or place little emphasis on slavery as an explanation, as compared with current conditions. For example, it has been suggested that

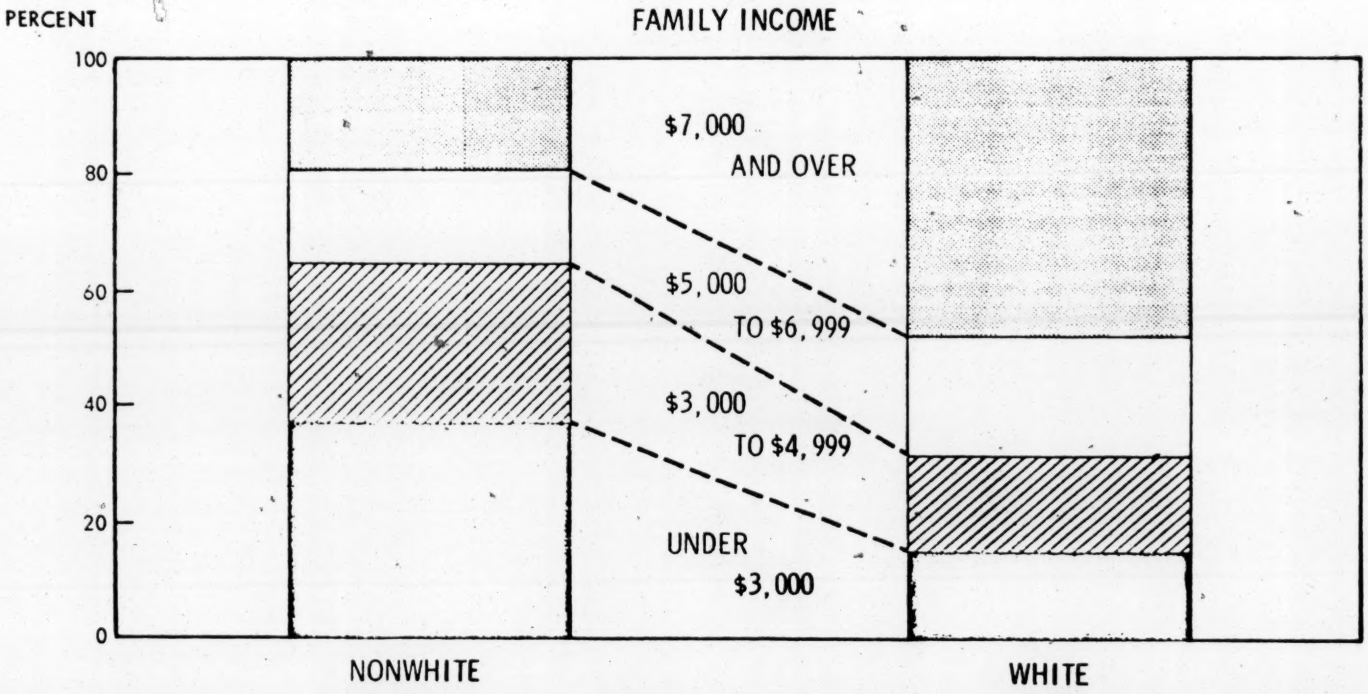
> ...not enough is known about...present family forms and functions and about the behavior patterns which are distinctly urban products with a dynamic and history of their own. The forms, as in the case of the family headed by the female, may be the same but the context in which they fit and function has probably changed in important details.3/

In one sense, the disagreement about the influence of the slavery heritage on current family forms and practices appears largely academic. We are dealing with the problems and potentials of today, as they are manifested today. Although historical influences may affect kind and degree of potential for growth, it is not necessary to agree on underlying causes in order to perceive present problems and build upon present potentials.

In another sense, the controversy is not academic, for it colors opinions about the nature and extent of differences and similarities between Negro and white families at very low income levels. Those who emphasize the historical influence point to differences; those who emphasize post-slavery influences point to similarities between the two.

The habit of analyzing data by color rather than by income level has tended to support the slavery-specific hypothesis. Since a much larger proportion of Negroes than of whites are on the lowest income levels, what look like statistically significant differences between Negroes and whites may actually be differences between socio-economic

2 OUT OF 5 NONWHITE FAMILIES HAD INCOMES BELOW $3,000 IN 1964.



SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

levels. But if the figures are presented only in one way, the other possibility is obscured. Studies of prenatal care, for example, indicate that in effect one is comparing the prosperous with the poor in all three of the following comparisons: white mothers with nonwhite mothers; married mothers with unmarried mothers; all mothers who do with all mothers who do not obtain prenatal care.4/

The Lefcowitz paper compares a variety of qualities for Negroes and whites who are poor and for Negroes and whites who are not poor.5/ In effect, Negro and white comparisons are made after a rough standardization for income. These data suggest that:

1. When controlled for income, Negro-white differences in family structure diminish. Differences by income are more striking than differences by color.

2. When Negro and white children with similar incomes are compared, differences between them in educational achievement diminish and the differences by class appear more striking than the differences by color.

3. There is far more difference in employment status by income than by color.

4. The relative position of men with respect to women, economically and educationally, is the same for whites as for non-whites.

In short, some differences diminish and others disappear. On the other hand, even within income classes, some striking differences remain, differences that may be attributed to two qualities. First, a time-consuming, sophisticated analysis may be required to discern what quality that overlaps with ethnic status is operating. For example, the number of children born per 1,000 mothers is greater for Negroes than for whites. However, the migration pattern of Negroes is different from whites and rural background, like income level, appears to be a powerful factor affecting fertility. If one could standardize white-Negro fertility figures for rural background and for income, would a difference continue to appear?

A second quality that creates difference between Negroes and whites is, obviously, the impact of discriminatory treatment. If the rate of home ownership is higher for whites than for Negroes, even within income classes, can there be any doubt that discrimination by real estate and financing firms is responsible? As another example, the mortality rate of young Negro men exceeds that of white men.* Obviously, this increases the incidence of Negro broken families.

---

* At ages 25-30, 7 per 1,000 white males and 16 per 1,000 Negro males are likely to die. These figures are not adjusted for income. White young women can marry-up into a comparatively large pool of non-poor white young men. The relative opportunity for Negro young women has been much smaller.

We may come to three general conclusions:

1. Plainly, and overlooking the fact that most Negroes are poor, there are more female-headed families among Negroes than among whites.

2. Poverty accounts for a large measure of this difference. If the qualities of poverty were removed from statistical comparisons, figures for Negroes would move much closer to those for whites.

3. Locatable factors emerging in general from discrimination--health, housing, employment, and so forth--account for a large measure of the difference between figures for Negroes and for whites.

Opinions differ about the rate of increase in the proportion of female-headed families.6/ Some, citing the increase in the proportion of nonwhite families headed by women, from 1949 (18.8%) to 1962 (23.2%), see a headlong deterioration, a rapid "crumbling" of the low-income Negro family. Others point out that the rise from 1949 to 1964 was 4.4 percentage points in all (that is, less than one-third of one percentage point a year); that it was gradual from 1949 (18.8%) to 1959 (23.6%), and that from 1959 to 1964 it has remained relatively stable. They conclude that there exists a plateau, or perhaps a gradual but not acute increase in the over-all proportion of broken homes among low-income Negroes.

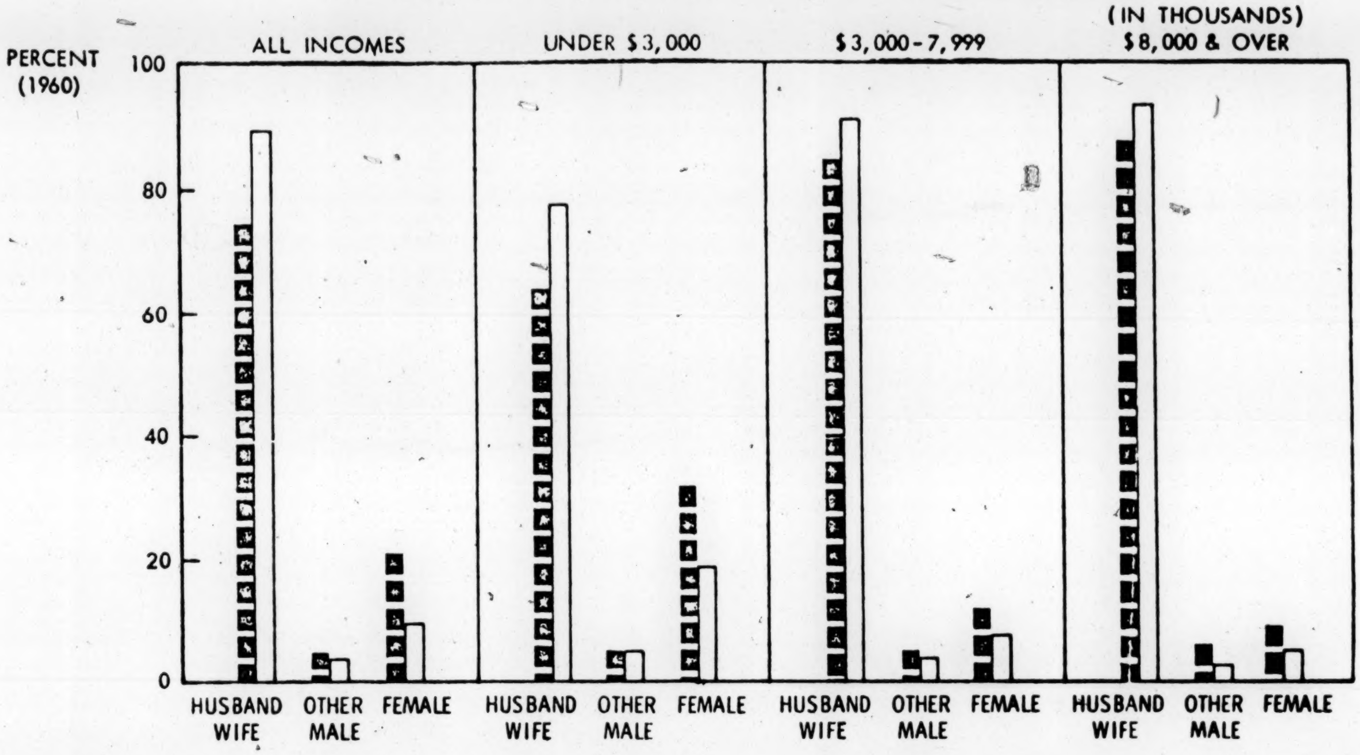
Those who hold the rapid-deterioration view urge strong action to halt an accelerating breakdown. Those who hold the plateau view urge strong action to remedy adverse conditions that have existed far too long. There is consensus between the two schools of thought with regard to the existence of a long-standing disparity between white and nonwhite rates, and the need for strong and prompt intervention. Differences lie: (a) in interpreting the current situation as a crisis vs. a long-term manifestation; (b) in the attitudes of alarm and hostility that may be held with regard to an erupting crisis, as compared with the problem-solving approach that is more likely with regard to a long-continued situation.

The Father--Present and Absent

The two-parent family is modal in the United States, which is to say that it is the norm for American Negroes. Over-all, two-thirds of Negro families include two parents. At the upper income levels the proportion rises and at the lower income levels it falls. Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that when we speak of the female-headed household we are talking about a minority, even among the poor. The fact that family composition is especially flexible among the very poor means that, although at any given moment, two-thirds of the Negro families in the urban slums include two parents, individual children at various times of their lives may move from two-parent to one-parent homes and vice versa.7/

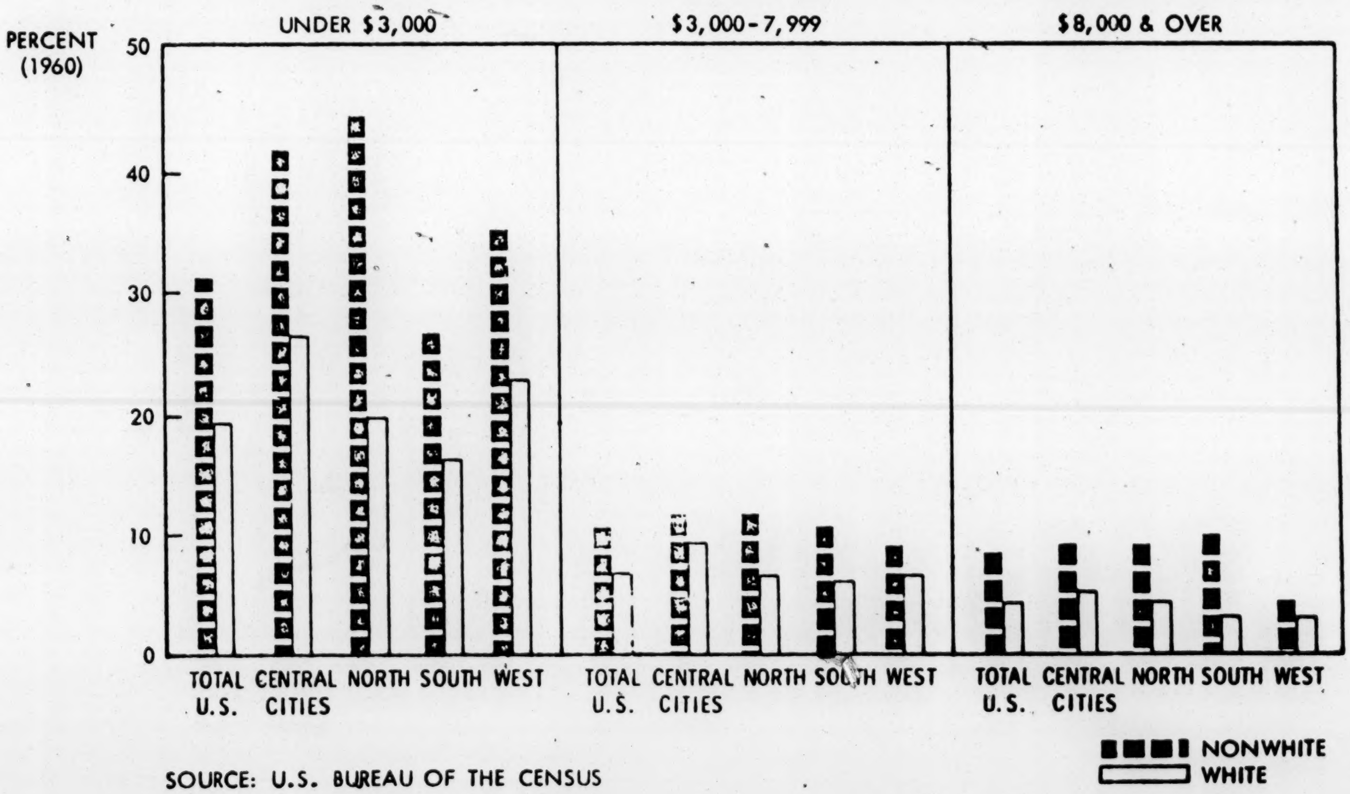
ALL FAMILIES

AT ALL INCOME LEVELS, MOST FAMILIES HAVE MALE HEADS
BUT FEMALE HEADS ARE MORE PREVALENT AMONG NONWHITES



FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS

THE PROPORTION OF FEMALE FAMILY HEADS FALLS SHARPLY WITH RISING INCOME;
IT IS MOST PREVALENT AMONG THE POOREST FAMILIES IN LARGE CITIES AND IN THE NORTH



SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

At the same time, outside the slum areas, family stability is the rule rather than the exception. In focusing on family homes, as Erikson has pointed out, the present father tends to be forgotten. Forgotten also is the fact that we know very little about him. We do not even know whether there is evidence to support an occasionally voiced impression that the stable Negro home is more patriarchal than the stable white home.

The great majority of our children--some 87 per cent--live in a home with two parents. Most of the rest live in a one-parent home, and in most cases that parent is the mother.

Few would deny that a harmonious two-parent home offers the best prospect for a child to reach his full potential. On the other hand, a substantial minority of American children, over six and a half million of them, live in a home headed by a woman. It is reasonable, therefore, to review current assumptions about the one-parent home and what it means for the developmental prospects of the children who grow up in it.

It has been our habit to view any deviation from our modal family pattern as an aberration. A number of research findings have tended to reinforce this habit. The question may be raised, however, whether a form that includes so many children and has produced so many effective and apparently happy adults, deserves a less negative status. Perhaps the time has come to recognize the one-parent family as a family form in its own right.

Among reasons urged for re-assessment of the one-parent family as a family form in its own right are the following:

1. The one-parent family is with us and shows no sign of becoming less frequent.

2. There is reason to believe that children in such families are adversely affected by the negative assumptions which cluster around it.

3. Through time and space the family has absorbed a vast array of different forms and still has continued to function as the family.

4. The modal American family may not be as functionally two-parent or as "patriarchal" as is sometimes assumed.

5. Analysis of research findings concerning the one-parent family fails to support a sweeping indictment of its potential for producing children capable of fruitful and gratifying lives.

1. The first proposition is supported by a vast array of statistics. The march of these figures is reminiscent of figures concerning the working mother. Not many years ago, conferences were discussing whether

mothers should or should not be permitted or encouraged to work. At present, the main focus of discussion is rather, what kinds of daytime care or other supervision should be established to help the working mother fulfill her dual role. (A subject which is touched upon at somewhat greater length below.) In any case, although there is hope that effective economic and social measures can reduce the frequency of one-parent homes, it seems unlikely that the numbers will be drastically reduced in the very near future.

2. With regard to effects on children of popular assumptions about the one-parent home, the evidence is chiefly presumptive. Specialists in child development provide persuasive discussions and data bearing on the growth of positive and negative identity. There is no lack of evidence that children are alert to the classifications implicit in questions at school about father's occupation, in social differences between mothers who do and do not have a spouse, in the activities of children who do and do not have a father to take them places and do things with them. The fact of a father's presence or absence is ineluctable; the subtle or overt responses to that fact on the part of adults and other children are in themselves responsive to popular assumptions, and are capable of change as those assumptions change.

3. Although relatively few have made an intensive study of family forms through time and space, most students of problems relating to families are aware that, as Witmer and Kotinsky put it:

> All the evidence points to the infinite capacity of the family to change--to change its composition, to redefine the way it shares the care of children with other social institutions--and yet to retain its over-all responsibility for them.8/

4. The extent to which children in two-parent homes are reared at home and taught at school by women, during their formative years, has been the subject of extensive comment. Without assuming that this is to their advantage, some raise question about the extent to which it reduces the contrast between children in one-parent and in two-parent homes.

5. Correlation between undesired behavior or attributes and the one-parent home has been a repetitive research finding. The broken home has been reported as associated with emotional maladjustment, poor school achievement, juvenile delinquency, and illegitimacy. However, when data are controlled for socio-economic status, such correlations often fade out. The relationship is more often apparent in studies that have not made a point of such control. Its occurrence is too frequent to require documentation here. Its absence under adequate statistical controls is less familiar but is reported in a number of studies.9/

In this connection it is sometimes pointed out that studies which claim adequate controls also have shown children doing better in warm, stable one-parent homes than in two-parent homes with tension and friction. If such findings are trusted, the implication may be an underlining of the need to offer to one-parent homes the kinds of support that would enhance the mother's ability to be a competent, unharried and undefeated mother.10/

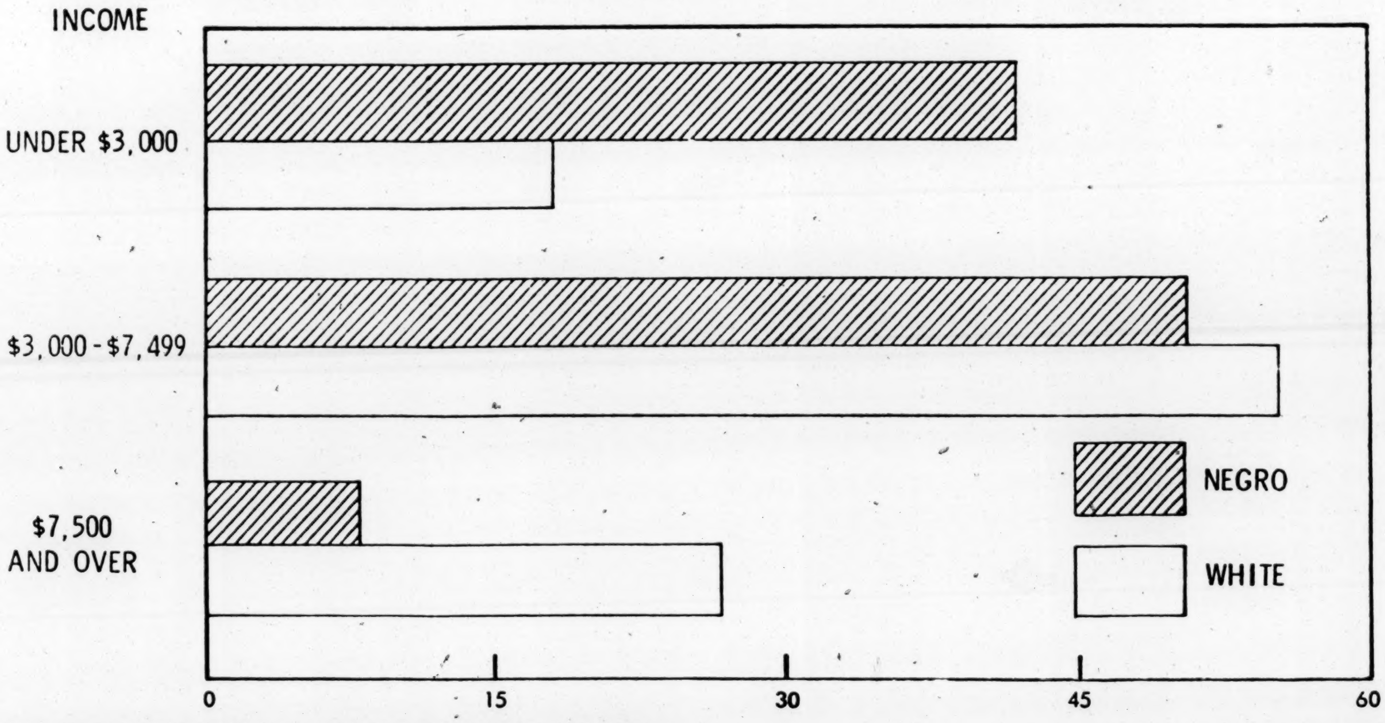
The proponents of the views summarized above do not by any means advocate the one-parent family as the most desired type. What they do advocate is: (1) recognition of the one-parent family as an existing and fairly common form rather than a sick form or a strange deviation from normality; (2) recognition that a sound one-parent home may be better for a child than a torn and strife-ridden two-parent home; (3) devising of ways to enhance the ability of parents without partners to provide a sound one-parent home.

The choice, unfortunately, is not necessarily between a warm, stable, adequate two-parent home and a one-parent home. No one would hesitate to prefer the former for any American child. To avoid the separation of the parents does not, however, insure for the child a "good" or "adequate" home. Evidence available so far does not justify the assumption that any two-parent home is better for a child than any one-parent home; or that the intactness or broken-ness of the home is, in itself, the variable that determines whether or not a child will reach his full potential. As in so many cases, it is an extremely important variable, the net effect of which depends on a number of other important variables. And as in so many cases, the net effect can be helped or hindered by community attitudes and supports.

The relatively frequent dissolution of marriages among low income Negro families is generally attributed, by students of the subject, to the disadvantaged economic position of the Negro male and the consequent downgrading of his role and status within the family, his own self-esteem, and his readiness to struggle with continuing and insuperable family responsibilities.11/ A new determination to improve the economic status of Negro men coincides with a widening of information about and access to the means of birth control. Some see in this convergence a likelihood of mutual reinforcement. A man with a stable income is more ready to accept the responsibilities of family head than one whose economic position is precarious. At the same time, the responsibilities of a family head are more manageable if the size of the family can be planned. The most optimistic prognosticators add that marital stability is likely to be enhanced by the convergence of male ego satisfaction, female respect for him as a breadwinner, and ability of each to give and to receive sex satisfactions without fear of undesired pregnancy.

Early indications suggest that in general people will reach out for services when theybelieve the services will meet a felt need, and specifically that birth control information and assistance can increase the

ABOUT HALF OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE URBAN FAMILIES* HAD INCOMES 1J OF $3,000 - $7,500 BUT MOST OF THE REMAINING NEGROES HAD LOWER INCOMES WHEREAS MOST OF THE REMAINING WHITES HAD HIGHER INCOMES



1J AFTER TAXES, 1960-61 *INCLUDES SINGLE CONSUMERS
SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

interest in receiving prenatal health care. "Our experience so far in the maternity and infant care programs gives us hopeful indications that the institution of family planning services more than doubles attendance at postpartum clinics and, in some programs at least, seems to have a favorable influence in attracting women to prenatal clinics early as word gets around that the services are available."12/

The Present Mother

In a fatherless home, the mother carries a multiple burden: as head of family, as breadwinner, as home-maker, as mentor, comforter and caretaker of children. Some psychologists hold that, during the first two years of a child's life, the father's presence is more important for his psychological, physical and economic help to the mother than for his direct effect on the child's well-being. (This assumes, of course, that he does give such support.)

The one-parent mother of very low income is likely to be either a working mother or a relief recipient. In either case she is likely to be more fatigued, less healthy physically and more subject to depression than a prosperous mother. If she is "on relief," she and her family may be living on less than a subsistence budget--although recent modifications in welfare practices and policies may bring about some modification of this situation.

If she is a working mother, the same comparisons would hold, plus the problem of arranging supervision for the children while she is out of the home. Mothers without husbands are far more likely to work than other mothers with children under eighteen; and nonwhite mothers are more likely to work than white mothers. They are also likely to receive lower pay.

The effects on children of having their mothers work outside the home are hotly debated. Research findings show strong convergence on three conclusions: (1) that almost no generalization holds true for all working mothers or all their children; (2) that many popular assumptions about working mothers and their children do not stand up under challenge; (3) that the mother's working, in itself, is only one among many factors impinging on children, and may well be a secondary factor.

Primary factors appear to condition its impact on children and family life in three chief ways:

(a) The type of arrangements made for the child's care and supervision during the mother's absence. These are partly the result of attitudes, assumption and behavior, which affect the child whether the mother works or not. But to a large extent they are the result of resources available to her.

(b) The way the child perceives and reacts to the mother's absence. This is also a result of basic factors--including his own special needs--which again affect the child in any case.

(c) Parental attitudes and behavior, including specific reactions to the mother's outside work. These, once more, are largely the product of basic factors which would affect the child in any case, although in special instances the working mother situation may have a secondary influence on their impact and interaction.13/

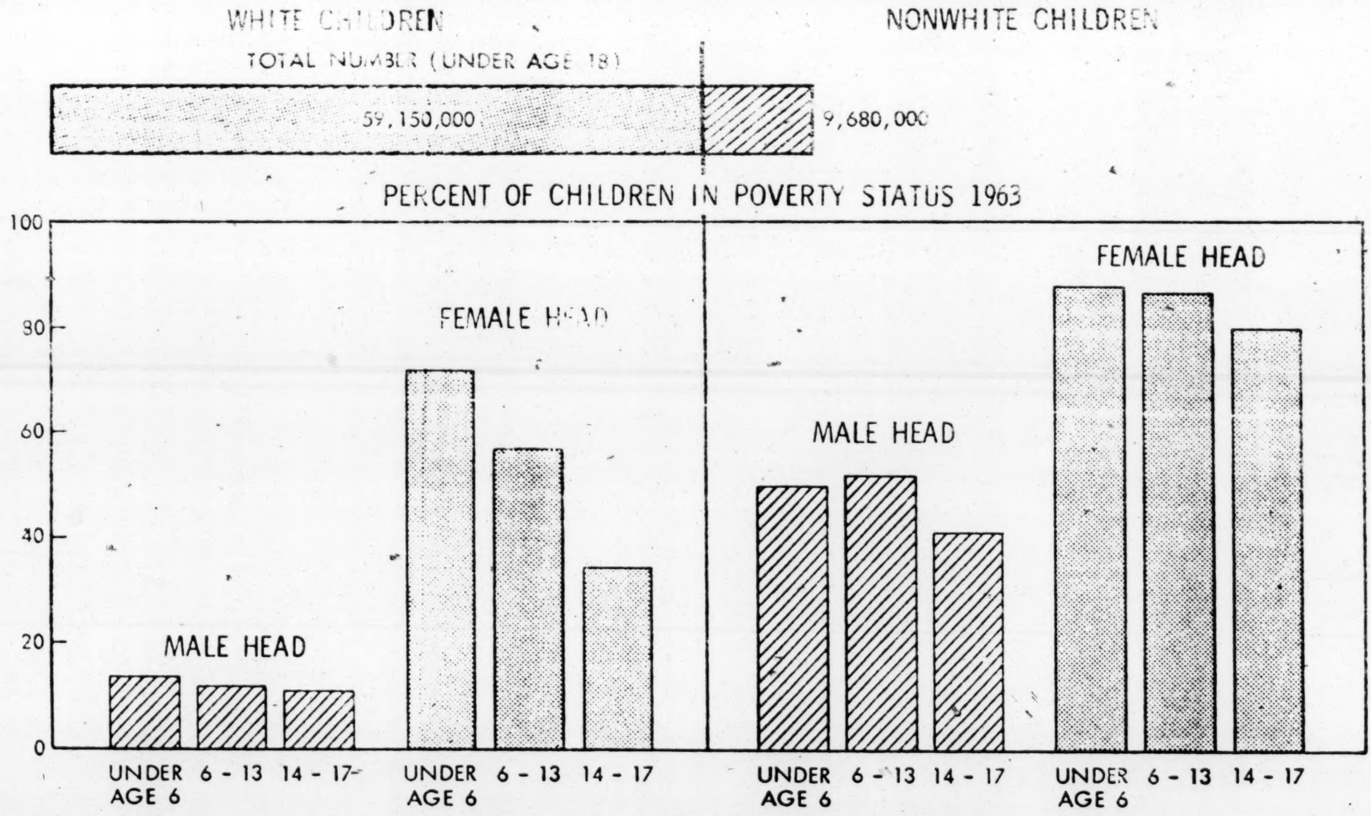
The conclusions listed above have been reported by a number of independent investigators. They leave unanswered a good many questions that connot be discussed here. They also drive home a realization that the very mothersmost likely to have no option about working outside the home are the ones least able to arrange for adequate supervision of children while the mother is out of the home.

Some of their problems were highlighted by studies conducted in the late fifties and mid-sixties. The Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau contracted with the Bureau of Census in February 1965 for a new survey to obtain information on the child-care arrangements of one specific group of working mothers: those women who worked 27 weeks or more in 1964, either full or part time and who had at least one child under 14 years of age living at home. There were 6.1 million mothers in this group. These mothers had a total of 12.3 million children under 14, one-fifth of all U.S. children in this age group. The number of mothers in the labor force with children under six numbered 3.6 million.

A number of different child-care arrangements were reported:

> Almost one-half of the children (46 per cent) were cared for in their own homes, usually by a father (15 per cent) or by another relative (21 per cent) and less frequently by a nonrelative (10 per cent). For 5 per cent the relative caring for the children at home was a child under 16 years of age.
>
> Care in someone else's home (15 per cent) was reported much less frequently than care in own home and was equally divided between care by a relative and by a nonrelative.
>
> Group care (in day centers, after school centers, etc.) was reported for 2 per cent of the children but this type of arrangement also varied by age, being 4 per cent for children under 3, 7 per cent for children 3 to 5, and 1 per cent or less for children 6 years of age or older.
>
> Eight per cent of the children in the survey were

OVER 80% OF THE NONWHITE CHILDREN LIVING IN FAMILIES HEADED BY FEMALES AND 40 – 50% OF THOSE IN FAMILIES WITH MALE HEADS WERE POOR IN 1963



SOURCE: MOLLIE ORSHANSKY, "WHO IS AMONG THE POOR" SOCIAL SECURITY BULLETIN, JULY 1965

> expected to care for themselves, an arrangement that varied by age, amounting to 1 per cent for the children under 6, 8 per cent for those 6 to 11, and 20 per cent for children 12 or 13 years of age. 14/

The picture is not reassuring, especially if one considers that the "latchkey" children for whom no arrangements are made are probably over-represented among the lowest income families, that the proportion of children in group care remains very low, and that some of the arrangements reported are sketchy in the extreme. Studies of children under the AFDC program show a larger proportion of children with no daytime care arrangements. It should be added that some of these studies also have revealed great concern on the part of some mothers about the lack of child supervision, and ingenious arrangements by a few of them to have the children report regularly by telephone.

Children and Daytime Care

In recent years, new and systematic efforts have been made to increase the quantity and quality of day care facilities for children of working mothers, and new legislation has given impetus to these efforts. Nevertheless, the 1965 figures suggest a large gap to be filled.15/

Although research results indicate that outside employment of the mother does not, in and of itself, affect children adversely, a good many believe that it is better for children to be in their own homes with their own mothers during the first two years. Even if present measures do not demonstrate adverse effects, they say, we are not able to tell whether the own mother's care would be better for them. This discussion, invoking "the Bowlby thesis" on the one hand, and, on the other, accounts of the many "fulfilled" men and women who were raised by nurses and governesses, will probably not be resolved in the near future.

Meanwhile, new controversies are flaring about the need of preschool children to obtain training for school adjustment and achievement of a kind believed not to be provided in their own homes. Should day care centers offer, not only custodial care and opportunities for socialization, but also cognitive enrichment to enhance school readiness? The hotly debated and many-faceted subject of preschool care for children of low income families is equally pertinent to discussions of education and discussions of family life. It includes consideration of what mothers offer to children and what a specific mother offers to a specific child under specific circumstances, as compared with what trained and responsive day care attendants or nursery school teachers can offer. It includes questions about whether cognitive enrichment is being sought at the expense of social and emotional development; of whether nursery school cooperativeness is cultivated at the expense of independence and coping abilities; of whether the intellectual gains reported after preschool training are stable, or fade away under the impact of unfortunate school experiences in over-crowded classes, with split shifts, and teachers often hampered by inadequate teaching or by their own unconsciously acquired habits.16/

Closely linked to problems of preschool and later education is the role of the parent in his child's schooling. There is ample evidence that low-income Negro parents have high educational aspirations for their children; and that they (like the rest of the American public) see education as the magic key to wealth and happiness. It is equally clear, however, that they tend to view themselves as having no role in the child's education, aside from housing and feeding him while he goes to school. The school is seen as a foreign and fearsome place, where a parent goes chiefly when summoned because his child has failed in his work or gotten into trouble

There is a widely accepted dictum that small children cannot be helped toward school readiness and social competence if their parents are not involved. Many programs are based on this principle, some very ingenious and apparently effective. Nevertheless, on-the-spot visits often reveal that glowingly-described programs in fact are able to "reach" very few parents, at great cost and investment of staff. The great break-through in parent and family life education has yet to be made, at least for the low income groups. Pending it, the question remains whether one must assume that any child whose parent is unable or unwilling to be "reached" is himself beyond the reach of programs designed to open up for him the way to the kind of life that most people in this country consider a good life.

The use of non-professional aides in nursery schools and day-care centers is urged as one means of combatting both the problem of parental involvement and the problem of insufficient adequate male models. Some centers for daytime care of children from low-income families encourage the mothers to serve as aides, thus increasing their involvement, giving them practice in enhancing intellectual stimulation and interpersonal response, establishing them as active collaborators in the school program, and--in some instances--augmenting their income a little. Some of these centers strive to promote active school-home partnership by arranging for parents to visit the schools their children will later attend and to become acquainted with the teachers in whose classes the children will be.

Some success has been reported in the use of teen-age boys as nursery school aides, including "delinquents" and "near-delinquents." The children respond with eager warmth to these "big men" in their lives. The youthful "big men" in turn, appear to derive great pleasure and profit from the response of the children, who treat them as responsible adults and thus evoke warmth, responsibility and enhanced self-respect.

Recently some parents whose children are in a preschool enrichment program met with the teachers to express their concern about the lax discipline in the school. Children were not smacked when they failed to obey adults, and were not scolded if they were "ugly" to each other. The teachers explained that they were trying to instill inner controls that would continue to operate when the children were too old to spank, and when so many low-income parents feel their children have moved beyond parental control. After considerable discussion, both parents and teachers expressed satisfaction.

The observers, however, were left with a number of questions that echoed concerns expressed by others: Are the children being "socialized" in a way that will be a disadvantage to them in their own neighborhoods?

Are the school and home environments incompatible in a way that will be detrimental to the children and to family cohesion?

Will the encouragement of spontaneity and autonomy in the nursery school equip them badly for the atmosphere of the usual public schoolroom?

Is the cognitive being stressed at the expense of other elements?

Births Out of Wedlock

A number of statements frequently made about births out of wedlock are supported by evidence which--even allowing for vagaries of national reporting that include over-reporting and under-reporting, as well as lack of reporting from some 15 States--still affords solid support for these particular generalizations.

It is solidly established, for example, that numbers of births out of wedlock have increased strikingly in the past twenty years and that rates have tripled since 1938. Rates are far higher among Negroes than among whites. In fact, the majority of children born out of wedlock are nonwhite, although only 12 per cent of the population are nonwhite.

There is also ample and unchallenged evidence that illegitimacy rates are much higher among the poor than among the prosperous. If further evidence were needed on a virtually unchallenged generalization, figures on rates in high and low income tracts should be sufficient. Pakter and associates, for example, found that the proportion of births out-of-wedlock in relation to total nonwhite births varied from a high of 37.5 per cent in the Central Harlem district to a comparative low of 8.9 per cent in the Pelham Bay district.17/ It is difficult to say to what extent differences should be ascribed to greater use of contraception and abortion by the non-poor, to more frequent marriage because of pregnancy among the non-poor, to higher fertility rates among the poor and among nonwhites, and to differential reporting.

A few points, also based on available figures, are less recognized and publicized. Some of these relate to the increase in rates of illegitimacy, by which is meant the number of births out of wedlock per 1,000 unmarried women of child-bearing age. The rise in rates (as differentiated from numbers) has been relatively steady over several decades, and has paralleled to a considerable degree changes in birth rates generally. This rise represents a long-term trend and not a sudden upsurge. Moreover, in the last six years reported (1957-1963) the rates have oscillated at about the same level, rising or falling one or two points or less, but in effect representing a six-year plateau. Thus, the current picture is a rise in numbers and a leveling off in rates of nonwedlock births.18/

The rates for teen-agers have increased less than the rates for other age groups over the past twenty years, and in the last eight years reported their rates have remained relatively constant. The rates for those fourteen and under have not increased since 1947. The population explosion has multiplied numbers in that age group, but rates have remained constant. True, the figures derive from estimates, but this is true of all figures on unmarried mothers and there is as much reason to trust one part of them as to trust another part. Thus any recent increase in the magnitude of problems relating to births out of wedlock is attributable to increase in population rather than to changes in the way people are behaving.

The figures just cited refer to all births out of wedlock, since rates for white and nonwhite are not available separately. Until recently, rates were undoubtedly increasing faster among nonwhites than among whites. Recently, however, nonwedlock births have increased faster among whites than among nonwhites.19/ This minor shift in relative rate of increase does not, of course, alter the large and long-standing difference between white and nonwhite illegitimacy rates nor answer the question noted above, concerning it.

Although rates of illegitimacy have not increased during the past six years, numbers have multiplied, reaching 259,000 in 1963. Unfortunately, social and medical service have not kept pace. It has been estimated roughly that probably less than one-third of our unmarried mothers receive social services near the time of the child's birth. Presumably still fewer receive them at other times.

No careful observer asserts that the insufficient services we do have are distributed evenly or efficiently. With regard to social services, it has been estimated that in 1961 about one unmarried mother in six received services from a public or voluntary child welfare agency.20/ Three-fourths of the mothers served by such agencies in 1961 were white, although the majority of the children born out of wedlock in that year were nonwhite. From this we can estimate that nearly one-third of the white unmarried mothers and less than one-tenth of the nonwhite were served by public or private child welfare agencies.

On the whole, the unmarried mothers served by voluntary child welfare agencies, maternity homes and family service agencies tend to be of higher socio-economic status (including somewhat higher education) than the average for all unmarried mothers in the United States. They also tend, as do those served by public agencies, to be younger and more likely to place their children in adoption. About 70 per cent of the white babies born out of wedlock and less than 10 per cent of the nonwhite are legally adopted.

Failure to receive services does not necessarily mean that service has been sought and refused. On the contrary, a major deterrent to receiving social services is that the unmarried mother-to-be sees no need of them. It should be added that her definition of her needs and her conception of the kind of help social agencies give seldom coincide with agency definitions. Moreover, if all unmarried mothers did seek agency help, the agencies would be unable to cope with the demand.

In the case of medical services, problems of eligibility and of arranging for care bulk far larger than with social services, and many women--married or unmarried--wait until they are in labor in order to obtain emergency service because they are not eligible to receive prenatal care. Far too few mothers, married or unmarried, receive adequate prenatal care and many receive none at all. However, still fewer unmarried than married mothers-to-be receive such care.21/

Those who have studied the problems of low-income Negro unmarried mothers on the whole subscribe to the belief that the most effective way to decrease nonwedlock births in this group would be to improve the economic situation of the low-income Negro male. Census tract data and special studies show that as income increases rates of non-wedlock birth, like the frequency of female-headed homes, decrease.22/

How illegitimacy rates will respond to dissemination of birth control information and devices, remains to be seen. Some predict that, after moderate delay, there will be a radical decrease in the number of births out of wedlock. Those who question the prediction hold that among low-income Negroes a positive value attaches to having a child, both as an affirmation of masculinity or femininity and because children are prized in themselves. This view, in turn, is countered by reminders of nonwedlock children left in hospitals by mothers who do not want to keep them. It seems reasonable to assume that given the information and materials they need, at least some unmarried women will take steps to avoid pregnancy. It is possible also that the possibility of family planning would encourage men to enter and maintain the continuing obligations of marriage--the more so if, at the same time, their own economic stability is improved.

Recent changes in policies with regard to AFDC are also cited as a possible influence in decreasing illegitimacy rates. Among other features, these changes modify the "man in the house" rule, which is said to discourage marriage, on the one hand and, on the other, to encourage over-reporting of illegitimacy through fear of losing the relief check if it is known that there is a stable relation with a man.

The often-heard statement that no stigma attaches to illegitimacy among low-income Negroes usually carries the implication that no stigma means no penalty, and that this means it doesn't matter whether one is born in or out of wedlock. This implication runs contrary to abundant evidence. To be born in wedlock and to have your children born in wedlock is a decided social plus, and a gratification.

The plus value of regular marriage is stronger than the minus value of no marriage. The lack of marriage is by no means a matter of indifference. Some low-income mothers pray for boys in order to avoid "trouble" for their daughters, and when trouble comes there is grief and anger, even though you stick to your own, take care of your own, and never turn them away. There is also a revulsion against forcing a marriage between a girl pregnant out of wedlock and the putative father, unless they really love each other. The question is - is an unhappy marriage more desirable than an out-of-wedlock birth? A girl may wait until she is "sure she loves him"--even though the assurance comes after the baby is born.

Both national statistics and special studies make it clear that women move in and out of married and unmarried motherhood, so that many families include both legitimate and illegitimate children. The pattern is familiar also among middle and high income whites, although with them it is more usual to have one illegitimate child (which may or may not be placed in adoption) and then marry and have children only in wedlock.

Attitudes toward illegitimacy and toward marriage are clearly linked with the economic position of the Negro male. A male head of house who is not a bread-winner and provider is a hazard to the happiness of the marriage, and his loss of economic status is so great a hazard to his intra-family status that he may decamp, either to protect his own ego or to make his family eligible for support from AFDC. Recent changes in the AFDC program are aimed against the second reason for family desertion.

One reason why it is difficult for middle-class observers to fathom attitudes toward sex and marriage among the poor is failure to recognize that values may be honored by people who do not adhere to them in daily life. This discrepancy between what one believes and what one does may arise from conflict between different sets of values observed by the same individual, and different hierarchies of values held by different nations, socio-economic classes, or individuals. Food and shelter for self or family may rank higher than scrupulous honesty; avoidance of an unhappy marriage may rank higher than legitimate birth status, and the value hierarchy may be constant in an individual's life or may change according to the situation.

Rodman posits the "value stretch," which he describes as broader among the poor than among the prosperous. The very poor, he says, "share the general values of the society with members of other classes, but in addition they have stretched these values or developed alternative values, which help them to adjust to their deprived circumstances." 23/ Thus, the "lower-class value stretch" refers to "the wider range of values, and the lower degree of commitment to these values, to be found within the lower class." Some commentators raise question whether the "stretch" is wider among the low income groups than among those with middle or high incomes, or merely more perceptible to middle-class observers. The behavior of the prosperous with regard to taxes is mentioned in this connection, as are sharp business practices, sexual infidelity, and the frequent placing of career advancement before the needs of family or country. No one has devised an accurate measure of stretch-difference. It seems clear, however, that on all socio-economic levels people can consciously believe in certain values, even while they continue to act as if those values did not exist. 24/

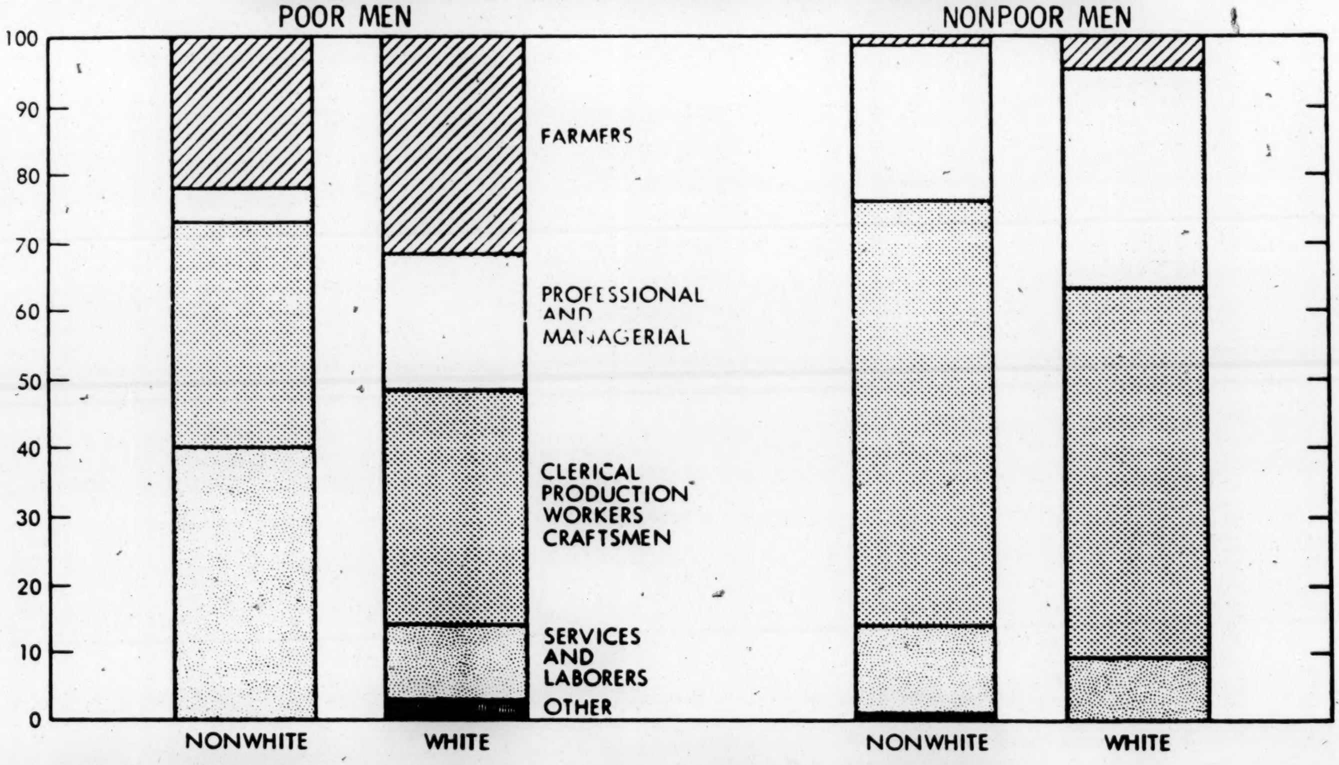
Child Rearing Practices

A number of differences between the poor and the prosperous with regard to child-rearing practices have been described, and attempts have been made to relate some of them directly to school achievement, social satisfactions and later vocational adequacy. Among the differences frequently cited: The poor are less likely to encourage a child's interest in exploration, discovery, inquiry; they are more likely to reward inactivity and passivity as attributes of a "good child;" they are less likely to enhance and reward development of verbal skills through precept and approval; they are more likely to display repressive and punitive attitudes toward sex, sex questioning and experimentation, and a view of the sex relationship as basically exploitative; they are more likely to rely on authoritarian methods of child rearing; they are more likely to discipline by corporal punishment, harshly and inconsistently applied.

Little challenge is raised against these generalizations, although many are quick to point out that some of them are almost inevitable in crowded dwellings where adults are harried, depressed and fatigued.

Some other generalizations about child-rearing practices, as about attributes of the poor generally, arouse more objections. Some of the objections relate to the investigators' use of "culture-bound instruments"; some to the claim that the traits involved are direct products of the "reality world" in which both parents and children dwell. These kinds of challenges have been raised against statements that children are reared to low esteem of selves and parents, present time-orientation, impulse gratification, fatalism, emphasis on "keeping out of trouble" rather than positive achievement, lack of goal commitment.

AMONG POOR MEN THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF NONWHITE WERE IN FARM, SERVICE AND LABORER OCCUPATIONS; THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF WHITE WERE IN CRAFTS, PRODUCTION OR CLERICAL WORK. AMONG THE NONPOOR, THERE ARE FEW IN FARMING AND THE BULK OF BOTH NONWHITE AND WHITE WORKERS ARE IN CRAFTS, CLERICAL OR PRODUCTION WORK.



1/ POOR BY SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION CRITERIA. BASED ON A 1963 INCOME OF $1,580 A YEAR FOR A NONFARM SINGLE PERSON UNDER 65 ($1,470 AGED 65 AND OVER), TO $5,090 FOR A NONFARM FAMILY OF 7 OR MORE PERSONS. THE POVERTY LINE FOR SINGLE PERSONS AND FAMILIES LIVING ON A FARM WAS PUT AT 60 PERCENT OF THE ABOVE.

SOURCE: OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Objections are raised also to implications that some of the attitudes and psychological sets listed in the preceding paragraph are basic traits rather than responses to immediate environment; and that they apply globally to an income category or neighborhood. For example, a study of child rearing practices among low income families in Washington, D. C. reports that the amount of diversity among low income families is overlooked and underrated in popular and scientific thinking.25/ In addition, the study supports the following propositions:

1. The life chances and the actual behavior of low income families are not to be confused with the cultural values and the preferences of families so classified.

2. A great deal of behavior among low income urban families reflects a straddling of behavior and of goals associated with deprivation and poverty on the one hand, and of behavior and of goals associated with higher socio-economic status and affluence on the other hand.

3. Among a considerable proportion of low income urban families observed, failures to conform in overt behavior to the so-called middle class values are due less to any lack of recognition of, and affirmation of, middle class values than they are due to such factors as (a) lack of money to support these values, (b) a process of diminution in the will to do so, and (c) a lessened confidence in their own, and especially their children's, life chances in the present and future.

4. Most parents in low income families tend to show greater conformity to and convergence with the ascribed standards of parents of middle and upper income in what they indicate they want than in their actual behavior.

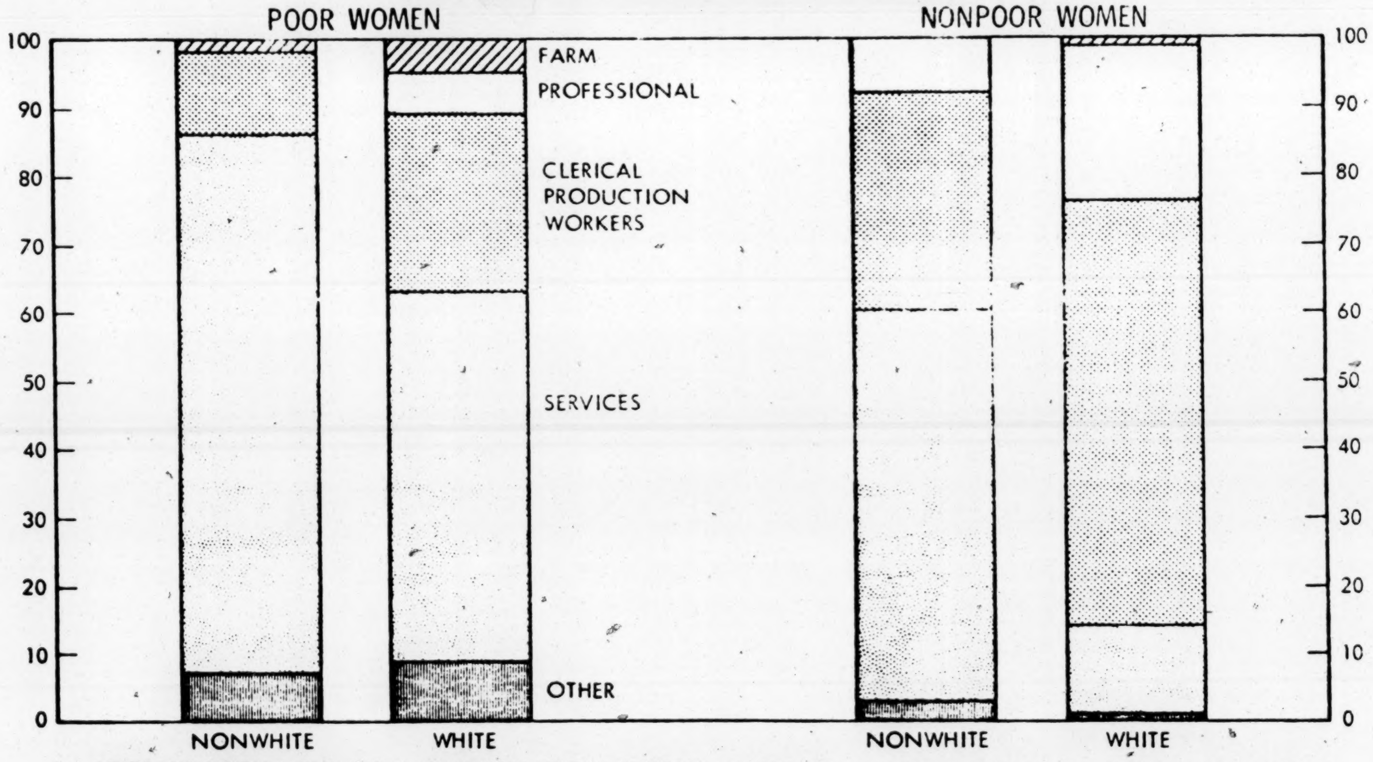
5. The range and the specifics of the child rearing concerns of low income parents approximate closely the range and the specifics of child rearing concerns ascribed to upper and middle income families. The specifics of child rearing concerns and the priorities attached to particular concerns vary from family to family.

6. The amount of family income and the evenness of its flow makes a significant difference in child rearing priorities acted upon by parents.

7. Major priority among families with low income tends to be given to meeting basic physical needs -- food, clothing, and shelter.

8. The need to invest a significant proportion of energies into meeting basic physical needs on inadequate income can result in a kind of compartmentalization of child rearing concerns.

AMONG WHITE AS WELL AS NONWHITE POOR WOMEN, MOST WERE IN SERVICE OCCUPATIONS; AMONG THE NONPOOR THE MAJORITY OF THE NONWHITE WERE STILL IN SERVICES BUT THE MAJORITY OF THE WHITE WERE CRAFTSMEN, CLERICAL OR PRODUCTION WORKERS.



1/ POOR BY SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION CRITERIA. BASED ON A 1963 INCOME OF $1,580 A YEAR FOR A NONFARM SINGLE PERSON UNDER 65 ($1,470 AGED 65 AND OVER), TO $5,090 FOR A NONFARM FAMILY OF 7 OR MORE PERSONS. THE POVERTY LINE FOR SINGLE PERSONS AND FAMILIES LIVING ON A FARM WAS PUT AT 60 PERCENT OF THE ABOVE.

SOURCE: OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

9. With few exceptions, low income parents do not approve of the circumstances in which they now live or in which their children are being brought up.

10. A major aspiration of low income parents for their children is to see their children do better in life -- especially in jobs, education, and family behavior -- than they have been able to do themselves.

11. Many low income parents assess their own child rearing performances in terms of whether they have made advances over the child rearing circumstances and performances of their own parents.

12. The economic and social roles wished of, and expected of, the low income male as husband and father by wives, mothers, and children are not different from those of the middle and upper classes, but his abilities -- and the family and community consequences of his inabilities -- to fulfill these roles are different.

Some Familiar Generalizations

A great many generalizations are made about the poor, often without differentiating among various categories of people and life styles found on the lower income levels. In general, the ill-defined group referred to as "the poor" does not include the stable, respectable working class. Nevertheless, certain characteristics are reported in inverse relation to income from top to bottom,(e.g., education, physical and mental health, regular employment, adequate housing, privacy, membership in organizations).26/ Some of the attributions come from studies based on inadequate breakdowns, so that in our studies as in our life, class distinctions become blurred.

The term "culture of poverty" is used by Oscar Lewis in a dynamic sense to express the interplay of circumstance and attitude. There is no special issue when the term is used in this way. Issues arise when the term is used to mean a world outlook or style of life that has become a thing in itself. At this edge of the term, there is an implication that the source of such a world outlook lies in other people -- parents, peers -- who hold the same attitudes and that the attitudes persist, whatever their relation to reality.

Many of the attitudes and much of the behavior of persons enmeshed in "the culture of poverty" are a response to facts of life. One author writes about the effects of prolonged malnutrition:

> ...various functional changes occur. These functional changes are manifested clinically by symptoms usually placed in the neurasthenic syndrome. They include such common complaints as excessive fatigability, disturbances in sleep, inability to concentrate, 'gas,'

> heart consciousness, and various queer bodily sensations... Occurrences [of these symptoms] as a manifestation of tissue depletion of certain nutrients is undoubted.

As for drive and ambition, a study describes "depression, apathy, and lethargy" as consequences of malnutrition. The tendency to blame others rather than one's self has also been attributed to inadequate nutrition.27/

The following effects have been attributed to poor housing:

> ...a perception of one's self that leads to pessimism and passivity, stress to which the individual cannot adapt, poor health, and a state of dissatisfaction; pleased in company but not in solitude, cynicism about people and organizations, a high degree of sexual stimulation without legitimate outlet, and difficulty in household management and child rearing; ...relationships that tend to spread out in the neighborhood rather than deeply into the family.28/

The ways in which some of these effects are produced are almost self-evident. Poor health is a consequence of the effects of poor housing in contributing to accidents, to respiratory and skin diseases, and so forth. Poor health has its attitudinal and behavioral consequences, of course. The effects of crowding are possibly less apparent but are felt through their effects on privacy, on time and opportunity for communication, and on the tendency to live out-of-doors. Living in congested neighborhoods, where tenants are transient and physical hazards are real, produces in many a constant sense of loneliness, helplessness and anxiety.

With regard to the higher level of aggression attributed to the poor, one report comments that, in encouraging their children to fight back, slum dwellers show a realistic perception of the social problems in their neighborhoods. This view receives support from a low-income father who said of his son: "I...knock the hell out of him, 'cause he can't be no sissy and grow up in this here jungle."

One frequent generalization made about the poor is that they have less belief in their control over their own destinies than the prosperous--less sense of autonomy. And to this, another commentator responds--why wouldn't they?

Perhaps the most frequent generalization of all is that the poor have a shorter time perspective than the prosperous, that they are present-oriented rather than future-oriented. A number of challenges to this one have been heard lately, especially with regard to the

Negro poor. Those who question the blanket accuracy of the present time-orientation generalization, add that in many instances future time-orientation just doesn't make sense for many of the poor. Nevertheless, they claim, when it does make sense to people of any income level, they plan for the future.

Many of the middle class have been recruited from the poor, many of the poor have middle class tastes and preferences. Time orientation may not be a culture trait or a unitary trait. It may be rather a multiple and realistic response to the multiple aspects of life as it presents itself, with future-oriented planning and performance where that makes sense, and present-oriented response where the future is unpromising and unpredictable.

It has been argued from cases and from large-scale but partial experiences (e.g., moving poor people into public housing, which rapidly turn into slums) that the attitudes and behavior--however they began--persist well beyond the need for them. Virtually all evidence lies in a contrary direction, that upward mobility is accompanied by change in values. The difference between the impression and the evidence may depend on whether a shorter or longer time span is considered or whether one element of reality (housing) or several (schools, nutrition, job opportunity) are changed.

There is abundant evidence of resources for change among Negro families, particularly among the children. Dr. Robert Coles writes:

> ...I was constantly surprised at the endurance shown by children we would all call poor or, in the current fashion, "culturally disadvantaged."
>
> What enabled such children from such families to survive, emotionally and educationally, ordeals I feel sure many white middle-class boys and girls would find impossible? What has been the source of the strength shown by the sit-in students, many of whom do not come from comfortable homes but, quite the contrary, from rural cabins or slum tenements? Why do some Negro children--like the ones I have studied--behave so idealistically and bravely, while others go on to lives of uselessness and apathy, lives filled with hate, violence and crime?29/

REFERENCES

1. Ernest W. Burgess, Preface to E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States (New York, 1957).

2. Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (March 1965), pp. 9 ff.

3. Hylan Lewis, "The Changing Negro Family" in The Nation's Children, Vol. I (New York, 1960), p. 126.

4. Elizabeth Herzog and Rose Bernstein, Health Services for Unmarried Mothers, Children's Bureau Publication No. 425, Welfare Administration, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington, D. C., 1964), p. 32.

5. Jack Lefcowitz, "Poverty and Negro-White Family Structure," unpublished paper, Research and Planning Division, Office of Economic Opportunity (1965).

6. Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (March 1965), pp. 9 ff.

7. The section entitled "The Father--Present and Absent" is part of an unpublished manuscript by Elizabeth Herzog, Children's Bureau, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

8. Helen Leland Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, Personality in the Making (New York, 1962), p. 209.

9. Ivan F. Nye, Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior (New York, 1958). Clark Vincent, Unmarried Mothers (New York, 1961).

10. Ivan F. Nye, "Child Adjustment in Broken and in Unhappy Broken Homes," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 19 (1957); and Virginia Wimperis, The Unmarried Mother and her Child (London, 1960).

11. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York, 1957). St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York, 1954). Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American (Princeton, 1964). Hylan Lewis, "The Changing Negro Family," in The Nation's Children (New York, 1960). Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (March 1965).

12. Katherine B. Oettinger, "This Most Profound Challenge," U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau (1965). Address before the Fall Conference on Public Family Planning Clinics, Hotel Roosevelt, New York, New York, September 9, 1965.

13. Elizabeth Herzog, Children of Working Mothers, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau Publication No. 382, (1960); reprinted 1964. See also Alberta Engvall Siegel, Lois Meek Stolz, Ethel Alice Hitchcock, and Jean Adamson: "Dependence and Independence in the Children of Working Mothers," Child Development (1959) Vol. 30, pp. 533-546.

14. U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau and U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Child Care Arrangements of the Nation's Working Mothers - a preliminary report (Washington, D. C., 1965), (Processed) pp. 1-4.

15. Kathryn Close, "Day Care As a Service For All Who Need It," Children (July-August 1965), pp. 157-160.

16. Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York, 1965); S. M. Miller and Ira E. Harrison, "Types of Dropouts: 'The Unemployables,'" Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D. C., March, 1963. (Syracuse University Youth Development Center, Syracuse, New York).

17. Jean Pakter, et al, "Out-of-Wedlock Births in New York City: I-- Sociological Aspects," American Journal of Public Health, LI (1961).

18. The section entitled "Births Out of Wedlock" is based on the following papers: Elizabeth Herzog, "The Chronic Revolution," Journal of Clinical Pediatrics, to be published December, 1965 or January, 1966; "Unmarried Mothers: Some Questions to be Answered and Some Answers to be Questioned," Child Welfare (October 1962); Hylan Lewis and Elizabeth Herzog, "Priorities in Research on Unmarried Mothers," in Research Perspectives on the Unmarried Mother, Child Welfare League of America, Inc. (New York, 1961).

19. National Center for Health Statistics, Public Health Service, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare: Vital Statistics of the United States, 1963: Volume 1, Natality.

20. Hannah M. Adams, Social Services for Unmarried Mothers and Their Children Provided through Public and Voluntary Child Welfare Agencies. Child Welfare Report No. 12. Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington, D. C., 1962).

21. Elizabeth Herzog and Rose Bernstein, Health Services for Unmarried Mothers, Children's Bureau Publication 425, Welfare Administration, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1964).

22. Paul H. Gebhard, et al, Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion (New York, 1958).

23. Hyman Rodman, "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," Social Forces, Vol. 42, No. 2 (December 1963), pp. 205-215. See also, Hylan Lewis, "Culture, Class and the Behavior of Low Income Families," prepared for Conference on Lower Class Culture, Barbizon Plaza Hotel, New York City, June 27-29, 1963.

24. William J. Goode, "Illegitimacy in the Caribbean Social Structure," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25 (1960). Elizabeth Herzog, "Some Assumptions About the Poor," Social Services Review (1962). Oscar Lewis, Children of Sanchez (New York, 1961). Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South (New York, 1939).

25. From Hylan Lewis, "Culture, Class and Child Rearing among Low Income Urban Negroes," prepared for inclusion as a chapter in a forthcoming volume, Arthur Ross (ed.), Jobs and Color, to be published by Harcourt Brace, and World. The paper is based on materials from a 5-year project, "Child Rearing Practices Among Low Income Families in the District of Columbia," sponsored by the Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, and supported by NIMH Grants, MH 278-5.

26. Seymour Martin Lipset, "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24:4, pp. 482-501 (August 1959). Elizabeth Herzog, "Some Assumptions About the Poor," Social Service Review, Vol. 37, No. 4 (December 1963).

27. J. Jolliffe, "The Pathogenesis of Deficiency Disease," A. Keys, "Caloric Deficiency and Starvation," and F. F. Tisdall, "The Relation of Nutrition to Health," in J. Jolliffe, F. F. Tisdall, and P. R. Cannon, Clinical Nutrition (1950).

28. Alvin L. Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity, Division of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1963.

29. Robert Coles, "There's Sinew in Negro Family," Washington Post (October 10, 1965).

Family
Gen'l.

THE FAMILY - Group V

Package of Materials sent to Participants

1. Agenda Paper: The Family: Resources for Change

2. Schorr, Alvin L. Family Policy in the United States. Reprinted from International Social Science Journal, UNESCO, 1962, Vol. XIV.

3. Edwards, C. Franklin, Community and Class Realities: The Ordeal of Change. To be published in Volume II of The Negro in America, Daedalus, December 1965.

4. Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (March 1965).

5. Erikson, Erik. The Concept of Identity in Race Relations: Notes and Queries. To be published in Volume II of The Negro in America, Daedalus, December 1965.

6. Lewis, Hylan. Culture, Class and the Behavior of Low-Income Families. Adapted from a paper presented for Conference on Lower Class Culture, New York, 1963.

7. Herzog, Elizabeth. Unmarried Mothers: Some Questions to be Answered and Some Answers to be Questioned. Child Welfare, 1962, Volume 41.

V. THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE

Mars Room, 7th Floor

Chief Consultant: Hylan Lewis
Professor of Sociology
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Co-Chairmen: Mrs. Constance Motley
Manhattan Borough President
City of New York
(Wednesday morning and Thursday afternoon)

Leonard Duhl, M.D.
Chief, Office of Planning
National Institute of Mental Health
(Wednesday afternoon and Thursday morning)

Staff Consultants: Elizabeth Herzog
Chief, Child Life Studies Branch
Research Division, Childrens Bureau
Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Alvin Schorr
Deputy Chief, Research and Planning
Office of Economic Opportunity

Adelaide Hill
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Boston University

Bonita Valien (staff reporter)
Sociologist
Washington, D.C.

Staff Aides: Leora Reimers
Marian Chase
Lisa Hirsh

THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE

Official Observers

Mrs. Esther Peterson
Special Assistant to the
President for Consumer
Affairs
Department of Labor

Mrs. Mary Keyserling
Director
Women's Bureau
Department of Labor

Fred Steininger
Director of the Bureau of
Family Services
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare

Mrs. Katherine Oettinger
Chief
Children's Bureau
Welfare Administration
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare

Robert Ball
Commissioner of Social Security
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare

Dr. Joseph Douglass
Policy and Program Coordinator
National Institute of Mental Health
Bethesda, Maryland

Dr. Helen Witmer, Chief
Research Division
Children's Bureau
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare

Dr. Thomas Gladwin
Consultant on Social Science
Special Program Development
Community Research & Services Branch
National Institute of Mental Health
Bethesda, Maryland

Dr. Maurice Dawkins
Special Assistant to the
Director of VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N.W.

THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE

Resource Consultants

Mrs. Elizabeth Ross
Consultant, CAP
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N.W.

Ellen Perkins
Chief
Division of Programs,
Statistics and Analysis
Bureau of Family Services
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Ruth Knee
National Institute of Mental
Health
Bethesda, Md.

Paul E. Barton
Social Science Research Analyst
Office of Policy Planning
and Research
Department of Labor

Myron J. Lefcowitz
Research Sociologist
Office of Research Plans,
Programs and Evaluation
Office of Economic Opportunity

FAMILY

BAXTER, Rev. Wm. M.
BRONFENBRENNER, Urie
CLARK, Mamie (Mrs. Kenneth)
COLES, Dr. Robert
CURRENT, Gloster R.
DILWORTH, Mrs. Carrie
EDDY, Mrs. Jane Lee
EDWARDS, Prof. G. Franklin
ERIKSON, Erik
GANS, Herbert J.
GUTTMACHER, Dr. Alan Frank
HEIGHT, Miss Dorothy
KNOTT, Monsignor John C.
MOORE, Mrs. Dudley
MOTLEY, Constance
MOYNIHAN, Daniel P.
PAYTON, Benjamin
**PERLIS, Leo
PERLMAN, Helen Harris (Mrs.)
PINSON, Dr. William
POLIER, Judge Justine Wise
POWELL, Robert
RAINWATER, Dr. Lee
REDDING, J. Saunders
**RODGERS, Nahaz
ROSE, Arnold
**RUBIN, Dr. Vera
SLAWSON, Dr. John
TAEUBER, Karl
THOMPSON, Daniel C.
**WOODS, Dr. Geraldine
YOUNG, Rev. Andrew J.
YOUNG, Margaret (Mrs. Whitney)

PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER # VI
HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD
George Schermer, George Nesbitt
and Robert Greene

This paper is designed to provoke discussion, to set up some preliminary targets of attack, and to suggest some tentative proposals for an action program.

Some of the proposals advanced here may appear to be mutually exclusive or contradictory. Our objective has been to place before the group a number of ideas which we believe are worthy of discussion rather than to offer a program for action.

The discussions are to be open ended and as far ranging as the group desires. All ideas are to be heard and considered. Every member of the panel is expected to make a contribution. There will be no predetermined limits to the subject matter, although the group itself may wish to define its own ground rules concerning relevance to the subject and to reach a constructive conclusion.

It is hoped that the Planning Session will achieve certain specific objectives. One objective is to come to some agreement on a statement of the problem if wide disagreements exists. This should be sufficiently general so that precious time will not be lost in debate over doctrinal definition. More importantly, it is hoped, the group will come forward with fresh approaches and program recommendations designed to deal with the problems in their full dimensions and complexities.

AN AGENDA

I. Defining Goals and Establishing Priorities

    A. Alternatives to Segregation

    B. Class and Economic Stratification

    C. Priorities and the "Issue of 'More' Versus 'Integrated' Housing"

II. The Role and Responsibility of Government

    A. The Appropriate Posture for Government

    B. Examining Concepts of Regional Planning and Urban Development

        1) Planning as a Tool

        2) The New Towns

        3) New Approaches to Low and Moderate Income Housing

            a) Public Housing

            b) Rent Supplementation

            c) Other Tools for Moderate Income Housing

        4) Central Cities Versus Suburbs

    C. Equal Opportunity Provisions in Law

        1) The Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing

        2) Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

        3) Additional Federal Legislation?

4) The Effectiveness of State and Local Laws

5) The Challenge of Fair Housing Referenda

6) Enforcement "Style" - Prohibitions Against Discrimination versus Requirements for Affirmative Action

7) The Use of Federal Programs as Instruments for Desegregation

III. The Housing and Home Finance Industry: Actions of Citizen Groups and Voluntary Efforts with Public Attitudes

A. The Industry and the "Integrators"

B. Enlisting the Support of "White America"

I. Defining Goals and Establishing Priorities

A. Alternatives to Segregation--What are the acceptable alternatives to the present massive pattern of segregation? Is the "Negro-in-every-block", "salt and pepper" kind of distribution desirable, necessary and feasible? Is the simple removal of racial barriers---with the chips of voluntary or incidental segregation falling as they may--acceptable? Would a policy of open occupancy combined with the development of widely dispersed low - and moderate - income projects be more realistic--even though it might result in a number of smaller concentrations?

B. Class and Economic Stratification--Assuming the elimination of racial restrictions within each stratum is the present economic stratification of neighborhoods socially sound? Is desegregation possible within a pattern of stratification or will such stratification itself tend to perpetuate the ghetto? Is economic stratification a proper concern within the context of race and housing?

C. Priorities--Immediate and Long Range Goals--Which should have priority: improving conditions where people live now - which may be a matter of making the ghettos more livable and perpetuating segregation or pressing for programs that will decentralize the ghetto and encourage racially inclusive neighborhoods? Are these really mutually exclusive alternatives?

How far should desegregation be pressed at the risk of defeating legislation for more public housing, urban renewal and federal assistance to the private market; or of threatening local implementation of these programs? Since drives for integration have tended to function in the upper middle income range could ways be found to concentrate on more housing for lower-income groups without disputes over integration of this housing?

Has compromise with segregation actually produced more low and moderate income housing? Can an effective low- and moderate -income housing program ever get off the ground until barriers to land acquisition and use in suburban areas have been breached? Does the Los Angeles riot suggest that housing conditions per se or segregation, unemployment and isolation are the major problems?

II. The Role and Responsibility of Government

How far should government go in shaping racial patterns of neighborhoods? The precedent for governmental control has been long established. The governments of the southern states, for example, with considerable participation of the federal government, long regulated the separation of the races.

Prior to 1949 the Federal Housing Administration openly fostered racial segregation in housing. It was not until 1962 that the federal establishment adopted a posture of "equal opportunity" in housing where federal aids were involved. Now the federal posture can be described as favoring equal opportunity but standing neutral on the issue of **de facto** segregation in housing.

A. The Appropriate Posture for Government--What should be the posture of the federal government and all its agencies? How far should the federal establishment go in the direction of fostering integration unless and until it receives a mandate to that effect from the citizenry and from Congress? Should efforts be made to generate such a mandate?

B. Examining Concepts of Regional Planning and Urban Development

1) Planning as a Tool--How effective is fundamental planning as a tool for achieving an open urban society? Can it be more effective? The urban planning profession increasingly recognizes its social

obligation in this regard. How can it be aided in working its way to solutions? What are appropriate steps to take with the public, appointed board members who direct the work of community planners in order to ease the planner's path? Has planning, in fact, been "oversold" as a weapon? Is it accurate to say that current community patterns are the result of unofficial but pervasive "planning"?

2) The New Towns--Within the past five years "New Towns" have burst upon the American scene as a fundamental approach to the ordered development of housing and related facilities. While new in a sense, American experience goes back to Radburn, New Jersey, and the "Greenbelts" of the 1930's. Developers of New Towns are, often by their own testimony, finding themselves heavily dependent on governmental assistance for their success.

What requirements should federal, state and local governments lay down as preconditions to governmental assistance so far as race and income selectivity are concerned? What incentives should be offered to induce the developers to plan affirmatively for the needs of low and moderate income families of all racial backgrounds?

Can the principles of new town planning be introduced into the revitalization of central city areas? Would planning for economic opportunity, adequate community facilities, a non-stratified population, and the cultivation of a sense of community within each area be enough to bring about the reintegration of the central city ghetto areas? What types of federal aids and preconditions would help to produce such a trend?

3) New Approaches to Low and Moderate Income Housing

a. Public Housing--Thus far public housing has been more often than not an instrument for firming up the segregation pattern. At best it has made its peace with "separate but equal". There have been many proposals for changing the character of public housing. Among them are (a) developing many widely scattered small projects inconspicuously blended into their respective neighborhoods, (b) easing federal restrictions on land and building costs, (c) vigorous administration of the several new authorizations for buying or leasing existing houses and renting them to low income families (rehabilitating those that are below standard), (d) extending the jurisdiction of local authorities to metropolitan areas, (e) empowering the federal government to assume direct control of local public housing programs, and extending them throughout the metropolitan areas.

What are the merits of these proposals? What is the order of importance? What administrative variations are appropriate to implement these proposals? Could the desegregation objective be met through the strict application by the Department of Housing and Urban Development of a requirement that new public housing sites give evidence of contributing to desegregation and of having an integrated tenancy? Is such a requirement administerable? Is it practicable?

b. Rent Supplements--Two major weaknesses of the public housing program are that local administration is in the hands of authorities subject to racial -- crossfire, and confined to functioning within delimited municipal jurisdictions; that eligible families are confined to a rigid process of application, investigation, waiting lists and limited choice of locations, unit size and style.

Various proposals for rent supplements for low income families have been advanced in recent years, both for those of public - housing income level and the income group between public housing eligibles and those able to compete in the private market. The Housing Act of 1965 provides only for a rent supplement program for families within the public housing eligibility range and limited to those families dispossessed by public action, elderly couples, the handicapped, and persons living in substandard housing. However, Congress did not fund this program. In addition, there are strong Congressional pressures to require local approval of rent supplement projects.

Of what order of magnitude is theneed for rent supplements? What would be the effect of a requirement of local approval? Should the rent supplement program be expanded to cover those in the "income gap" between public housing and the private market? Can rent supplement contracts with non-profit and limited dividend sponsors play a significant role in the dispersal process?

c. Other Tools for Moderate Income Housing--There is evidence that younger Negro couples, with children of elementary school age, and incomes in the $4,000 to $7,000 range, would be highly responsive to opportunities to purchase or rent homes within a price range of $8,000 to $12,000 or rents of $75 to $100 per month. If, with federal aids, new housing within these cost ranges could be supplied throughout the metropolitan area and effectively marketed to Negroes the desegregation effort would be substantially accelerated. Values of this magnitude are likely to attract white purchasers, and more normal market factors would come into play.

What are the principal hurdles to such a program? The high cost of land? Construction costs? What additional legislation should be recommended?

Can Sections 221 and 213 be used to bring housing costs down to this level? What other financial devices are needed to keep costs within reach of this market?

4) Central Cities vs. Suburbs--With Negroes so heavily concentrated in the central cities (except in the South) and generally excluded from suburban areas by pricing factors as well as discrimination, and with the suburbs constantly draining off the more affluent whites, is there a real prospect that any desegregation program can succeed?

Inasmuch as the federal low income housing and urban renewal programs function through municipal authorities, and are evaluated solely in terms of each respective jurisdiction, there are no obligations among the municipalities to share each other's burdens. The federal government extends many forms of financial assistance to some municipalities which seek actively to exclude Negroes by one means or another.

It has been suggested that there be established a "workable program for federal assistance" which would require that local jurisdictions participate in a regional plan, including a plan for racial desegregation, as a qualification for federal assistance of any kind including highways, airports, water supply, sewage treatment. and the like. What might be the advantages and disadvantages of such an approach?

The program most associated in the public mind with FHA - single family home mortgage insurance - has almost literally underwritten suburbia. It has been alleged that, except for special, multi-family programs, FHA has its back turned on the central city.

To what degree is this an accurate assessment? How can the "FHA way" better contribute to "saving" the core city? What modifications are required in FHA policy and procedure with respect to the purchase of existing homes as well as in the rehabilitation loan programs?

C. Equal Opportunity Provisions in Law

Despite federal and state fair housing legislation, equal opportunity is by no means an established fact with respect to the existing supply, and truly equal access is by no means assured in the current production and programs. It is appropriate therefore to review the present status of such laws and regulations.

1) The Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing--Is the Order currently being effectively implemented? How important is its extension to cover conventional loans? Is there more that can appropriately be done through Executive action?

2) Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964--Is the mandate of Title VI being met by the Federal agencies and local authorities? Is the directive in Title VI met by a passive requirement of non-discrimination or does Title VI require an affirmative commitment by the recipients of federal grants and loans that positive measures to accomplish desegregation will be taken?

3) Additional Federal Legislation? What additional fair practices legislation or other action at the federal level would be desirable to extend equal opportunity within the framework of present housing programs in urban centers, in smaller localities and in rural settings? To what extent is the remainder of the problem economic and not socially-oriented?

4) The Effectiveness of State and Local Laws--How effective have the state and local fair housing laws proven to be to date? Does the extension of these laws merit a high priority in an agenda for action? Are present model laws adequate to the need and the nature of the problem? Is it important to get total coverage of the local housing supply or does exemplary coverage suffice? Is state administration of fair housing laws comparable to the older, FEP laws and, if not, what can be learned from the enforcement history of the latter? In many states where fair housing laws are in force few Negroes appear motivated to test out the market or file compalints. Does this suggest that the precise laws have little value or that law, itself, as a tool, is inadequate in the fair housing field.

5) The Challenge of Fair Housing Referenda--How serious a challenge to the equal opportunity principle are anti-fair housing referenda? Does this tactic require exhaustive counter measures or can the energies of concerned citizens be better directed in support of other efforts?

6) Enforcement 'Style'; Prohibitions Against Discrimination vs. Requirements for Affirmative Action--Executive Order 11063 and the state fair housing practice laws prohibit sellers, lessees and agents from refusing to sell or rent because of race. There are no requirements that the patronage of Negroes or other minorities be solicited in the same manner as is commonly done for whites. Is this adequate to overcome the inertia left by generations of discrimination and segregation? Is it appropriate and feasible to require affirmative solicitation of all segments of the prospective market? Would it be possible to develop special incentives to encourage entrepreneurs to do so?

7) The Use of Federal Programs as Instruments for Desegregation--Executive Order 11063 requires that all federally assisted housing and facilities be equally accessible to persons regardless of color or race. There are no requirements that the programs be used as instruments for promoting desegregation. Local public housing authorities can continue to select sites within a framework of a segregated pattern. Urban renewal agencies are required to show only that planned projects will not result in a reduction in the supply of housing available to minorities (in addition, of course, to adequately rehousing the relocated). Cities are not required to adopt a plan for desegregation as part of their workable programs. Are there advantages or disadvantages in requiring that cities adopt and implement desegregation plans as part of their workable programs? Is this the proper vehicle for such a requirement? Can individual projects better support this type of affirmative obligation?

III. The Housing and Home Finance Industry; Actions of Citizen Groups, and Private, Voluntary Efforts Re Public Attitudes

The three partners of concern in the provision of housing are the government, the housing and related industries, and citizen groups occupied with adequate provision of shelter. This outline section deals with the latter two.

A. The Industry and the "Integrators"

Builders, bankers, developers and realtors are often cast in the role of villains. They are blamed by segregationists if Negroes enter the market and by integrationists for keeping them out. With only a few exceptions the private sector has been identified with opposition to equal opportunity laws and programs.

How can the operators in the private sector of the housing field cast themselves in a more constructive role? How can more dialogue between the industry, civil rights groups, religious and civic leadership be arranged? How can communication and joint planning be fostered at the national, metropolitan and neighborhood levels?

B. Enlisting the Support of "White America"

This agenda paper is based in large measure upon the premise that the housing and segregation problems have reached such critical dimensions that nothing less than public (governmental) action can cope with them. However, governmental action will reflect public attitudes. If the public is not fully involved itself, through voluntary action, it will view all governmental programs as imposed, and will either resist or become passive.

The question of public attitudes will be under consideration in several other sections, so the housing and neighborhood group need not deal with the total problem. But it cannot be passed over lightly. How shall suburban whites become voluntary participants in activities to develop genuine inclusiveness in their neighborhoods? Inclusiveness to be meaningful should be fairly broad. Including a token number of upper middle income Negroes will not solve the ghetto problem. Unless lower and moderate income Negro families are included in significant numbers the ghetto will continue to grow.

How can Negroes and whites together become involved in building better neighborhoods, either in the central city or in the suburban areas?

Discussion of techniques in this area can be time consuming and fruitless. Many techniques have been developed; the problem is one of implementation. To be effective millions of people need be reached and involved; this takes planning, organization and money. Who, what agencies, what structure should do this? Government? Does that not put us back to where we started? Yet there is much evidence that localized efforts can not buck the tide against a background elsewhere of passivity or exclusiveness. How then can the necessary effort be mounted on a sufficiently large scale? What is the role of foundations and other private organizations?

A BACKGROUND

Any discussion of race and housing must be held in the context of several imposing facts and pervasive trends. The most basic fact is the urbanization of Negroes. The movement of Negroes from the rural areas to the cities began much later than for whites and accelerated at a much faster rate. In 1900 only 27.7 percent of the non-white population lived in urban areas compared to 42.4 percent for whites. By 1960, 72.4 percent of non-whites lived in urban areas compared to 69.5 percent for whites. While whites have moved from rural to urban to suburban areas Negroes have remained concentrated in the central cities. In 1960, 78.4 percent of the urban non-whites lived in the central cities, compared with 47.8 percent of the whites.

The system of institutionalized segregation characteristic of the rural South has given way to a system of geographic concentration and isolation in urban areas throughout the nation. This has been accompanied by congestion, compression and perhaps even greater frustration and alienation than had been characteristic of the rural South.

Whether Negroes in urban areas are making progress or losing ground is a subject of debate. Undoubtedly it can be demonstrated that in absolute terms Negro income has increased, more Negroes graduate from high school and college, and more Negroes have jobs in skilled, white collar, professional and managerial categories. Home ownership among Negroes increased from 24 percent to 38 percent from 1940 to 1960, and the number of substandard housing units occupied by non-whites decreased from 2,800,000 in 1950 to 2,263,000 in 1960, from 72 percent to 44 percent of the units occupied by non-whites. However, perhaps as an outgrowth of rural to urban in-migration, the number of non-white households living in overcrowded conditions actually increased from 960,000 to 1,314,000 in the 1950-1960 period, although this represents a percentage decline from 32 percent to 27 percent of the growing number of non-white households.

In the light of the conflict between relative and absolute figures it is not surprising that some competent observers contend that the gains of the World War II and post-war decade were partially lost after 1950, and that in relative terms the gap between white and Negro has widened. Much empirical "evidence" is cited in support of this contention.

However, many authorities assert that with new dwelling units coming on the market, especially in urban renewal areas, the trend toward intensified segregation in urban areas has leveled off and that decentralization of the urban ghettos is underway. Others believe that the segregation pattern is being extended and intensified, and that no real relief in this respect is in sight.

Despite these differences concerning current trends there can be little disagreement that for Negroes the transition from rural to urban living basically has been a shift in ground rather than in relative status and, at best, may provide a more solid platform for the upward climb which lies ahead. From the viewpoint of the nation as a whole, and especially of the urban areas the gulf that separates Negro and white, the barriers to economic opportunity, the concentration of the Negro poor in racial ghettos and the fear that paralyzes much of the white population are the most serious of all domestic social problems.

The dignity and persistence of civil rights groups in the South captured the admiration and support of a large part of the American public and helped produce the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. The disorders, riots, and destruction in the city slums of the North and West, have been symptomatic of conditions as insidious and explosive as those of the rural South--but some white Americans have responded to them in a different way--"If that is how they are going to behave, they are not fit to live among us." However, most, if not all, mayors, police chiefs, school superintendents, responsible civic and religious leaders as well as social scientists read the riots as acute symptoms of a malignancy. The urban ghetto is a dangerous thing--a breeder of social disorganization and a destroyer of humanity--in short, a social cancer which is a threat to the body politic.

The Goals -- In Brief

The goals which most thoughtful Americans share might also be stated without much contradiction--provided they are couched in sufficiently general terms, as in the Housing Act of 1949: "a decent home and a suitable environment for every American family." Nor will many question the basic principle upon which President Kennedy's Executive Order 11063 is founded--that "the granting of federal assistance for the provision, rehabilitation or operation of housing and related facilities from which Americans are excluded because of their race, color, creed or national origin is unfair, unjust and inconsistent with public policy."

Public policy has gone beyond that of the federal government in many states which have extended the equal opportunity coverage to a much larger segment of the private housing market. Finally, perhaps, it is accurate to state it is a widely accepted principle that practices of discrimination in housing are harmful and should be prevented. Perhaps the majority of Americans disapprove of segregation and believe that the general welfare would be enhanced if suitable means were found to end it. However, it is unlikely that there would be today a substantial body of support among whites for any specific governmental programs to implement residential desegregation.

Needed--New Programs To Build New Neighborhoods and To Desegregate the Ghettos

While public support may be lacking at this time, it is assumed that those assembled have no quarrel with the goal of desegregation. The situation has reached crisis proportions. Large cities are generally powerless to act effectively to reverse the trends of rapidly growing non-white population within the city and the even more rapidly expanding suburbs which filter off the more affluent whites. Some state governments have acted to advance equal opportunity but none have devised programs to deal effectively with the problems of the urban areas or to encourage and implement racial desegregation. Some observers hold that only the Federal government has the resources and the capability for launching the necessary programs. However, much more than governmental action is required.

Questions, Issues, Program Recommendations

The task of the work group begins where the common ground of agreement leaves off. The work group must decide how far it can go in defining the problems more precisely, in stating goals in more concrete terms, and in outlining the specific elements of a comprehensive program. Following are some of the issues. Many more will appear as the discussion develops.

Defining Goals and Establishing Priorities

Questions raised in this section of the agenda paper concern the kinds of desegregation which are feasible and desirable. They also relate to the often asked question whether desegregation or better housing is given greater emphasis by ghetto dwellers. Implicit too, is the realpolitik issue of whether non-white social welfare in the nation will be better served if there is a dilution of minority group political influence. From the view of America's social health, desegregation is championed as the answer to many communal ills. The approach of some social scientists, therefore, tends to focus on the needs of the body politic and not on the wishes of perceived "needs" of a minority group.

The same considerations occur in the matter of the economic stratification (apart from artificial, racial barriers) which pens non-whites in ghettos. This is a question which has received growing attention among planners and socially concerned citizen leaders. Its appropriateness in a discussion of "race and housing" is set forth as an issue for consideration by the work group.

The question of priorities--"more housing versus integrated housing"--has become a very real issue in many American communities. Civil rights groups have often split on this issue, and sometimes this split has paralleled their divisions on other matters. The issue has come alive in such widely separated cities as Boston, Trenton, Washington, D. C., Chicago, San Francisco and Pasadena.

The more vigorous integrationists hold that upward mobility is inhibited by the closed society and that progress in education, training and employment are dependent upon integrated experiences in early childhood. In larger cities, at least, this requires the breakup of the ghetto.

The "better housing" viewpoint holds that integration is more an end product of social mobility. Realistically, it is said, lower income groups are strongly dependent upon the protection and security of the racial or ethnic enclave and are unlikely to respond to opportunities to enter the open society until they first find security in themselves. From this point of view it might seem more practical that programs for increasing the supply of housing for low income groups receive priority.

New housing tends to be priced within the reach of families earning $7,000 or more per year. In 1960, only 16 percent of the urban Negro households were in this category as compared with 43 percent of the whites. Public housing is generally restricted to families earning less than $4,000 per year. In 1960 54 percent of the urban non-white families and 22 percent of the white received incomes at these levels. Thirty percent of the non-white and 35 percent of the white households receive incomes between the $4,000 and $7,000. Among Negroes, at least, it is in this income range that there is a high ratio of young, child rearing and upwardly mobile families highly responsive to opportunities to improve their condition and to escape the ghetto. Little new housing is being supplied to this group. It is this income group that now gets its housing through the "filtering down--ghetto extending" process.

The Role and Responsibility of Government

Clearly, a response to this subject turns on questions of basic philosophy. It turns also on perceptions of what the absence of an active governmental role will produce. An unfettered market is said, by some, to have produced an economy of abundance and more and better housing than that ever enjoyed before or elsewhere. Market forces and "natural selection" this argument suggests, will before too long, bring America to new plateaus in housing as in other areas.

Contrarily, it is contended, that the present "system" of housing supply and neighborhood residence has been contrived and is a social menace. This position argues that government must take an active role not only because of an asserted threat but because government has much "undoing" to take on as a result of the patterns which governmental policies of the past are said to have produced.

Nowhere is this issue more firmly joined than in the field of urban planning. The unprecedented growth of the metropolitan urban regions, random and sometimes wanton use of open space, chaotic conditions in traffic and transportation, depleted water supply, stream and air pollution, and disposal of solid wastes, have led to a sense of national urgency. Municipalities everywhere are increasingly dependent upon federal grants and loans to cope with the problems of growth and the breakdown of facilities and services. The need for region-wide attack upon the problems has led to a system of federal grants for regional planning programs.

The Federal government is substantially in the business of supporting community planning by localities and states. Eight Federal departments and agencies support eighteen planning programs--twelve functional or general planning efforts and six, project-related planning endeavors. It is argued with increasing frequency that a commitment to desegregation need be a precondition to Federal assistance for planning in those instances where the planning program bears some relationship to patterns of residence. On the other hand, it has been said that such planning efforts, by and large, are intangible and not amenable to including the provision of planning for desegregation ;that the process in some instances is extraneous to this concern. However, at least one Federal planning program now has such a requirement. The Urban Renewal Administration's Community Renewal Program now requires studies of minority group housing patterns and the development of plans to overcome obstacles to equal opportunity. It is worth determining whether programs relating to highway development, health and education--to name just three--take adequate cognizance of the intergroup relations component in their planning.

And beyond the matter of threading racial sensitivity into existing planning programs lies a perhaps larger question. That is the conscious use of planning as a tool to achieve heterogeneous living patterns. If it be accepted that the health of the urban complex requires such patterns, then, in an age of exploding knowledge it is negligent and naive to expect this to occur through happenstance. The same disciplined, professional approach is appropriate here as in the fashioning of sophisticated urban design in construction or the development of elaborate data systems.

Among the emerging solutions to some regional problems are programs for the multi-purpose use of land, the conservation of open space and the development of the new town concept.

It is frequently asserted that new towns offer great hope for the orderly redistribution of overcrowded central city populations. However, they will provide genuine relief only if they can supply the employment opportunities, community facilities, housing accommodations and community structure to serve the needs of a genuine cross-section of the urban population in terms of economic class, educational achievement, skills, occupations, age, race and ethnic grouping.

Public Housing

In recent years the literature on public housing has become voluminous and the issues repeated perhaps ad nauseaum. Most proposals advanced for discussion at these working sessions are well known to the participants. The problem, however, may perhaps merit a fresh review.

It arises from the previously acceptable practice of providing housing on a segregated basis. For approximately 25 years this practice was sanctioned by the government. One of the program's requirements prior to the issuance of the Executive Order was that housing units should be provided for Negroes on a basis proportionate to the number eligible. Many local authorities designated projects as white or Negro.

Under Executive Order 11063 and Title VI such discrimination is no longer permitted. The Public Housing Administration issued a circular requiring all local housing authorities to establish a plan for the selection of tenants and assignment of units to insure nondiscrimination. Two different types of plans were accepted. One provides for assignment based on priority of date of application; the other offers the applicant a freedom of choice in selecting a project. Under the former the applicant may refuse the first assignment and wait for a vacancy in another project. Under the latter he waits for a unit in the project of his preference.

In most instances where the "freedom of choice" plan has been in operation, Negroes elect to live in all-Negro, and whites in all-white projects, because of choice, fear or methods of administration by the local housing authority. As a consequence there are projects where many units in the all-white projects remain vacant for lack of qualified applicants and Negroes wait indefinitely for a suitable vacancy in an all-Negro project.

In the public housing program, selection of a site is a matter of local responsibility subject only to review by the Agency. PHA has a veto power, which traditionally has been exercised sparingly. PHA has prescribed various criteria which must be met in order to make a site acceptable. Its policy statement requires that the local housing authority in site selection should select, from among otherwise available and suitable sites, those which will afford the greatest accessibility to eligible applicants regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

Local housing authorities frequently propose to construct public housing in or near areas where Negroes predominate. The resulting dilemma is whether to approve sites which will either extend or perpetuate a Negro ghetto or withhold Federal approval and, thereby, perhaps deprive some families of needed housing. Because of local pressures against public housing projects, which in large cities it is usually assumed will be Negro-occupied, the ghetto site is the only viable option. Some large cities, caught between white pressures against public housing projects in white neighborhoods, and Negro pressures against "perpetuating the ghetto," have simply given up on building public housing. In 1964, forty-three percent of the public housing starts was in cities of under 50,000, and more than half of it was for the elderly.

Rent Supplementation

An important feature of the original rent supplementation proposal was that arrangements for a rent subsidy project would be made directly between the

Federal government and the project sponsors. Local city councils and housing authorities would not have the burden of approval over local protests, or the right to veto the projects. Thus, it was hoped that the rent subsidy program would escape the racial-political controversies which have killed so many public housing projects at the local level, or consigned them to the ghetto. This provision was contained in the 1965 housing act authorizing rent subsidy projects for low-income families. In reaction, however, to fears that the rent subsidy program meant "scatteration," attempts were made to add to the housing appropriation bill a line item requiring that rent subsidy projects be cleared by local governing bodies. This issue died when all funds were denied for rent subsidies. When the issue of appropriations for rent subsidies is revived in the next Congress, the issue of local control will also be revived.

One of the more far reaching statements on the recently revived concept of rent supplements was published by the Philadelphia Housing Association in April, 1965 under the title New Directions in Housing Policy. It is included in the literature packet, and the participants'attention is directed to it.

Equal Opportunity Provisions in Law

Executive Order 11063 and Title VI

Today there are over 61 million nonfarm housing units in the United States. Less than two percent of these are subject to the mandatory requirements of the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing (Section 101) or Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Under existing Federal law probably less than twenty-five percent of new nonfarm housing construction will be subject to Federal nondiscrimination requirements in the next few years.

In all cases where FHA mortgages were insured pursuant to an application filed after November 20, 1962, the property is covered by the nondiscrimination requirements of the Order except that FHA has provided by regulation that one and two-family houses, after having once been owner-occupied are exempt from coverage.

It is the grant-in-aid housing programs that raise the issue of Title VI coverage. One school of thought argues that equal access is the sole command of Title VI, and that this is accomplished when barriers to the admittance of a minority group family are removed. More recently, however, a more "liberal" construction of Title VI has been advanced. This argues that in planning projects and in carrying on related activities in the community the local governing body must commit itself to the principle of desegregation in order to qualify for Federal financial assistance.

A gut problem confronting the urban renewal program results from the fact that substandard housing in slum areas has in many instances been disproportionately occupied by Negroes. When such areas are cleared for redevelopment this dilemma results: If redevelopment housing is public it is often occupied predominantly or entirely by Negroes. Such undertakings have been attacked as perpetuation of the ghetto; when more expensive housing has been developed, beyond the economic means of the former residents, projects have been attacked as Negro removal. While a mixture of housing in various price ranges is a suggested solution this has been frequently deemed infeasible; it may or may not be appropriate from a broad community viewpoint and may still fail to bring white families into the area.

Farm, Rural and Small Town Housing

The Farmers Home Administration in the Department of Agriculture has several housing programs covered by Executive Order 11063 and Title VI. These are designed to assist farm, itinerant labor, and non-farm, rural area families in improving their housing conditions. Programs include insured loans to individuals for the purchase of new and existing homes, and repairs to homes already owned. Direct loans may also be made to the elderly, and to non-profitcorporations and cooperatives for multi-family housing for the aged. In addition, individual farmers, associations of farmers and nonprofit organizations are eligible for direct loans and partial grants for the construction of housing for migrant labor.

It is worth noting that the bulk of FHA (USDA) loans are made not to farm families but to non-farm families in small towns with a population up to 5,500 (raised from 2,500 by the recent Housing Act.)

FHA (USDA) secures mortgage money in the capital market and makes loans through its own personnel, assisted by local committees. Its special assistance programs are carried on by direct loans from appropriations. It services the loans as well as inspecting construction, and makes annual payments to the mortgage holder. The system of recommendation(in effect) by local committees has produced charges of discriminatory conduct to the detriment of non-white farm and small town families. This was treated in one section of the March, 1965 Agriculture report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Today, FHA (USDA) reports that its local committees in areas in which non-whites make up 20 percent or more of the populace are bi-racial in composition.

The size of home loans to non-white farm families have averaged less than two-thirds of the size of loans to white farm families. Major obstacles to the provision of insured loans to Negro farm families are the low economic status of these families and their inability to make down payments. The median income of Southern Negro farm families in 1960 was $1,259 compared to $2,802 among white farm families. The average size of farms operated by Negro families in 1960 was approximately one-fifth the average size of farms operated by white families.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL - AGENDA PAPER #IV

Housing and Neighborhood

I. The Problem of Race and Housing, 1965; Defining Goals and Establishing Priorities:

Abrams, Charles, "The Housing Problem and the Negro." Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Winter 1965.

Grier, George and Eunice, "Equality and Beyond: Housing Segregation in the Great Society." Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Winter 1965.

Horne, Frank, "Achieving Integration in Housing, A Few Concepts and Procedures." A presentation to the Fair Housing Conference held by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, June 1965.

Taeuber, Karl, "Residential Segregation," Scientific American, August 1965.

II. The Role of Government; Law and Public Policy:

Denton, John H. (ed.), Race and Property, Berkeley, California, Diablo Press, 1964.

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights Under Federal Programs, An Analysis of Title VI, pamphlet, January 1965.

U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farmers Home Administration, Administration Letter 845 (400) Subject: Compliance Review on Equal Opportunity and Nondiscrimination; and Administration Letter 837 (400) Subject: Nondiscrimination by Financial Assistance in Accordance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

U. S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, Regulations Implementing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, December 1964.

Weaver, Robert C., "Dilemmas of Racial Policy," reprinted from Godkins lectures, Harvard University, 1965.

III. Recent Experience, Suggested Solutions, And Proposed Actions:

Nesbitt, George B. and Elfriede F. Hoeber, "The Fair Housing Committee: Its Need for a New Perspective," reprinted from Land Economics, May 1965.

Philadelphia Housing Association, "New Directions In Housing Policy," Issues, April 1965.

Potomac Institute, The Federal Dollar and Nondiscrimination, pamphlet, March 1965.

Weissbourd, Bernard, "Segregation, Subsidies and Megalopolis," Occasional Paper No. 1, "The City," Center for Study of Democratic Institutions.

****

Housing and the Neighborhood
BACKGROUND MATERIAL

THE FEDERAL DOLLAR AND NONDISCRIMINATION--A Guide to Community Action Under Title VI of The Civil Rights Act of 1964

CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER FEDERAL PROGRAMS--An Analysis of Title VI

NEW DIRECTIONS IN HOUSING POLICY--April 1965 Philadelphia Housing Association

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS LAND ECONOMICS Vol. XLI No. 2--The Fair Housing Committee: Its Need for a New Perspective

DILEMMAS OF RACIAL POLICY--Housing and Home Finance Agency

THE HOUSING PROBLEM AND THE NEGRO--Daedalus December 1965

ACHIEVING INTEGRATION IN HOUSING A FEW CONCEPTS AND PROCEDURES--National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

EQUALITY AND BEYOND: HOUSING SEGREGATION IN THE GREAT SOCIETY--Daedalus 1965

RESIDENTAL SEGREGATION--Scientific American August 1965

TITLE 24--HOUSING AND HOUSING CREDIT--Housing and Home Finance Agency

ADMINISTRATION LETTER 837 (400)--United States Department of Agriculture Farmers Home Administration January 13, 1965

Housing
Gen'l.

VI. HOUSING AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Venus Room, 8th Floor

Chief Consultant:	George Schermer Human Relations Consultant Washington, D.C.
Chairman:	Frank Horne Housing and Redevelopment Board New York City
Consulting Staff:	Robert Greene (staff reporter) Intergroup Relations Advisor Urban Renewal Administration
	George Nesbitt Director, Low Income Housing Demonstrations Housing and Home Finance Agency
	Arthur J. Levin Staff Director Potomac Institute, Washington, D.C.
Staff Aides:	Nan Phillips Antonelle Aikens

HOUSING AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Official Observers

Robert C. Weaver
Administrator, Housing and
Home Finance Agency
1626 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

David L. Lawrence
Special Assistant to the
President
The White House

Philip N. Brownstein
Commissioner, Federal Housing
Administration
811 Vermont Avenue, N.W.

William L. Slayton
Commissioner, Urban Renewal
Administration
811 Vermont Avenue, N.W.

Marie C. McGuire
Commissioner, Public Housing
Administration
1741 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.

Richard L. Still
Acting Commissioner, Community
Facilities Administration
1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Walter Giesey
Staff Director, President's Committee
on Equal Opportunity in Housing
The White House

Oliver W. Hill
Assistant to the Commissioner
(Intergroup Relations Service)
Federal Housing Administration
811 Vermont Avenue, N.W.

Philip G. Sadler
Director, Intergroup Relations
Branch
Public Housing Administration
1741 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.

J. Lawrence Duncan
Assistant to the Commissioner
for Intergroup Relations
Urban Renewal Administration
811 Vermont Avenue, N.W.

Howard Bertsch
Administrator
Farmers Home Administration
U.S. Department of Agriculture

William J. Driver
Administrator
Veterans Administration

Edward Hidalgo
Special Civilian Assistant
to the Secretary of the Navy
Department of Defense
4E725
Pentagon

HOUSING AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Resource Consultants

Booker T. McGraw
Assistant to the Administrator
for Intergroup Relations
Housing and Home Finance Agency
1626 K Street, N.W.

Robert Thompson
Regional Director
Assistant to the Regional
Administrator for Intergroup
Relations Region III
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Robert A. Sauer
Special Assistant to the
Deputy Administrator for Civil Rights
Housing and Home Finance Administration

Mrs. Eunice Grier
Civil Rights Commission
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

HOUSING

ALLEN, Dr. James
ALVES, Padgett
CAPLAN, Marvin
COHEN, Oscar
**EICHLER, Edward P.
EVANS, Herbert
FLEISSIG, Morris B.
GLAZER, Nathan
HORNE, Frank
HOWDEN, Edward
JACKSON, Leon
JONES, Rev. James
JONES, Theodore A.
McDERMOTT, John
**McGRATH, Joseph
MILLER, Josie (Mrs.)
**MILLER, Judge Loren
OLIVER, William
OVERTON, L. Joseph
**RAFSKY, William
**ROGG, Nathaniel
STRUNK, Norman
**THOMPSON, Robert A.
WATSON, Mrs. James
WILLIAMSON, Q.V.
WILMORE, Gayraud
WOOD, Jack

PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER #7
THE COMMUNITY: INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION
Dr. David Danzig

I. Introduction

The purposes of this panel's deliberations are to identify those obstacles to the full sharing by Negroes in American life which could be eliminated through community action, and to explore ways to strengthen such community action programs. The question is what can be done by government, business, labor, church, welfare and other private groups to assist attempts to give the Negro a greater voice in the decisions which affect the quality of his community life -- the condition of his schools, his housing, his parks, his health and welfare services, his opportunities to earn and to spend his income. And the question is what community action techniques seem most promising to fulfill this goal.

In recent years there has been wider acceptance of the idea that mobilization of power is essential to bring about social change. The realization of the connection between social power and social change has lead to a re-evaluation of community-oriented programs. This approach to community organization has assumed some of the characteristics of a movement; recently it has been given impetus by the federal juvenile delinquency program and later by the anti-poverty programs. Traditional methods are currently being re-examined to see whether they involve their intended beneficiaries on the level of policy, planning and staffing. Established and new agencies are being subjected to a second look in the light of this new criterion. New techniques are being found for giving a community greater voice, and for making that voice heard by policy-makers.

II. Major Goals for Community Organization

There seems to be general agreement on the broad aims of community action; whatever specific changes it seeks to achieve as to jobs, housing, education, etc., it is also expected to mobilize community power to:

(1) create functional organization by which all segments of the society can assume a role in developing programs to meet their specific needs;

(2) open up existing social agencies, institutions, and organizations to the full participation of the poor -- in policy making, program development and staffing, as well as in the full and equal use of services;

(3) initiate programs that will foster experiences among the poor that can be the basis of political and economic power.

Questions:

1. In what ways does, or can, the Federal Government contribute to the above goals of community action?

a. What changes in the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity are needed to make it more effective in forwarding these goals?

b. How may community action components be built into other anti-poverty programs, such as the Job Corps, Head Start, and adult education?

c. Should the spirit of "maximum feasible participation of the poor" be extended to other federal agencies, such as the Housing Department's urban renewal, public housing, and other programs? Which other federal programs and agencies should be reviewed in this light?

d. Should federal agencies assume more responsibility for measuring the extent to which Negroes benefit from their programs? In what ways could community action bring this kind of information to federal attention?

2. What kinds of demonstration projects or action programs can be developed to create greater involvement of the poor in decisions at the state and local levels?

a. What are the possibilities of the application by state and local government of "maximum feasible participation of the poor" on boards, commissions and staffs of relevant programs and agencies?

b. In what specific ways could this be brought about?

c. What are some other ways of seeing to it that the needs of the minority are understood, and met, in the carrying out of state and local programs and services?

III. Major Community Organization Gaps in Low-Income Neighborhoods

While there is no monolithic, undifferentiated Negro community, one does find some pattern of communal associations among Negroes. There are, for example, church and fraternal associations, leisure time activities, and business relationships. Some of these associations transcend socio-economic and geographic boundaries. But there are few Negro communal institutions of the sort found in Catholic, Jewish and other ethnic communities.

The great need for social welfare services on the part of Negroes goes hand in hand with the lack of resources to supply such services. The absence of a voluntary welfare structure is in part responsible for a lack of influence in shaping the policies of the public welfare agencies.

Questions:

1. What are the major organizational lacks in low-income areas -- political - economic - social?

2. To what degree are the policies and practices of social welfare agencies now being shaped by local community groups representing the interests of low-income Negroes?

3. How effective are such groups in influencing policies and in representing individual citizens who have grievances before these agencies?

4. How adequate are the Community Action Programs fostered by the Economic Opportunity Act to fill community organization gaps in low-income neighborhoods? If there are inadequacies, are they those of funds? Of personnel? Of encouraging local action?

5. In what ways could other groups or agencies, public or private, help community efforts to win improved welfare services?

6. To what extent and by what means can and should the Office of Economic Opportunity, or other federal agencies make funds available to local private groups and community organizations engaged in voter education and citizenship training?

IV. Strategies for Community Action

Various strategies for community action have been developed in recent years. But there is a scarcity of factual data on the effectiveness of the different approaches. Some frequently advocated strategies include the following:

A. The Local Audit Approach. One of the possibilities for community action at the local level is the identification of gaps, inadequacies, mismanagement, etc., of the systems that provide services to the poor.

Community strength begins when the residents of the neighborhood are able to: (1) identify the service problems and gaps in terms of their own needs; (2) create broad community concern and consensus around the problem; (3) devise strategies for producing the necessary changes; and (4) take action in order to produce the designated results.

Questions:

1. What are the most promising techniques of "local auditing"? What are ways in which such a program can be both "low-cost" yet comprehensive in its scrutiny of services?

2. Is this approach aided by the employment of residents of the ghetto by service agencies?

3. How should the Federal Government react when such efforts by local citizens meet with resistance from local agencies which receive federal funds? Should some kind of "Inspector

General's Office" or other grievance machinery exist to which citizens may turn when calling for needed changes in federally backed programs?

B. Coalition of Groups. Even where Negroes organize for action, they seldom have the resources to successfully press for the fundamental changes in society which are needed to meet the problems of technological unemployment, insufficient housing, inadequate schools, etc. As a variety of groups share an interest in finding solutions for such problems, a logical strategy for mustering sufficient political influence to forward needed programs might lie in forming coalitions of such interest groups.

Questions:

1. What kinds of coalitions might be formed at the local level?

2. To achieve coalition for mutually desired goals, can different interest groups (such as Negroes-labor-poor whites) be united while utilizing divergent techniques?

C. Minority Action Approach. Contrasting with the coalition approach, the strategy of minority action accepts the necessity of community conflict as a means of achieving social change. The minority action view sees the broad coalition approach as necessarily diluting bold action in order to achieve consensus.

Those who favor minority action hold that the action must be taken by those most directly affected by the policies they want to change. They maintain that their community activity must be self-financed, so that it belongs to the local community and is beholden to no one.

Questions:

1. How seriously would use of federal funds inhibit such independent groups?

2. Are there any other outside resources which are compatible with such independent action? What kinds?

3. Should "no strings" grants be given by the Office of Economic Opportunity to such groups for community organization?

4. Are there ways to maintain independence of these groups, yet, if they want either government or private funds, to adequately insure program and staff control?

V. Resources for Community Organization

Earlier questions have dealt with the possibilities of federal contributions to community action. This section will examine other possible resources.

A. Foundations. Foundation funds have been used independently or in conjunction with federal funds to launch many of the major community action programs in the country. In numerous instances, foundations are the exclusive funding resources for experimental and controversial programs.

Questions:

1. How can foundation funds be further utilized to supplement programs also receiving public funds?

2. What are some of the programs of community development for which the foundations are uniquely suited? For instance, should foundations be urged to invest specifically in:

a. the area of leadership training among the poor?

b. community organization programs among poor Negroes in the rural South?

c. legal, technical and management assistance to the non-profit housing corporations to rehabilitate old housing or build new housing for low and moderate income families under section 221 (d) (3) of the Housing Act or under the new rent supplement program?

d. technical and management assistance to community credit unions in low-income neighborhoods?

B. Private Organizations. The private social agencies and organizations have many programs among the poor. Traditionally, these programs have offered health and welfare services financed chiefly by voluntary contributions.

Questions:

1. What potential resources do such agencies have for social action programs?

2. What are the possibilities and implications of Chamber of Commerce and other "establishment" support of these agencies for social action programs among the poor?

C. The Poor Themselves

Questions:

1. How much resource do the poor themselves represent for social action programs?

2. Are the resources of the poor being sufficiently utilized in supporting community organization programs?

D. Regional Resources. Just as problems concerned with transportation, air and water pollution, water and land use, crime control and manpower, are already considered incapable of solution within the boundaries of city or state, many feel that community development in the terms defined here, must also be dealt with on a broader basis. They point out that we shall need bold political experiments which attempt to transcend conventional state and local governing units. It is argued that there needs to be a shift to regional or sub-regional planning and operating agencies. It is anticipated that political and economic resistance to such a shift would be enormous. Indeed, we already see that the customary battle between rural and urban areas is being replaced by new struggles between the suburb and central city.

Questions:

1. In what ways would increased community planning ease the problems faced by the Negro? Is this a major goal -- particularly with regard to desegregating schools, or deconcentrating the ghetto?

2. Shoud pressure for "regional planning" -- for closer coordination of central city and suburb -- be a community action activity?

3. How can the Federal Government encourage regional planning -- for example, through grants of housing or school funds?

4. Does the developing procedure of community action suggest a new role, or new subjects of study and research by colleges and universities? Is there more for them to do in their training of professional personnel and in the development of new techniques of evaluation and research?

* * * * * * * *

community gain

VII. COMMUNITY: INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION
Saturn Room, 9th Floor

Chief Consultant: Dr. David Danzig
Professor of Social Work
Columbia University, New York

Chairman: Dr. Herman Long
President, Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Staff Consultants: James Gibson (staff reporter)
United Planning Organization

Joan Cole
United Planning Organization

Howard Mitchell
Human Resources Program
University of Pennsylvania

Staff Aides: Louise Neri
Ruth Abram

COMMUNITY: INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION

Official Observers

Governor LeRoy Collins
Under Secretary of Commerce
Department of Commerce

Calvin Kytle
Acting Director
Community Relations Service
Department of Commerce

Stanley F. Yolles
Assistant Surgeon General
Director
National Institute of Mental Health
Bethesda, Md.

Theodore Berry
Director Community Action Programs
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200-19th Street, N.W.

Glenn Ferguson
Director
VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200-19th Street, N.W.

Jack Moscowitz
Deputy Assistant Secretary
of Defense
The Pentagon

William Gorham
Deputy Assistant Secretary of
Defense
(Special Studies and Requirements)
The Pentagon

Hyman Bookbinder
Assistant Director for Private
Groups
Office of Economic Opportunity

Samuel Yette
Special Assistant to the
Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200-19th Street, N.W.

COMMUNITY: INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION

Resource Consultants

Samuel Simmons
Civil Rights Commission
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

Robert Clampitt
Deputy Director
Office of Inspection
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200-19th Street, N.W.

COMMUNITY

BERRY, Edwin C.
BLACKWELL, Unita Z.
**BOONE, Mrs. Mildred
BUGGS, John Allen
**BUTTS, Howard Jr.
CLAYTOR, Mrs. Robert W.
CLOWARD, Richard A.
COLES, Joseph
CRONIN, Father John
CAMPION, Father Donald
DENNIS, David
DUNBAR, Dr. Leslie W.
EAGLE, Vernon
FEILD, John
HAGGSTROM, Warren
HARGRAVES, Archie
HEDGEMAN, Dr. Anna
JOHNSON, Arthur
**JOHNSON, John
KILLIAN, Lewis
**LEWIS, Mrs. Charlotte
LINCOLN, Dr. C. Eric
**LOCKETT, Mrs. Ozie
LONG, Dr. Herman

McCall, Carl
MORSELL, John A.
REYNOLDS, Hobson
**RUTLEDGE, Ed
SEXTON, Brendon
**SICELOFF, Courtney
SILBERMAN, Charles
SMITH, Frank
TYSON, Cyril

REPRINTED FROM

DÆDALUS

Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

MDCCLXXX

BOARD OF EDITORS

Raymond Aron, John E. Burchard, Clarence Faust,
Karl von Frisch, Etienne Gilson, Gerald Holton, Clark Kerr,
R. M. MacIver, Archibald MacLeish, J. Robert Oppenheimer,
Paul B. Sears, Harlow Shapley, Paul Tillich, George Wald

Stephen R. Graubard, *Editor of the Academy and of* Dædalus
Geno A. Ballotti, *Managing Editor*
Stephanie D. Jones, *Manuscripts Editor*
Elizabeth W. Miller, *Assistant Editor*
Wilma C. Fairbank, *Assistant Editor*
Nancy W. Williamson, *Editorial Assistant*

EDITORIAL OFFICE: *Dædalus,* the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 7 Linden Street, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. All communications to the Editor should be sent to that address.

SUBSCRIPTION OFFICE: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 280 Newton Street, Brookline Station, Boston, Massachusetts 02146.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: *Dædalus* is published quarterly. Subscription rate in the United States, $5.50 a year; foreign $6.00; single copies (regular current issues), $1.50 domestic, $1.75 foreign; for a back issue add $0.50. Double issue: $3.00 domestic, $3.50 foreign; for a back issue add $0.75. Subscription orders should be sent to the Subscription Office.

Published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Printed in the United States of America. Printing Office: 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 12-30299

Second-class postage paid at Richmond, Virginia

Copyright © 1965 by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

JOHN B. TURNER AND WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Who Has the Revolution or Thoughts on the Second Reconstruction

NOW THAT injustices to the Negroes have once again eaten deeply into the public conscience of the white citizenry of the United States and the burden of these injustices has become less bearable by the Negro than ever before, and now that the impossibility of continuing the status of Negroes without serious and almost irrevocable damage to the concept of democracy is increasingly apparent—with its unavoidable harm to the political and social future of the United States—many people are beginning to raise the inevitable question: What will the solution to racial injustice be like? How will the future look?

The question of the kind of society we will have when the Negro is truly a full participant is essentially a question of how whites should regard and treat Negroes, of how Negroes should regard and treat whites, of how the Negro should regard and treat himself, and of how the white should regard and treat himself. It is essentially a question of whether people, white and black, can behave in such a way that race and skin color are no longer relevant in human relations.

It must be clear to those with their fingers on the pulse of Negro discontent, those who are not distracted by more visible and purely local discoloration of the civil rights struggles, that anything short of the prescriptions of the Constitution of the United States and of the Bill of Rights will be completely unacceptable to the Negro and that it should be equally unacceptable to white citizens.

The Negro will demand a society that no longer kicks the Negro around, not in a physical sense alone, but in economic, political, social, and psychological senses as well. This society will not be content with the mere cessation of abuse of the Negro. It will seek in fact to allocate its resources so that *all* people now unable to take advantage of an open society because of the evils of the past systems of discrimination and prejudice can develop their talents for becoming contributors to society as well as consumers.

Beyond these architectural benchmarks the elaboration of the ideal into the tangible is much more difficult. A fair amount of disagreement exists among whites concerning how this utopia should look, what it should be like. It exists among Negroes as well. Such disagreement can never be settled by injunction; and if it is lifted to a focal point in discussion, disagreement can greatly slow down efforts to achieve the Negro's full participation in society. It may even immobilize those efforts.

What will society be like when the Negro is a full participant may be a spurious question; and if taken too seriously it could prove to be a millstone around the necks of the very Americans who believe most deeply in our political, economic, and social democracy, those who are concerned to make this democracy work.

At this particular stage of the civil rights struggle, devotees of democracy, Negroes in particular, must focus on the goals, the strategies, and the activities needed to close the gap between the life chances of all minority groups and those of the white majority. It is to this latter problem, the development of an interim strategy, that the major part of this paper is addressed.

I. *The Negro and the Revolutions*

The past twenty years have seen increased activity aimed toward improving the status of the Negro. This activity is characterized by some new inputs that distinguish these twenty years from those preceding World War II. Perhaps the most important new element is the greater predisposition of the Negro to assume risk in pressing for status equal to that of whites. A second has been the positive response of institutions, public and private, which traditionally guard and promote our democratic and moral heritage. Perhaps a third is the still weak but yet impressive show of Negro solidarity and group discipline, which is at best a loose and shaky coalition.

There is a tendency both in literature and in conversation to refer to the current civil rights struggle as a *revolt* or a *revolution.* The label is a comforting one to those who have been concerned with civil rights for a long time, for at the simplest level *revolution* connotes an acceleration of pace. There is nothing automatic or magical, however, about the outcome of a revolution. Revolutions must be planned, must be led to the desired end. To achieve that end, evaluations must constantly be made to determine what is to be done. Therefore, those persons concerned with the management and stewardship of the civil rights struggle should be increasingly accurate in their use of this concept, and must constantly ask how the current civil rights thrust can in fact maintain its revolutionary purpose.

A revolution seeks change through "a sudden and violent break with the past." The temper of a revolution is "not tomorrow but now, not part of the way but all the way." Certainly the civil rights movement has conveyed this notion of urgency through its slogan, "Freedom Now." There is no denying that without the picketing, the sit-ins, the marches the nation would have progressed less rapidly, if at all, to its present position. The protests have provided a visible rallying point for *all* Americans, Negro and white, but especially for the Negro. They have become a source of pride, a builder of morale. Protests satisfy the need to take action to help oneself. When successfully designed, they provide a sense of tangible accomplishment. They have drawn the young and not-so-young intellectuals, Negro and white, who have participated in an effort to rediscover the full meaning of democracy in today's age of scientific discovery. But to what extent do the sit-ins, the lie-ins, the marches, and the other protest and defense activities promise, in the areas where they have occurred, a sustained commitment to increase the pace of action to secure change?

Social revolutions seek change in one or all of the following areas: (1) in the locus of power and control, (2) in the rules of the game or in policy, and (3) in the distribution of rewards within the system for large segments of the population. It must be stated that *if* the civil rights struggle is indeed the current revolution in the United States, it is in many ways unique. At least until now the Negro has not been so much trying to change the American system as attempting to become a part of it. The greatest articulated concern is with just and fair access and with sharing in the rewards of the system. He is not directly seeking to put another class or another political group into power or control. He is concerned with change in those policies which exclude him, legally and extralegally; and he is concerned either with replacing those persons now in power who control such policies or with influencing them to change their exclusion practices and present pattern of reward distribution.

Realistically, though, the possibility of Negroes gaining full inclusion into society cannot be considered apart from other major domestic problems: During this era of unprecedented abundance and affluence, what is to be done with the one-fifth of the nation that is poor, with the second fifth that is economically deprived? Now that almost two-thirds of the nation lives in or near vast metropolitan complexes, what is to be done about the management and control of urban America, its obsolete housing, the increasing need for services, the archaic forms of local government and financing?

It is evident that, without viable solutions to these problems, any attempt to make the Negro part of the system will succeed only partially, thus leaving the Negro outside or forcing him to adopt a strategy to change the system. Viewed in this perspective, the nature and scope of the revolution is less clear, for the problems of automation and cybernation and of urbanization appear inexplicably entwined with that of Negroes being excluded from the main stream of society. If we are to adhere to the political and moral values of this nation, we cannot possibly progress in resolving one problem without making progress in resolving the others. Of course a certain amount of "slack" can be taken up in the system, but deeper and more permanent solutions will not be achieved.

Protest has been the Negroes' major weapon in the past and will continue to be a major part of the arsenal of strategies to win full participation. But the strategy of protest is not equally applicable in all situations.[1] As a means of bringing about a sustained step-up in pace, it has a limited use. For one thing, it is easy to mistake protest for progress, to mistake tokenism—albeit tokenism on a broader basis than ever before—for a sign that reform or revolutionary ends have been achieved. In associating constantly with people who share our convictions, it is, in fact, easy to believe that the walls of exclusion have fallen; having won the opportunity to enter barbershops in one community, it is possible to conclude that barbershops in all communities are open, or, having integrated housing on one street, to think that the street will remain integrated forever. It is easy, having received newspaper, television, and radio coverage, talked with mayors and community leaders, sustained insults and suffered weariness during marches and picketing, to conclude that the revolution is ended. It is precisely this phenomenon that led Hannah Arendt to write in her study *On Revolution:*

> There is perhaps nothing more detrimental to an understanding of revolution than the common assumption that the revolutionary process has come to an end when liberation is achieved and the turmoil and the violence, inherent in all wars of independence, has come to an end. This view is not new.[2]

A revolution is not a special moment in time. There is no such thing as instant revolution. Revolution consists of *before* and *after.* And we have yet to complete the *before.* Wisdom must be developed regarding its scope and the obstacles which it must overcome. Interim strategies and action must be planned to guide it to its intended outcome.

The reasons that, following the Emancipation, the Negro failed to dig in, failed to move more rapidly, are complex, yet as understandable as the slow strides now being made by the newly emerging independent countries of Africa. But to know why an action fails is not to correct it. Our situation today is much different from that of a century ago. In addition to the new inputs already indicated, there are other factors which might suggest a better climate for the efforts of the Negro: (1) Poor as the Negro's education is in comparison with that of whites, it is much better than it was a hundred years ago. (2) As a result of mobility and mass media, the Negro is more aware today of his opportunities, rights, and the discrepancies between his status and that prescribed by the moral and written law of the land. (3) The existence of large numbers of demoralized and alienated people poses a threat to an increasingly urban society. (4) The burden of the unresolved race problem weighs heavily upon the nation's effort to seek and maintain world leadership. All these contribute to the efforts of Negroes and whites to bring about a speedier solution to the race problem.

A hundred years ago the United States stood in the midst of another revolution. Although the Negro American was merely a pawn in that struggle, the expectations were that he would emerge a full participant in society. This he did not do. Most assuredly these expectations were unrealistic, but the warnings and lessons to be gained from the Reconstruction era cannot be ignored today.[3]

Nathaniel Weyl epitomizes the turbulent years of Reconstruction in his view that no leadership worthy of the name emerged among the Negro masses to give them coherence, organization, direction, and goals. The Negro mass itself failed to meet the challenge of the new opportunities. During the hothouse period of Northern military protection the Negro failed to seize his opportunities. Weyl quotes James Ford Rhodes as saying that the fifteen Negroes who served in Congress "left no mark on the legislation of the time." It may well be that Mr. Weyl writes harshly, even unsympathetically, but the accuracy of his conclusions remains largely unchallengeable.

But even though the climate for the Negro's efforts has improved, there is much on the current scene that gives reason for intelligent concern. Within the larger society there is an increasingly visible resistance of the heretofore somewhat latent but hard core of white supremacy. Perhaps the newest acronym in the field of white supremacy is SPONGE, the Society to Prevent Only Negroes from Getting Everything. In a fashion not unlike that of the Reconstruction era the union of white supremacy and political opportunism can pulverize the economically and politically disorganized, the inept, and the naive. Once again, there is evidence of a return to violence to keep the Negro in his place—such violence was a major characteristic of the Reconstruction era.[4] The stiffening of resistance is to be expected. Prediction, however, is not enough; plans must be made to dissolve the resistance.

The larger society is also threatened by the economic and social problems already alluded to—namely, the impact of automation and cybernation upon the economic security of the Negro. Willhelm and Powell aptly phrase the issue in the question "Who Needs the Negro?"[5] Unfortunately, the laws and programs demanding that the employment structure be opened are being enforced at the precise moment when the requirements for entering and remaining in employment are being raised, and at a time when the preferences for manpower are shifting. The undereducated Negro is consequently placed at a disadvantage. Willhelm and Powell suggest that the real revolution is the economic one. They write:

> As more of us become unnecessary—as human energy and thought themselves become increasingly unnecessary—the greater will be our social anxiety. Then perhaps we will become aware that racial strife today is not between black and white, but is instead a search for human rights in a world of machines that makes so many humans utterly dispensable.[6]

Within the Negro "group" there are also causes for concern; there is continuing evidence of political naiveté among the leaders and the masses. It is still extremely common to find Negro candidates for political office running in such numbers that they cancel out the chances that any one of them will be elected. Often the Negro electorate fails to support those elected officials who have risked their political lives to help the Negro cause. It is still frequently the case that the Negro electorate uses its vote primarily to veto rather than to seek remedial and corrective action.

At the moment there is danger that the efforts of the Negro to help himself may fall short of their target through over-dependence on protest action. As James Wilson points out in his article "Strategy of Protest," there are conditions which must be reasonably met if protest is to be successful.[7] When inappropriately used, protest fails to achieve the objective; this in turn lowers the readiness of potential supporters to participate. It can also mobilize the opposition prematurely. In a few instances, as one might expect, protest is used to achieve purely individual objectives as opposed to group objectives. Such activity naturally creates doubt and suspicion among those who are called upon to participate; and it also undercuts the legitimacy of the protest in the minds of those against whom it is directed as well as among the general public. Ways must be found to protect legitimate protest from this abuse.

In summary, the current civil rights struggle is indeed revolutionary. First, it is revolutionary because it seeks and must find within the larger framework of social change a solution potentially involving modifications of traditional relations, between man and work and between man and his socio-political environment. Second, the civil rights struggle is revolutionary because, if it is to succeed, it must bring about rapid and radical changes within the Negro "group." These two revolutionary aims are not independent of each other. While it is clear that the major initiative and responsibility for the second belongs to the Negro, he cannot permit himself to become a pawn or onlooker in the broader revolutionary struggle. What strategy and what action is required of the Negro if the revolutions are to be successfully pursued?

II. *The Revolution from Within*

Restating the problem operationally. In describing the racial problem many people confuse their definition of it with its solution. In other words, some people view the problem as the failure of the Negro to achieve integration, while others refer to it as the failure of the Negro to achieve an equal partnership in a pluralistic society. But the issue is incorrectly stated when put into these terms. It is dramatically clear, it is simple to describe, and it can be expressed in terms which do not confuse definition with solution. The Negro's problem arises because his minority status has brought about greatly limited life chances in comparison with those of the white majority. This disparity appears frozen in relation to the majority group. In an address on civil rights to the Congress on February 28, 1963, the late President Kennedy stated this clearly. He said:

> The Negro baby born in America today—regardless of the section or state in which he is born—has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is seven years less and the prospects of earning only half as much.

It is not necessary to detail these statistics further, for they are increasingly well known. In any area selected—economic security, citizenship, housing, education, family stability, health, crime—the Negro is subject to grossly unequal life chances. The effect is to reduce his opportunity seriously as compared with that of the white majority. At the same time it adds significantly to his burdens and handicaps as compared with those experienced by whites.

The equalization of life chances for all racial, ethnic, and religious minorities is not only a goal compatible with the values of our democratic system of government and way of life; it must, in fact, be realized if the idea of democracy is to remain viable for Americans. It is necessary if our system of government is to remain a model which Americans aspire to have respected and emulated in the world of nations.

To many people the solution to the problem of equalizing the life chances of the Negro is a simple one. If the Negro really wants to improve himself, it is up to him. If he is down and out, if he has fewer life chances, he has only himself to blame. People who see the cause of the Negro's problem as individual failure say to the Negro, "Learn to speak better, dress well but less conspicuously, become quieter and more moderate in your behavior, work harder, save your money, fix up your property, attend concerts and the symphony and ballet, visit art museums, frequent the theater, meet and know the right people, and your problems will be resolved. It will only be a matter of time. Haven't the Jews, the Irish, the Italians—even the Southern whites—solved their problems this way?" This prescription for solving the Negro racial problem is called acculturation or, more commonly, the "melting pot" approach. People who believe in this approach would seek to help the Negro equalize his life chances by making him a "dark white man."

This acculturation model has not solved the racial problem for two compelling reasons: (1) It is based upon the principle that, if a member of a sub-group can lose those characteristics which set it apart, he will become indistinguishable from the majority group and will thus have the same life chances as members of that majority group. This principle might work were it not for the Negro's skin color, which makes him an accessible target for group subordination and exploitation. (2) The "melting pot" approach is also based upon the principle that, if an individual can succeed in our occupational system, he can rise to the top of our status-hierarchy. But the Negro's efforts to develop economic security have come at a point in history when certain major changes in our economic system all but close the traditional doors to economic security. The day has passed when an enterprising small merchant can expand a pushcart operation into a chain of food, furniture, or department stores. The openness of the employment market is now controlled by a labor movement whose major concern is not the control of working conditions and wages but whether or not there will be enough jobs for its present members.

A strategy for action. If at this time Negroes cannot defend themselves as a group against exploitation by submerging their identity or by becoming indistinguishable from members of the majority group, they must prevent group exploitation by group counter-power. They must be able to deter and to ward off exploitation, to protect their group by creating conflict of interest between exploitative behavior and goals of equal or greater importance to the majority group.

The essential requisites for group-exploitation deterrence-capability are: (1) *power* or *ability* to cause others to act as one desires —even against their wishes if necessary, (2) *the will to use power* for group purposes, and (3) *the capacity to exercise power skillfully.*

The first task in action to equalize the life chances of the Negro as a group must be to mobilize power. There are many sources of power but three are particularly relevant for action—political organization, economic control, and group solidarity.

Operationally, political power constitutes the ability to elect officials, to pass or veto issues voted upon by the electorate, and to procure a reasonable distribution of the rewards of the political system. A prior condition for maximum political power is maximum registration and voter turn-out, disciplined use of the ballot, disciplined use of elected official influence, and the procurement of key jobs in the government.

Economic power means, operationally, the ability to withhold needed purchasing power, to influence vital centers of decision in regard to the allocation of economic resources, to mobilize capital for group interest, to control an equitable share of wealth, to get a fair return on the dollar spent, and to become dispersed throughout the occupational structure, with mobility in each occupational class. Essentially what is required is capacity to exploit economic opportunity and to apply economic sanctions. The Negro must engage in a program of economic development.

Group solidarity is perhaps the most difficult of the sources of power to define operationally. It means, in general, the capacity to mobilize psychological and social resources at the sub-group level. It is rooted in the mutual-help concept characteristic of many families where mother, father, brother, and sister sacrifice to some extent so that one member of the family may go to school, get needed medical care, take a trip abroad, go into business, or seek some other family approved and valued objective. At another level, people from the same neighborhood or city may pool resources to help newer members.

Group solidarity raises the question of group identity, a difficult obstacle for the Negro because it was his identity (color) that created his problem. This is particularly true when acculturation is the preferred method of solving the problem. But in employing exploitation deterrence as an interim strategy, group identification is not only necessary but also more easily rationalized and accepted.

The question whether group identification is an end in itself or a means to an end will also arise. It seems to be clearly the latter, and its mobilization is justified on this ground alone. Whether it should become an end-goal will remain for future generations to determine. What *is* important is that Negroes should have the opportunity at some later date to make this choice.

The mobilization of power is not in itself sufficient for achieving effective action. As we have already seen, there must be the will to use it. The exercise of power is always at a cost, and the Negro group and its leaders must be willing to pay it. The Negro is caught in a vise between the pressure of American culture for individual success and the necessity for individual sacrifice if group success is to be achieved. Until this obstacle is understood and until Negro leaders and the masses place higher value upon group success, Negro group power can never be appropriately utilized for the ends of equalizing life chances. Every Negro institution, beginning with the family, must place high value upon cooperation in attaining group goals, while continuing to promote the idea of individual initiative. This is a complex and difficult assignment. The pattern of cooperation and collaboration must be visible and meaningful throughout the civil rights movement. It cannot be limited to a public facade of "togetherness." Civil rights leaders must be deeply committed to the value of mutual aid as a means of accomplishing the common goal.

Collaborative action will not come automatically; it will be necessary to assign responsibility for its promotion. Nor will collaboration take place in a vacuum. It must take place around tangible, important objectives and, at first, around the more clearly achievable ones; for in learning to value highly cooperative endeavors "nothing succeeds like success."

Finally, power must be intelligently utilized. It cannot be wasted as if it exists in inexhaustible supply. It must be conserved, channeled into priority issues at the precise moment when it can do the most good. There are two major directions for action within which appropriate priorities must be set even though they will require periodic readjustment: efforts to change the rules of the game and efforts to help the Negro play a more skilled game within existing rules.

With respect to changing the rules of the game, the architects of the civil rights struggle must ask what policies, what programs, what practices at the national, state, and local levels are most crucial in equalizing the life chances of the Negro. There should be frequent and regular communication at the national level among the leaders and staffs of the major organizations in the civil rights field to determine the primary areas of policy concern. An elaboration of the prevalence, scope, and etiology of the gap between the life chances of the Negro and the white should specify the most important areas of policy change and policy development. Too often civil rights organizations have been satisfied with playing a monitoring or watchdog role. Such activity is undoubtedly needed, but alone it is an incomplete answer to the task at hand.

To an increasing extent, policy and program issues will not be clearly marked with the label of race. They are likely to deal with long-term plans for the social, economic, and political development of the community. To play a role in shaping such plans so that they do not work to his detriment, the Negro must become at least as knowledgeable about these issues as others are; and obviously it is to his advantage to become even more expert. Also, it will be increasingly important for the architects of the Negro's future to link minority goals to the goals of other interest groups such as labor, business, and religion and also to the goals of the commonwealth.

While community policy is being forged to alter the broad conditions which limit and control the status of the Negro, the individual Negro cannot stand aside and wait. He must make individual decisions within the limits of the present system to determine how best to cope with it. He needs motivation, knowledge, and skill to enable him to cope as effectively as possible with the complex of factors uniquely affecting him. Civil rights organizations must give serious consideration to programs designed to help the Negro deal with life as it is now.

There are two related ideas which should be a major part of such programs. First, the notion of excellence should be seriously reassessed and must become the test of social, economic, and political literacy. It is probably true that, in the past, the Negro has gained little advantage by excelling. Often incompetence became one way of retaliating against the oppressive forces in his life. While these explanations are understandable and were even functional to some degree, in today's society incompetence is highly dysfunctional. The idea of excellence must be disassociated from the idea of occupational status mobility. One need not become a teacher, physician, or judge to achieve excellence. Excellence is more than a demand for mere competence. It is a plea for the highest standards, and it is a plea for creativity.

In his book, *Excellence: Can we be equal and excellent too?* John Gardner points out that "the importance of competence as a condition of freedom has been widely ignored."[8] Opening the doors to opportunity—which is clearly a first condition—will not of itself bring about full participation of the Negro in society. The formula is much more likely to be opportunity plus contribution plus power leads to fuller participation.

It is important that the Negro be identified among those considered to be the most skilled, creative, and qualified, whether he be a garbage collector, housekeeper, engineer, or politician. Some people will ask why the Negro needs to be any more competent than anyone else. The answer is simple: The Negro is not yet able to enjoy the democratic anonymity of being anybody. Excellence will be one component in earning the distinction of being as good or as bad as anybody else. Now the Negro needs to concentrate on being at least as good as and better than most, if he can.

The second idea concerns the assertion or exercise of rights and opportunities. Civil rights programs must help the Negro take advantage of job, business, educational, cultural, social, and political opportunities in tangible ways. Freedom and opportunity must be used, or they wither away. What is needed is a massive on-the-job training program in socialization into society. Such a program should be close enough to the individual Negro that help can be individually tailored to provide a good base for continuing growth. It would demand a new approach to social education outside of the traditional setting, whether in schools or in social agencies.

Of major significance will be efforts to link the Negro middle class with the working class. This is badly needed by both groups. The dynamics of mobility are understandable, but the shaky connection at the present time is dysfunctional. Efforts should be made to strengthen this linkage. Programs designed to bring about social, economic, and political literacy cannot be fragmented efforts but must be built into the Negro organizational structure with the assurance that they can continue for several years.

There are two target groups in the Negro population that require special thought, study, and investment. These are *youth*—the next generation—and *men*. Ways must be found to effect a dramatic increase in our economic, social, cultural, and psychological investment in Negro youth. Likewise, ways must be found to free the Negro male at every social level to assume responsibility up to the limits of his talent. The entire history of the treatment of the Negro is a travesty upon his masculinity. This travesty will not be easy to overcome, but attention to Negro males should rank high on any list of priorities. It should realistically adjust his self-image upward.

There is need for a National Commission on Negro Youth which would pay special attention over the next twenty-five years to the needs of Negro youth. The Commission should be a planning, research, and policy development operation. Its purpose should be to determine the direction and scope of programs designed to assist

Negro youth in becoming full partners in the American system. It
hould seek to encourage and promote its goals through existing
rganizations, such as schools, churches, social agencies, certain
ublic media, and to help bring into being new agencies where
eeded. Such a Commission should seek to sensitize all organiza-
ons having Negro youths as members to the need to assist them in
vercoming the obstacles to full participation; to include emphases
hich strengthen the capacity of Negro youths to participate with
uality in the larger society; to make use of the existing resources
carrying out these tasks. It is essential that special and combined
sources be allocated to instruction, exposure, confidence building,
d opportunity linkage.

Efforts must be made to widen public support for improving the
ality and quantity of education in every public school district—
viously a first and necessary target. But, in addition, ways must be
nd to encourage the fullest exploitation of those programs which
dergird and extend the work of public schools. Such efforts would
only involve institutionalizing present tutorial efforts for the
dereducated, but would also provide a new approach to educa-
experience for the parents of these children, thus helping to
ate a more supportive environment in the home for education
eneral. Remedial and enrichment classes should be undertaken
uch organizations as churches, labor unions, and social agencies.
ruction should focus upon full and responsible entry into the
nomic, political, and cultural activities of our society. These
hases will require that organizations rearrange their present
erns of allocations. Perhaps it will be necessary to offer induce-
ts to organizations to change supplementary funding.

ole identification by contact and exposure remains one of the
amental ways of motivating to learn. Negro youth are too fre-
tly deprived of effective role models whom they can come to
in other than a superficial and vicarious manner. Youth need
come aware through first-hand experience of the reality of
vement, and to gain true perspective on costs and gains. Negro
need systematic, repeated exposure—socially, vocationally,
physically—to effective role models as a major means of en-
ging the development of their talents. A special fund should
ablished nationally to make it possible for several of the tal-
young Negro people in various fields to work and study with
nding senior people for one or two years. Such a plan might
perate on a local level in some communities.

be a garbage collector, housekeeper, engineer, or politician. Some people will ask why the Negro needs to be any more competent than anyone else. The answer is simple: The Negro is not yet able to enjoy the democratic anonymity of being anybody. Excellence will be one component in earning the distinction of being as good or as bad as anybody else. Now the Negro needs to concentrate on being at least as good as and better than most, if he can.

The second idea concerns the assertion or exercise of rights and opportunities. Civil rights programs must help the Negro take advantage of job, business, educational, cultural, social, and political opportunities in tangible ways. Freedom and opportunity must be used, or they wither away. What is needed is a massive on-the-job training program in socialization into society. Such a program should be close enough to the individual Negro that help can be individually tailored to provide a good base for continuing growth. It would demand a new approach to social education outside of the traditional setting, whether in schools or in social agencies.

Of major significance will be efforts to link the Negro middle class with the working class. This is badly needed by both groups. The dynamics of mobility are understandable, but the shaky connection at the present time is dysfunctional. Efforts should be made to strengthen this linkage. Programs designed to bring about social, economic, and political literacy cannot be fragmented efforts but must be built into the Negro organizational structure with the assurance that they can continue for several years.

There are two target groups in the Negro population that require special thought, study, and investment. These are *youth*—the next generation—and *men*. Ways must be found to effect a dramatic increase in our economic, social, cultural, and psychological investment in Negro youth. Likewise, ways must be found to free the Negro male at every social level to assume responsibility up to the limits of his talent. The entire history of the treatment of the Negro is a travesty upon his masculinity. This travesty will not be easy to overcome, but attention to Negro males should rank high on any list of priorities. It should realistically adjust his self-image upward.

There is need for a National Commission on Negro Youth which would pay special attention over the next twenty-five years to the needs of Negro youth. The Commission should be a planning, research, and policy development operation. Its purpose should be to determine the direction and scope of programs designed to assist

Negro youth in becoming full partners in the American system. It should seek to encourage and promote its goals through existing organizations, such as schools, churches, social agencies, certain public media, and to help bring into being new agencies where needed. Such a Commission should seek to sensitize all organizations having Negro youths as members to the need to assist them in overcoming the obstacles to full participation; to include emphases which strengthen the capacity of Negro youths to participate with equality in the larger society; to make use of the existing resources in carrying out these tasks. It is essential that special and combined resources be allocated to instruction, exposure, confidence building, and opportunity linkage.

Efforts must be made to widen public support for improving the quality and quantity of education in every public school district—obviously a first and necessary target. But, in addition, ways must be found to encourage the fullest exploitation of those programs which undergird and extend the work of public schools. Such efforts would not only involve institutionalizing present tutorial efforts for the undereducated, but would also provide a new approach to educative experience for the parents of these children, thus helping to create a more supportive environment in the home for education in general. Remedial and enrichment classes should be undertaken by such organizations as churches, labor unions, and social agencies. Instruction should focus upon full and responsible entry into the economic, political, and cultural activities of our society. These emphases will require that organizations rearrange their present patterns of allocations. Perhaps it will be necessary to offer inducements to organizations to change supplementary funding.

Role identification by contact and exposure remains one of the fundamental ways of motivating to learn. Negro youth are too frequently deprived of effective role models whom they can come to know in other than a superficial and vicarious manner. Youth need to become aware through first-hand experience of the reality of achievement, and to gain true perspective on costs and gains. Negro youth need systematic, repeated exposure—socially, vocationally, and physically—to effective role models as a major means of encouraging the development of their talents. A special fund should be established nationally to make it possible for several of the talented young Negro people in various fields to work and study with outstanding senior people for one or two years. Such a plan might even operate on a local level in some communities.

The theoretical ideas underlying the work of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and, more recently, the Anti-Poverty Program make clear the importance of actual access to opportunity. Instruction and exposure without opportunity will lead to bitter frustration and conflict. During the next twenty-five years even greater emphasis must be placed upon providing the Negro with truly equal opportunity.

Finally it is important that Negro youth be offered the opportunity to develop a sense of self-respect, worthiness, adequacy, and self-confidence as a human being. To the extent that the preceding conditions are met, self-esteem will grow. But an important additional input is his elders' belief in him, communicated repeatedly during the day-to-day routines of life.

As suggested previously, any serious efforts to help the Negro must take into account the needs of the Negro male, long denied his masculinity in a society which worships it. Reference is made here to two traits, aggressiveness and responsibility. In the past, the Negro male has been punished for being aggressive and prevented from being responsible. This history of castration has played a major role in the structure and dynamics of the Negro family. Certainly there are no panaceas and no substitutes for jobs. But, there must be an effort to rediscover and free the masculinity of the Negro male so that he can take full advantage of equal opportunity. Pilot projects are needed to help determine the most fruitful ways of accomplishing this goal.

In summary, the final section of this paper has suggested that the interim strategy for the civil rights struggle derives from a statement of the problem. The operational definition posed here focuses upon the gap between the life chances of the Negro and the white. It is suggested that where the "melting pot" response is prohibited as a means of defending against group exploitation, the alternative is to develop group-exploitation deterrence-capability. The following elements are fundamental to group-exploitation deterrence: sources of power, will to use power for group ends, and skill, knowledge, and organization designed to change the rules of the system and to teach the Negro to play a more skilled game within the existing rules.

REFERENCES

1. James Q. Wilson, "The Strategy of Protest: Problems of Negro Civic Action,"

The Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 5, No. 3 (September 1961), pp. 291-303.

2. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York, 1963), p. 300.
3. Nathaniel Weyl, *The Negro in American Civilization* (Washington, D. C., 1960), pp. 85-118.
4. Maurice R. Davie, *Negroes in American Society* (New York, 1949).
5. Sidney M. Willhelm and Edwin H. Powell, "Who Needs the Negro?" *Trans-action,* Vol. 1, No. 6 (September-October 1964), pp. 3-6.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
7. Wilson, *op. cit.*
8. John W. Gardner, *Excellence* (New York, 1961), p. 159.

DAVID DANZIG

THE MEANING OF NEGRO STRATEGY

In May of 1963, the world was abruptly made aware that a new minority community had emerged as a significant and self-conscious force in American society. The evidence was clear, eloquent, and disturbing. In Birmingham, Alabama during the week of May 13, the formerly dispersed and demoralized masses of Negroes suddenly became a well-organized, resolute body of citizens, marching forward to their daily encounter with the city's police force and fire department. The following week in Nashville, Tennessee, students of Fisk University led a protest march of their fellow Negroes through the main avenues of the city as part of a new campaign for complete desegregation. In Raleigh, North Carolina, five hundred college students broke three years of relative racial peace that had followed the desegregation of lunch counters, and launched a similar drive for total equality by a demonstration at the Governor's mansion. In Greensboro, North Carolina, a thousand Negroes attempted to sit-in at two movie houses and a public cafeteria. In Cambridge, Maryland, as in Albany, Georgia, the long, desperate struggle was joined again, while in Selma, Alabama, the first stage of a new one was initiated by Negro leaders in a campaign to register voters. But it was not only in the South that the presence and pressure of a coherent movement were unmistakably apparent. Immediately following "Birmingham," the groundwave of protest began to swell in the Negro ghettos of New York, Chicago, and Detroit, as well as in pleasant suburbs like Orange and Englewood in New Jersey. Following these two weeks in May the tide of Negro group action continued to grow through the late spring and summer, rolling across the Eastern half of the nation and culminating in the great demonstration in Washington on August 28.

The most immediate and dramatic reaction of the white community was that of resentment and resistance. Nothing was quite to match that long Saturday night of May 18 in Birmingham when the motel where Martin Luther King had set up headquarters and the home of King's brother were both bombed, and when for some hours Negroes and police struggled amid the havoc and terror of an incipient race war. But almost everywhere that Negroes protested there was violence or the threat of it. The demonstrations in Nashville ended in knife-fighting between Negroes and whites; in Greensboro 241 marchers were arrested while a mob of whites swirled about them under the banners of "Blacks, Go Home," and "Go Back to Africa." And the mood of white resistance was to continue making itself felt in the infamous church bombing in Birmingham, and in the chain of assaults and police harassment that eventually extended from Jackson, Mississippi, to New York.

This outcropping of violence and intransigence, bombings and imprisonment, however, tended to obscure the less dramatic but more significant development of a new stage in Negro-white relations. For example, even as the Birmingham police were packing the marchers off to jail, an unprecedented series of negotiations was taking place between the leading businessmen of the city—six white and six Negro—which culminated in an agreement providing for a phased integration of lunch counters and the opening of job opportunities to Negroes. So, too, the Negro demonstrations in Nashville, Raleigh, and Greensboro were promptly followed by the establishment of new bi-racial committees to plan further desegregation, backed by statements from the white business leaders of both cities calling for the removal of all public and business policies that denied rights and services on racial grounds. And similarly, in Orange, New Jersey, the efforts of the Negro community resulted in an order from the State Commissioner of Education to present a plan for integrating a segregated elementary school in that town.

In other words, what underlay the specific conflicts both in the South and in the North during

---

David Danzig is associate director of the American Jewish Committee and a lecturer in intergroup relations at the Columbia University School of Social Work. His previous contributions include "Christianity in a 'Post-Western' Era" (January 1961) and "The Radical Right and the Rise of the Fundamentalist Minority" (April 1962).

Reprinted from
Commentary
An independent, non-partisan magazine, published by the American Jewish Committee as a public service.

this two-week period in May was the emergence of an organized Negro community in each town representing the interests of its members and able to negotiate for them. Even the agreement reached in Birmingham—though it was soon to be repudiated by the business community of the city, not to mention the city government, the state police, and the fanatical terrorists—is an illustration of this development. Written in the spirit of civic pragmatism that has been displacing the rabid intransigence of the racists, the Birmingham agreement reads like what it essentially is: a pact between two distinct political bodies:

> Responsible leaders of both Negro and white communities of Birmingham, being desirous of promoting conditions which will ensure sound moral, economic and political growth of their city, in the interest of all citizens of Birmingham, after mutual consideration and discussion of the issues relating to the recent demonstrations in the city, have agreed to . . .

What we have here, in effect, is a radical departure from the traditional conception of civil rights as the rights of individuals. This departure lies at the heart of the "Negro Revolution," and may, indeed, almost be said to *be* that revolution. Today, in America as elsewhere, the Negro has made us forcefully aware that the rights and privileges of an individual rest upon the status attained by the group to which he belongs—that is to say, by the power it controls and can use. That this fact determined race relations in the 19th century is clear enough: Hillaire Belloc, disdaining to rationalize colonialism as "the white man's burden," put the matter very simply: "When all is said and done, we have the Gatling gun and they have none." To the extent that power is available to him, the Negro is now responding in kind. And in the American pluralistic pattern, where social power is distributed by group, the Negro has perforce come to recognize that he can achieve equal opportunities only through the concerted action of the Negro community. No longer addressing himself exclusively to the white man's attitudes of prejudice, to effecting changes in "the hearts and minds of men"—an approach that dooms him to gradualism—the Negro now confronts the white society on the issue of his rights with all the political and economic strength that his group is able to wield.

The Negro bloc of yesterday, in short, has become the mass movement of today. The speed with which this change has occurred, as well as its tendency to become identified with specific personalities like Martin Luther King and with specific incidents like those in Birmingham or Jackson or Albany, have deflected attention from the more general meaning of what has been happening. First of all, it is clear that the upsurge of Negro action is not merely a matter of temporary fervor; it is rather a profound response to a number of pressures which have been generated by the Negro's changing relation to American society and which, taken together, constitute a social upheaval of major significance. Among the more salient of these pressures is the accelerated migration of Negroes from the South to the North and from rural areas to the cities. While the state of Mississippi has been losing over thirty per cent of its Negro population in each of the past two decades, cities like Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles have been experiencing an equally phenomenal rise in their Negro populations. Within the deprived and impacted Negro ghettos, the demands steadily grow for improved housing, education, and other public services. At the same time, the mounting population and its concentration in big cities provide Negro leaders with an increasingly strong base of political power. For example, in the Woodlawn neighborhood of Chicago's Black Belt, whose Negro population has increased by 80 per cent since the war, a grass-roots political movement has sprung up recently which has been agitating effectively for better police protection, school facilities, and housing, and which has forged a new spirit of group solidarity and communal responsibility that has enabled its leaders to oppose the acquisition of the best sections of the neighborhood by the powerful University of Chicago.

In the economic sphere, similarly, the advent of automation and other technological advances has produced a growing unemployment rate among Negroes and a widening split between Negro and white incomes. As the pressures of Negro poverty and frustration mount, the barriers of job discrimination become that much more unendurable; the result has been a concerted effort to breach them through mass demonstrations against labor and management alike, as well as through boycotts, selective buying, and other pressure tactics.

GIVEN ALL THESE tensions within the Negro population, it is not surprising that they should be pressing for action. What is surprising, however, is the solidarity and skill which have characterized Negro action during the past year. The March on Washington presented an especially conclusive example of Negro unity. Such unity—indeed, unity of any kind—is new in Negro life; one of the important effects of the strategy of mass demonstrations has been to create a sense of community among a people whose group ties were deliberately and persistently shattered during the period of slavery and whose subsequent social history has produced, for the most part, no larger unit of community than the church congregation. The spectacle of 200,000 people marching last summer through Washington, along with the other group demonstrations in the North and South and the innumerable acts of individual heroism, have produced a new feeling of collective self-awareness, of peoplehood. The March on Washington, moreover, was a testimony to the rapid progress that the Negro has been making in wielding power. The organizational feat involved in planning and carrying through the huge demonstration, and the discipline of the marchers themselves, most of them Negro, marked an impressive stage in the maturing of the community. And it showed that a new Negro bureaucracy had come to the fore whose political sophistication and organizational talent were comparable to those of the best leadership found among the other ethnic and religious groups.

Thus, within a very short time, the Negro has developed the rudimentary group coherence and indigenous leadership that enables him to speak for his own rights and interests. Lacking these strengths, the Negro has in the past necessarily been dependent upon whites to represent him in American society. Both the Urban League, his main social agency, and the NAACP, his main political action group, were founded by whites and until recently have functioned within the ambience of the white community. Similarly with the Negro's political power, which has been mortgaged to the liberal coalition of the big-city political machines and the CIO that was created a generation ago under the New Deal. While the Negro has not as yet withdrawn from this coalition, he is no longer willing to accept the theory that what is good for the Democratic party is necessarily good for him. Nor is he any more patient with the "trickle-down" concept of prosperity when it is advanced to him by Big Labor than was the union man himself when he heard it expressed by Big Business during the Hoover years. Having taken into his own hands the reins of his destiny in American society, the Negro has found that the gradualism to which so many Northern liberals are committed can be as pressing an obstacle as the intransigence of the Southern conservatives, and consequently he has been forced to assert specific Negro demands in the North through his attacks upon the unions, upon de facto school and housing segregation, and through his drive for greater political patronage and a more independent use of the vote. What is now perceived as the "revolt of the Negro" amounts to this: the solitary Negro seeking admission into the white world through unusual achievement has been replaced by the organized Negro insisting upon a legitimate share for his group of the goods of American society. The white liberal, in turn, who—whether or not he has been fully conscious of it—has generally conceived of progress in race relations as the one-by-one assimilation of deserving Negroes into the larger society, finds himself confused and threatened by suddenly having to come to terms with an aggressive Negro community that wishes to enter it *en masse*.

Accordingly, in the arena of civil rights the Negro Revolution has tended to take the struggle out of the courts and bring it to the streets and the negotiating tables. Granting the potential for unprecedented violence that exists here, it must also be borne in mind that what the Negro people are now beginning to do, other ethnic minorities—who brought to America their strong traditions of communal solidarity—did before them. With this powerful asset the Irish rapidly acquired political strength, and the Jews succeeded in raising virtually an entire immigrant population into the middle class within the span of two generations. Viewed in this perspective, the Negroes are merely the last of America's significant ethnic minorities to achieve communal solidarity and to grasp the role of the informal group power structure in protecting the rights and advancing the opportunities of the individual members of the community.

INDEED, ETHNIC GROUPS (including of course the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant group) have played a much more significant role in American society than is commonly recognized or at least admitted. Except in the realm of politics, where the backing of a given ethnic group is often the primary qualification for office, we tend to maintain the fiction that American society is made up of isolated individuals who depend mainly upon their own talents for the position they achieve in it. The truth is, however, that the economic structure of the nation has been no less strongly influenced by ethnic factors than political ones. Wherever we look—whether at heavy industry or dairy farming, public utilities or banking, the building or the garment trades, organized crime or law enforcement—we find clearly marked ethnic patterns of occupation opportunities. Though these patterns have been breaking down in recent decades, in many of the older industries and vocations it still makes a difference whether one's forebears came from Ireland or Italy or whether one's first name or last name is Milton.

The converse of the fiction of social individualism has been the idea that minority organization hinders assimilation and perpetuates the disabilities of minority status. In the light of this idea, the immigrants pouring into America at the turn of the century were repeatedly advised that naturalization was an individual—and not a group—process and were admonished to shed their group identities and organizations as rapidly as possible. Today, Negro solidarity and its forms of collective self-assertion are provoking a similar anxiety and counsel from the dominant group. Disapproval by the majority, however, is unlikely to have much influence on the new Negro movement. The traditional approach to civil rights and equal opportunities as the slow but continuous expansion of democracy on an individual basis means little to a group which is demanding the immediate rectification of a severe and continuous injustice to it. Moreover, when the authority of state governments and the power of most social and economic institutions have been used to deny the individual Negro his rights and opportunities merely because of his membership in the Negro group, it seems only fitting that he should muster the power he possesses to establish his rights and opportunities on a group basis.

But Negro action has not only turned the civil rights program into a conflict between groups, it has also extended this conflict to employment, housing, and education. Looking beyond the demand for civil rights, Negro leaders see that the "open society" of 1964 is in many areas even more closed to their community than was the ethnocentric WASP society of 1900 to the waves of new immigrants, and that the inequities suffered by Negroes are more extreme. Even in jobs, residential neighborhoods, and schools where Negroes are not excluded by explicit policy, their absence in significant numbers is rightly seen as proof of discrimination. The sad and brutal truth is that de facto segregation permeates our institutions and exerts a cumulative force: like a tropism beyond the reach of law, it impels the white man to identify with his race and to turn his back on the Negro.

The real issue, then, is not that of giving special consideration to Negroes to compensate for past injustices, but that of adopting realistic measures which will begin to correct a profound tendency in our society to exclude and penalize the Negro. So profound is this tendency that even where the formula "regardless of race, creed, or color" has been taken seriously, the Negro has found himself excluded on the ground of inadequate qualifications. The present anxiety about "maintaining standards" is far from new: it is a traditional ethnocentric reaction to any serious threat from outsiders, and it is as often a rationalization for prejudice as a concern for quality. Certainly the recently expressed determination of the building trades unions to maintain the "standards" of their craft must seem unconvincing to any occupant of a modern New York apartment. Where there is good will, the problem of equipping Negroes would seem to be no more difficult than that faced by American industry during World War II when it created virtually a whole new skilled work force through on-the-job training. After all, no one is suggesting that Negro laborers should immediately be sent to medical school, though no doubt a good many more Negro college students with good grades in biology should be.

To deal with this form of institutional prejudice the Negro activists have adopted the new strategy of attempting to fix responsibility on the management level—housing authorities, trade-union officials, corporation executives, boards of education, and so forth. Such an approach to the objective of increasing vocational, housing, and educational opportunities must sooner or later involve a discussion of numbers. However, insistence that the number of Negroes in some industries, housing projects, and schools be increased to a proportion reasonably related to Negro incidence in the population has been misrepresented, sometimes intentionally, as a demand for a rigid quota that would be imposed for the benefit of Negroes and at the expense of whites. Both Governor Rockefeller and President Kennedy received strong support from the white community when they condemned quotas. The President did so on practical grounds: "We are too mixed, this society of ours, to begin to divide ourselves on the basis of race or color." The governor made his opposition a matter of doctrine, arguing that such quotas were both unlawful and counter to American principles. The New York *Times,* having acknowledged that Negroes are justified in being impatient about the rate of unemployment in their community, went on to observe that "this impatience often finds expression in suggestions for a conscious system of reverse discrimination in favor of Negroes." Trade unions have also found reasons for strongly condemning quotas. So has President Eisenhower who fears that we may be in danger of "over-compensating" the Negro.

In general, white opposition to the Negro movement has crystallized around the issues of "quotas" and "preferential treatment." But to the Negro seeking a radical improvement in his situation, the issues are jobs and decent living conditions, not quotas; improved education, not school-busing privileges. Due to the lack of white support of any large-scale measures to aid the Negro, progress in these basic areas has been pitifully small. After being subjected to immense pressure, for example, the building trades agreed to add Negro apprentices; three thousand applicants were screened and 14 accepted! And in the other areas of the Negro plight, the advances have been no less meager.

LIBERAL opinion, in the North and in the South, thus continues to stand upon its traditions of gradualism—the one-by-one admission of deserving Negroes into the larger society—and to reject the idea that to help the Negro it must help the Negro community. Yet the fact is that the Negro belongs to an economic as well as a racial group. Certainly a child born in East Harlem is as much bound by economic limitations as a coal miner's child in eastern Kentucky. Given the conditions in a region like eastern Kentucky, we recognize that opportunity is in good part socially determined:

if unemployment goes over 7 per cent, the town qualifies as a "depressed area" and the community as a whole receives federal aid. But the Negro, who by virtue of his color belongs to an economic community which suffers almost constantly from an unemployment rate of more than 12 per cent, is expected to find resources and opportunities by himself and on his own.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz recently remarked that machines can now do more cheaply and effectively most work done by the high-school graduate. Obviously the resources needed for earning an acceptable place in our society are far different from what they were a century ago when a grant of three acres and the ability to farm it provided a sufficient start. However, we still tend to accept the American frontier ideology of resourceful individualism in positing the requirements for success in our society, just as we still accept the classical liberal ideology of laissez-faire as the backbone of our economic system. The truth is that this frontier ideology has as little relation to the actual routes to advancement in our highly developed technocracy as the laissez-faire ideology has to the actual operation of our federally subsidized and highly integrated economy. The individual who is adequately equipped to meet its demands usually has the backing of community and family achievement, which motivates him to seek a college education and orients him in making use of it.

Why then should we still insist upon holding the Negro to an extreme and outmoded doctrine of individual merit? More than half of all Negro men have not even graduated from primary school, and the continuing process of discrimination makes a bad situation increasingly worse. Between 1952 and 1962, the average Negro income dropped from 57 per cent to 53 per cent of the average white income, and the future looks even darker than the present. Negroes are heavily over-represented in unskilled labor, where jobs are decreasing daily, and heavily under-represented in the white-collar fields, which accounts for nearly all new jobs nowadays and where the rate of Negro unemployment is already about twice as high as the white rate.

The number of Americans living on a minimal subsistence level has been variously estimated as ranging between 36 and 50 million. Let us accept the mid-point figure of 44 million. It has been pointed out that 11 million of these people—that is, *only* one out of four—are Negroes. But looked at from another point of view, nearly two-thirds of all Negroes are impoverished. As Michael Harrington has demonstrated, poverty, like wealth, is inherited. Within the larger perspective of American society as a whole, the inherited poverty of whites, though far from negligible, is still a minority phenomenon; from the Negro's perspective, inherited poverty is a majority phenomenon, indeed an endemic one. In the generally accepted notion that America is an affluent society, we merely confirm our exclusion of the Negro from it.

THIS prolonged, virtually systematic exclusion of the Negro group from American life and the growing desperation of his position explain why the Negro is making such radical demands for freedom and opportunity—"now." But along with objecting to the Negro's impatient and militantly self-interested demands as "racism in reverse," white liberals have also questioned the efficacy of his strategy. The position expressed by Professor Eli Ginzberg is typical:

> In the past the Negro has made significant gains when he has been included in important national efforts—the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, the New Deal, the C.I.O., World War II, the expansion of public programs for health, education, and welfare. There is little prospect that white America will do much for the handicapped Negro group. But we *can* expect our democracy to attend to its less fortunate citizens, Negroes included. All America needs a higher level of employment, more and better education, a closer approximation to true equality. To the extent that we move energetically towards these national goals, to that extent will the status of the Negro be improved.

One need hardly argue the superior value, to say nothing of the political advantage, of a national program supported by a wide variety of groups for the benefit of all deprived members of the society. But what allows us to "expect our democracy to attend to its less fortunate citizens, Negroes included" when doing so to any real effect would require major structural changes in the economy as well as in our institutional patterns? What political force will generate such a program? For there is very little political action today that does not have its source in one or another organized and powerful group—and (as was amply demonstrated during the battle for medicare) our forty to fifty million citizens who live in poverty are far too heterogeneous to constitute themselves into an effective political bloc. In general, Professor Ginzberg's analysis reduces to the moral rhetoric that contemporary liberals tend to substitute for political insight. Professor Andrew Hacker has described the situation of the underprivileged in far more realistic and relevant terms:

> It may well be that two Americas are emerging, one a society protected by the corporate umbrella and the other a society whose members have failed to affiliate themselves with the dominant institutions . . . . more importantly, it [the "second America"] will be comprised of the unemployed, the ill-educated and the entire

residue of human beings who are not needed by the corporate machine.

One might expect organized labor to begin to concern itself with the economic needs of this second America. But for the most part the unions in practice act as a conservative establishment that is mainly worried about maintaining its prerogatives against the sweeping changes of automation. During the Depression, the AFL denied its support to the unemployed and to those in the mass-production industries. Today, with one-fourth of the nation still ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed (about the same absolute number of individuals as in the Depression), the AFL-CIO is hardly more interested in speaking for the unorganized worker than the AFL was then. And just as the failure of the AFL in the 30's necessitated the organization of the CIO, so the inadequacy of the trade-union movement today forces the Negro group into acting to mitigate its own economic plight. Thus the sectarian character of the Negro's economic and political demands can be understood as a consequence of the absence of any political movement in the United States that speaks for the new American proletariat in general.

IN THE POSTWAR period, the emergence of a highly integrated mass society has forced the politics of sectionalism to give way to the politics of groups. More than ever before, the key to political power is group interest. And as often as not, the group interest in question is ethnic, religious, or racial. Such special interests are not necessarily antagonistic to the general good; indeed, they have often helped to advance the general interest by strengthening our democracy and by promoting programs of social welfare. Today the special interest of the Negro involves the burdens of poverty, inadequate training, and other social disabilities that afflict the entire "under-class" of the society, though they fall most heavily upon him. And it is already becoming evident that the Negro's militancy on behalf of his own cause may well serve the cause of the new American proletariat as a whole. The March on Washington, though primarily concerned with civil rights, also included among its ten points a request for a massive federal program to train unemployed workers—Negro and white; a national Minimum Wage Act that would give to all a decent living; and a broad Federal Labor Standards Act covering all areas of employment which are presently excluded. More generally, the Negro movement today provides the only likely center around which a new coalition might be created to fill the current political vacuum.

A. Philip Randolph, the Negroes' leading spokesman in the councils of labor, is keenly aware of the strategic role of the Negro movement at this juncture of history. Addressing the AFL-CIO Convention in November, he argued for an alliance between labor and the Negro:

> Let our alliance be strengthened. It is in labor's own interest. For the Negro's protest today is but the first rumbling of the *"under-class."* As the Negro has taken to the streets, so will the unemployed of all races take to the streets. . . . To discuss the civil rights revolution is therefore to write the agenda of labor's unfinished revolution. The labor movement cannot ignore this under-class. It cannot degenerate into a mere protective association, insulating the "haves" from the "have-nots" in the working class . . .

The implications of such an alliance were graphically spelled out in a subsequent speech at the same convention by Hank Brown, President of the Texas AFL-CIO:

> There are a half-million Negroes in our state working for less than fifty cents an hour. There are nearly a million unorganized Latin Americans in our state working for less than fifty cents an hour. . . . Civil rights means more than just doing something for the Negro . . . we can't win in Texas against the money changers that run the temple, called the state government, with just organized labor. We formed, Brother Randolph, the alliance you speak of a year ago then known as the coalition . . . and we would like for other states to take the hand of the Negro, the Latin American, the Indian, whatever he is, if he is a worker, and he is not making at least $2.00 an hour. Then that is the brother that we need to get with and win the kind of progress we are talking about.

It is still too early to say whether local coalitions like the one in Texas are the grass-roots beginnings of a new national coalition. Certainly any such coalition would have to be formed in the teeth of the apathy toward the unorganized poor that currently prevails among many of labor's statesmen as well as much of the rank-and-file. Be that as it may, it is becoming evident that only the new proletariat speaking for itself can join the issues of the day. The social planners who have analyzed the problems, the liberals who have moralized them, and the politicians who have articulated them can help in a new progressive coalition, but they lack the energy to initiate it. Group self-interest provides the very core of real politics, and Negro solidarity will have a large role to play if our democracy is once again to find its way to those humane values which were so important in shaping the original conception of America.

The American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

Third printing, July 1964

FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS: THE FUTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BAYARD RUSTIN

Commentary

FEBRUARY 1965
NUMBER 2
VOLUME 39

FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS:
THE FUTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BAYARD RUSTIN

I

THE DECADE spanned by the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will undoubtedly be recorded as the period in which the legal foundations of racism in America were destroyed. To be sure, pockets of resistance remain; but it would be hard to quarrel with the assertion that the elaborate legal structure of segregation and discrimination, particularly in relation to public accommodations, has virtually collapsed. On the other hand, without making light of the human sacrifices involved in the direct-action tactics (sit-ins, freedom rides, and the rest) that were so instrumental to this achievement, we must recognize that in desegregating public accommodations, we affected institutions which are relatively peripheral both to the American socio-economic order and to the fundamental conditions of life of the Negro people. In a highly industrialized, 20th-century civilization, we hit Jim Crow precisely where it was most anachronistic, dispensable, and vulnerable—in hotels, lunch counters, terminals, libraries, swimming pools, and the like. For in these forms, Jim Crow does impede the flow of commerce in the broadest sense: it is a nuisance in a society on the move (and on the make). Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the most mobility-conscious and relatively liberated groups in the Negro community—lower-middle-class college students—who launched the attack that brought down this imposing but hollow structure.

The term "classical" appears especially apt for this phase of the civil rights movement. But in the few years that have passed since the first flush of sit-ins, several developments have taken place that have complicated matters enormously. One is the shifting focus of the movement in the South, symbolized by Birmingham; another is the spread of the revolution to the North; and the third, common to the other two, is the expansion of the movement's base in the Negro community. To attempt to disentangle these three strands is to do violence to reality. David Danzig's perceptive article, "The Meaning of Negro Strategy,"* correctly saw in the Birmingham events the victory of the concept of collective struggle over individual achievement as the road to Negro freedom. And Birmingham remains the unmatched symbol of grass-roots protest involving all strata of the black community. It was also in this most industrialized of Southern cities that the single-issue demands of the movement's classical stage gave way to the "package deal." No longer were Negroes satisfied with integrating lunch counters. They now sought advances in employment, housing, school integration, police protection, and so forth.

Thus, the movement in the South began to attack areas of discrimination which were not so remote from the Northern experience as were Jim Crow lunch counters. At the same time, the interrelationship of these apparently distinct areas became increasingly evident. What is the value of winning access to public accommodations for those who lack money to use them? The minute the movement faced this question, it was compelled to expand its vision beyond race relations to economic relations, including the role of education in modern society. And what also became clear is that all these interrelated problems, by their very nature, are not soluble by private, voluntary efforts but require government action—or politics. Already Southern demonstrators had recognized that the most effective way to strike at the police brutality they suffered from was by getting rid of the local sheriff—and that meant political action, which in turn meant, and still means, political action within the Democratic party where the only meaningful primary contests in the South are fought.

And so, in Mississippi, thanks largely to the leadership of Bob Moses, a turn toward political action has been taken. More than voter registration is involved here. A conscious bid for *political power* is being made, and in the course of that effort a tactical shift is being effected: direct-action techniques are being subordinated to a strategy calling for the building of community

BAYARD RUSTIN, who organized the March on Washington and has been a close associate of Martin Luther King, is widely recognized as the leading tactician of the civil rights movement. This is his first appearance in COMMENTARY.

---

*COMMENTARY, February 1964.

institutions or power bases. Clearly, the implications of this shift reach far beyond Mississippi. What began as a protest movement is being challenged to translate itself into a political movement. Is this the right course? And if it is, can the transformation be accomplished?

II

The very decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of *de facto* segregation in our most fundamental socio-economic institutions. More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954, and the unemployment gap between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57 per cent to 54 per cent of that of whites. A higher percentage of Negro workers is now concentrated in jobs vulnerable to automation than was the case ten years ago. More Negroes attend *de facto* segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision; while school integration proceeds at a snail's pace in the South, the number of Northern schools with an excessive proportion of minority youth proliferates. And behind this is the continuing growth of racial slums, spreading over our central cities and trapping Negro youth in a milieu which, whatever its legal definition, sows an unimaginable demoralization. Again, legal niceties aside, a resident of a racial ghetto lives in segregated housing, and more Negroes fall into this category than ever before.

These are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement. At issue, after all, is not *civil rights,* strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions. Last summer's riots were not race riots; they were outbursts of class aggression in a society where class and color definitions are converging disastrously. How can the (perhaps misnamed) civil rights movement deal with this problem?

Before trying to answer, let me first insist that the task of the movement is vastly complicated by the failure of many whites of good will to understand the nature of our problem. There is a widespread assumption that the removal of artificial racial barriers should result in the automatic integration of the Negro into all aspects of American life. This myth is fostered by facile analogies with the experience of various ethnic immigrant groups, particularly the Jews. But the analogies with the Jews do not hold for three simple but profound reasons. First, Jews have a long history as a literate people, a resource which has afforded them opportunities to advance in the academic and professional worlds, to achieve intellectual status even in the midst of economic hardship, and to evolve sustaining value systems in the context of ghetto life. Negroes, for the greater part of their presence in this country, were forbidden by law to read or write. Second, Jews have a long history of family stability, the importance of which in terms of aspiration and self-image is obvious. The Negro family structure was totally destroyed by slavery and with it the possibility of cultural transmission (the right of Negroes to marry and rear children is barely a century old). Third, Jews are white and have the *option* of relinquishing their cultural-religious identity, intermarrying, passing, etc. Negroes, or at least the overwhelming majority of them, do not have this option. There is also a fourth, vulgar reason. If the Jewish and Negro communities are not comparable in terms of education, family structure, and color, it is also true that their respective economic roles bear little resemblance.

This matter of economic role brings us to the greater problem—the fact that we are moving into an era in which the natural functioning of the market does not by itself ensure every man with will and ambition a place in the productive process. The immigrant who came to this country during the late 19th and early 20th centuries entered a society which was expanding territorially and/or economically. It was then possible to start at the bottom, as an unskilled or semi-skilled worker, and move up the ladder, acquiring new skills along the way. Especially was this true when industrial unionism was burgeoning, giving new dignity and higher wages to organized workers. Today the situation has changed. We are not expanding territorially, the western frontier is settled, labor organizing has leveled off, our rate of economic growth has been stagnant for a decade. And we are in the midst of a technological revolution which is altering the fundamental structure of the labor force, destroying unskilled and semi-skilled jobs—jobs in which Negroes are disproportionately concentrated.

Whatever the pace of this technological revolution may be, the *direction* is clear: the lower rungs of the economic ladder are being lopped off. This means that an individual will no longer be able to start at the bottom and work his way up; he will have to start in the middle or on top, and hold on tight. It will not even be enough to have certain specific skills, for many skilled jobs are also vulnerable to automation. A broad educational background, permitting vocational adaptability and flexibility, seems more imperative than ever. We live in a society where, as Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz puts it, machines have the equivalent of a high school diploma. Yet the average educational attainment of American Negroes is 8.2 years.

Negroes, of course, are not the only people being affected by these developments. It is reported that there are now 50 per cent fewer unskilled and semi-skilled jobs than there are high school dropouts. Almost one-third of the 26 million young people entering the labor market in the 1960's will be dropouts. But the percentage of Negro dropouts nationally is 57 per cent, and in New York City, among Negroes 25 years of age or over, it is 68 per cent. They are without a future.

To what extent can the kind of self-help campaign recently prescribed by Eric Hoffer in the *New York Times Magazine* cope with such a situation? I would advise those who think that self-help is the answer to familiarize themselves with the long history of such efforts in the Negro community, and to consider why so many foundered on the shoals of ghetto life. It goes without saying that any effort to combat demoralization and apathy is desirable, but we must understand that demoralization in the Negro community is largely a common-sense response to an objective reality. Negro youths have no need of statistics to perceive, fairly accurately, what their odds are in American society. Indeed, from the point of view of motivation, some of the healthiest Negro youngsters I know are juvenile delinquents: vigorously pursuing the American Dream of material acquisition and status, yet finding the conventional means of attaining it blocked off, they do not yield to defeatism but resort to illegal (and often ingenious) methods. They are not alien to American culture. They are, in Gunnar Myrdal's phrase, "exaggerated Americans." To want a Cadillac is not un-American; to push a cart in the garment center is. If Negroes are to be persuaded that the conventional path (school, work, etc.) is superior, we had better provide evidence which is now sorely lacking. It is a double cruelty to harangue Negro youth about education and training when we do not know what jobs will be available for them. When a Negro youth can reasonably foresee a future free of slums, when the prospect of gainful employment is realistic, we will see motivation and self-help in abundant enough quantities.

Meanwhile, there is an ironic similarity between the self-help advocated by many liberals and the doctrines of the Black Muslims. Professional sociologists, psychiatrists, and social workers have expressed amazement at the Muslims' success in transforming prostitutes and dope addicts into respectable citizens. But every prostitute the Muslims convert to a model of Calvinist virtue is replaced by the ghetto with two more. Dedicated as they are to maintenance of the ghetto, the Muslims are powerless to affect substantial moral reform. So too with every other group or program which is not aimed at the destruction of slums, their causes and effects. Self-help efforts, directly or indirectly, must be geared to mobilizing people into power units capable of effecting social change. That is, their goal must be genuine self-help, not merely self-improvement. Obviously, where self-improvement activities succeed in imparting to their participants a feeling of some control over their environment, those involved may find their appetites for change whetted; they may move into the political arena.

III

LET ME sum up what I have thus far been trying to say: the civil rights movement is evolving from a protest movement into a full-fledged *social movement*—an evolution calling its very name into question. It is now concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full *opportunity* but with achieving the fact of *equality*. From sit-ins and freedom rides we have gone into rent strikes, boycotts, community organization, and political action. As a consequence of this natural evolution, the Negro today finds himself stymied by obstacles of far greater magnitude than the legal barriers he was attacking before: automation, urban decay, *de facto* school segregation. These are problems which, while conditioned by Jim Crow, do not vanish upon its demise. They are more deeply rooted in our socio-economic order; they are the result of the total society's failure to meet not only the Negro's needs, but human needs generally.

These propositions have won increasing recognition and acceptance, but with a curious twist. They have formed the common premise of two apparently contradictory lines of thought which simultaneously nourish and antagonize each other. On the one hand, there is the reasoning of the New York *Times* moderate who says that the problems are so enormous and complicated that Negro militancy is a futile irritation, and that the need is for "intelligent moderation." Thus, during the first New York school boycott, the *Times* editorialized that Negro demands, while abstractly just, would necessitate massive reforms, the funds for which could not realistically be anticipated; therefore the just demands were also foolish demands and would only antagonize white people. Moderates of this stripe are often correct in perceiving the difficulty or impossibility of racial progress in the context of present social and economic policies. But they accept the context as fixed. They ignore (or perhaps see all too well) the potentialities inherent in linking Negro demands to broader pressures for radical revision of existing policies. They apparently see nothing strange in the fact that in the last twenty-five years we have spent nearly a trillion dollars fighting or preparing for wars, yet throw up our hands before the need for overhauling our schools, clearing the slums, and really abolishing poverty. My quarrel with these moderates is that they do not even envision radical changes; their admonitions of moderation are, for all practical purposes, admonitions to the

Negro to adjust to the status quo, and are therefore immoral.

The more effectively the moderates argue their case, the more they convince Negroes that American society will not or cannot be reorganized for full racial equality. Michael Harrington has said that a successful war on poverty might well require the expenditure of a $100 billion. Where, the Negro wonders, are the forces now in motion to compel such a commitment? If the voices of the moderates were raised in an insistence upon a reallocation of national resources at levels that could not be confused with tokenism (that is, if the moderates stopped being moderates), Negroes would have greater grounds for hope. Meanwhile, the Negro movement cannot escape a sense of isolation.

It is precisely this sense of isolation that gives rise to the second line of thought I want to examine—the tendency within the civil rights movement which, despite its militancy, pursues what I call a "no-win" policy. Sharing with many moderates a recognition of the magnitude of the obstacles to freedom, spokesmen for this tendency survey the American scene and find no forces prepared to move toward radical solutions. From this they conclude that the only viable strategy is shock; above all, the hypocrisy of white liberals must be exposed. These spokesmen are often described as the radicals of the movement, but they are really its moralists. They seek to change white hearts—by traumatizing them. Frequently abetted by white self-flagellants, they may gleefully applaud (though not really agreeing with) Malcolm X because, while they admit he has no program, they think he can frighten white people into doing the right thing. To believe this, of course, you must be convinced, even if unconsciously, that at the core of the white man's heart lies a buried affection for Negroes—a proposition one may be permitted to doubt. But in any case, hearts are not relevant to the issue; neither racial affinities nor racial hostilities are rooted there. It is institutions—social, political, and economic institutions—which are the ultimate molders of collective sentiments. Let these institutions be reconstructed *today*, and let the ineluctable gradualism of history govern the formation of a new psychology.

My quarrel with the "no-win" tendency in the civil rights movement (and the reason I have so designated it) parallels my quarrel with the moderates outside the movement. As the latter lack the vision or will for fundamental change, the former lack a realistic strategy for achieving it. For such a strategy they substitute militancy. But militancy is a matter of posture and volume and not of effect.

I BELIEVE that the Negro's struggle for equality in America is essentially revolutionary. While most Negroes—in their hearts—unquestionably seek only to enjoy the fruits of American society as it now exists, their quest cannot *objectively* be satisfied within the framework of existing political and economic relations. The young Negro who would demonstrate his way into the labor market may be motivated by a thoroughly bourgeois ambition and thoroughly "capitalist" considerations, but he will end up having to favor a great expansion of the public sector of the economy. At any rate, that is the position the movement will be forced to take as it looks at the number of jobs being generated by the private economy, and if it is to remain true to the masses of Negroes.

The revolutionary character of the Negro's struggle is manifest in the fact that this struggle may have done more to democratize life for whites than for Negroes. Clearly, it was the sit-in movement of young Southern Negroes which, as it galvanized white students, banished the ugliest features of McCarthyism from the American campus and resurrected political debate. It was not until Negroes assaulted *de facto* school segregation in the urban centers that the issue of quality education for *all* children stirred into motion. Finally, it seems reasonably clear that the civil rights movement, directly and through the resurgence of social conscience it kindled, did more to initiate the war on poverty than any other single force.

It will be—it has been—argued that these by-products of the Negro struggle are not revolutionary. But the term revolutionary, as I am using it, does not connote violence; it refers to the qualitative transformation of fundamental institutions, more or less rapidly, to the point where the social and economic structure which they comprised can no longer be said to be the same. The Negro struggle has hardly run its course; and it will not stop moving until it has been utterly defeated or won substantial equality. But I fail to see how the movement can be victorious in the absence of radical programs for full employment, abolition of slums, the reconstruction of our educational system, new definitions of work and leisure. Adding up the cost of such programs, we can only conclude that we are talking about a refashioning of our political economy. It has been estimated, for example, that the price of replacing New York City's slums with public housing would be $17 billion. Again, a multi-billion dollar federal public-works program, dwarfing the currently proposed $2 billion program, is required to reabsorb unskilled and semi-skilled workers into the labor market—and this must be done if Negro workers in these categories are to be employed. "Preferential treatment" cannot help them.

I am not trying here to delineate a total program, only to suggest the scope of economic reforms which are most immediately related to the plight of the Negro community. One could speculate on their political implications—whether, for example, they do not indicate the obsolescence of state government and the superiority of regional structures as viable units of planning. Such speculations aside, it is clear that Negro needs cannot be satisfied unless we go beyond what has so far been placed on the agenda. How are these radical objectives to be achieved? The answer is simple, deceptively so: *through political power.*

There is a strong moralistic strain in the civil rights movement which would remind us that power corrupts, forgetting that the absence of power also corrupts. But this is not the view I want to debate here, for it is waning. Our problem is posed by those who accept the need for political power but do not understand the nature of the object and therefore lack sound strategies for achieving it; they tend to confuse political institutions with lunch counters.

A handful of Negroes, acting alone, could integrate a lunch counter by strategically locating their bodies so as *directly* to interrupt the operation of the proprietor's will; their numbers were relatively unimportant. In politics, however, such a confrontation is difficult because the interests involved are merely *represented.* In the execution of a political decision a direct confrontation may ensue (as when federal marshals escorted James Meredith into the University of Mississippi—to turn from an example of non-violent coercion to one of force backed up with the threat of violence). But in arriving at a political decision, numbers and organizations are crucial, especially for the economically disenfranchised. (Needless to say, I am assuming that the forms of political democracy exist in America, however imperfectly, that they are valued, and that elitist or putschist conceptions of exercising power are beyond the pale of discussion for the civil rights movement.)

Neither that movement nor the country's twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the *effective* political majority in the United States. I speak of the coalition which staged the March on Washington, passed the Civil Rights Act, and laid the basis for the Johnson landslide—Negroes, trade unionists, liberals, and religious groups.

THERE ARE those who argue that a coalition strategy would force the Negro to surrender his political independence to white liberals, that he would be neutralized, deprived of his cutting edge, absorbed into the Establishment. Some who take this position urged last year that votes be withheld from the Johnson-Humphrey ticket as a demonstration of the Negro's political power. Curiously enough, these people who sought to demonstrate power through the non-exercise of it, also point to the Negro "swing vote" in crucial urban areas as the source of the Negro's independent political power. But here they are closer to being right: the urban Negro vote will grow in importance in the coming years. If there is anything positive in the spread of the ghetto, it is the potential political power base thus created, and to realize this potential is one of the most challenging and urgent tasks before the civil rights movement. If the movement can wrest leadership of the ghetto vote from the machines, it will have acquired an organized constituency such as other major groups in our society now have.

But we must also remember that the effectiveness of a swing vote depends solely on "other" votes. It derives its power from them. In that sense, it can never be "independent," but must opt for one candidate or the other, even if by default. Thus coalitions are inescapable, however tentative they may be. And this is the case in all but those few situations in which Negroes running on an independent ticket might conceivably win. "Independence," in other words, is not a value in itself. The issue is which coalition to join and how to make it responsive to your program. Necessarily there will be compromise. But the difference between expediency and morality in politics is the difference between selling out a principle and making smaller concessions to win larger ones. The leader who shrinks from this task reveals not his purity but his lack of political sense.

The task of molding a political movement out of the March on Washington coalition is not simple, but no alternatives have been advanced. We need to choose our allies on the basis of common political objectives. It has become fashionable in some no-win Negro circles to decry the white liberal as the main enemy (his hypocrisy is what sustains racism); by virtue of this reverse recitation of the reactionary's litany (liberalism leads to socialism, which leads to Communism) the Negro is left in majestic isolation, except for a tiny band of fervent white initiates. But the objective fact is that *Eastland and Goldwater* are the main enemies—they and the opponents of civil rights, of the war on poverty, of medicare, of social security, of federal aid to education, of unions, and so forth. The labor movement, despite its obvious faults, has been the largest single organized force in this country pushing for progressive social legislation. And where the Negro-labor-liberal axis is weak, as in the farm belt, it was the religious groups that were most influential in rallying support for the Civil Rights Bill.

The durability of the coalition was interestingly tested during the election. I do not believe that the Johnson landslide proved the "white backlash" to be a myth. It proved, rather, that economic interests are more fundamental than prejudice: the backlashers decided that loss of social security was, after all, too high a price to pay for a slap at the Negro. This lesson was a valuable first step in re-educating such people, and it must be kept alive, for the civil rights movement will be advanced only to the degree that social and economic welfare gets to be inextricably entangled with civil rights.

The 1964 elections marked a turning point in American politics. The Democratic landslide was not merely the result of a negative reaction to Goldwaterism; it was also the expression of a majority liberal consensus. The near unanimity with which Negro voters joined in that expression was, I am convinced, a vindication of the July 25th statement by Negro leaders calling for a strategic turn toward political action and a temporary curtailment of mass demonstrations. Despite the controversy surrounding the statement, the instinctive response it met with in the community is suggested by the fact that demonstrations were down 75 per cent as compared with the same period in 1963. But should so high a percentage of Negro voters have gone to Johnson, or should they have held back to narrow his margin of victory and thus give greater visibility to our swing vote? How has our loyalty changed things? Certainly the Negro vote had higher visibility in 1960, when a switch of only 7 per cent from the Republican column of 1956 elected President Kennedy. But the slimness of Kennedy's victory—of his "mandate"—dictated a go-slow approach on civil rights, at least until the Birmingham upheaval.

Although Johnson's popular majority was so large that he could have won without such overwhelming Negro support, that support was important from several angles. Beyond adding to Johnson's total national margin, it was specifically responsible for his victories in Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Goldwater took only those states where fewer than 45 per cent of eligible Negroes were registered. That Johnson would have won those states had Negro voting rights been enforced is a lesson not likely to be lost on a man who would have been happy with a unanimous electoral college. In any case, the 1.6 million Southern Negroes who voted have had a shattering impact on the Southern political party structure, as illustrated in the changed composition of the Southern congressional delegation. The "backlash" gave the Republicans five House seats in Alabama, one in Georgia, and one in Mississippi. But on the Democratic side, seven segregationists were defeated while all nine Southerners who voted for the Civil Rights Act were re-elected. It may be premature to predict a Southern Democratic party of Negroes and white moderates and a Republican Party of refugee racists and economic conservatives, but there certainly is a strong tendency toward such a realignment; and an additional 3.6 million Negroes of voting age in the eleven Southern states are still to be heard from. Even the *tendency* toward disintegration of the Democratic party's racist wing defines a new context for Presidential and liberal strategy in the congressional battles ahead. Thus the Negro vote (North as well as South), while not *decisive* in the Presidential race, was enormously effective. It was a dramatic element of a historic mandate which contains vast possibilities and dangers that will fundamentally affect the future course of the civil rights movement.

The liberal congressional sweep raises hope for an assault on the seniority system, Rule Twenty-two, and other citadels of Dixiecrat-Republican power. The overwhelming of this conservative coalition should also mean progress on much bottlenecked legislation of profound interest to the movement (e.g., bills by Senators Clark and Nelson on planning, manpower, and employment). Moreover, the irrelevance of the South to Johnson's victory gives the President more freedom to act than his predecessor had and more leverage to the movement to pressure for executive action in Mississippi and other racist strongholds.

NONE OF this *guarantees* vigorous executive or legislative action, for the other side of the Johnson landslide is that it has a Gaullist quality. Goldwater's capture of the Republican party forced into the Democratic camp many disparate elements which do not belong there, Big Business being the major example. Johnson, who wants to be President "of all people," may try to keep his new coalition together by sticking close to the political center. But if he decides to do this, it is unlikely that even his political genius will be able to hold together a coalition so inherently unstable and rife with contradictions. It must come apart. Should it do so while Johnson is pursuing a centrist course, then the mandate will have been wastefully dissipated. However, if the mandate is seized upon to set fundamental changes in motion, then the basis can be laid for a new mandate, a new coalition including hitherto inert and dispossessed strata of the population.

Here is where the cutting edge of the civil rights movement can be applied. We must see to it that the reorganization of the "consensus party" proceeds along lines which will make it an effective vehicle for social reconstruction, a role it cannot play so long as it furnishes Southern racism with its national political power. (One of Barry Goldwater's few attractive ideas was that the Dixiecrats belong with him in the same party.) And nowhere has the civil rights movement's political cutting edge been more magnificently demonstrated than at Atlantic City, where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party not only secured recognition as a bona fide component of the national party, but in the process routed the representatives of the most rabid racists—the white Mississippi and Alabama delegations. While I still believe that the FDP made a tactical error in spurning the compromise, there is no question that they launched a political revolution whose logic is the displacement of Dixiecrat power. They launched that revolution within a major political institution and as part of a coalitional effort.

The role of the civil rights movement in the reorganization of American political life is programmatic as well as strategic. We are challenged now to broaden our social vision, to develop functional programs with concrete objectives. We need to propose alternatives to technological unemployment, urban decay, and the rest. We need to be calling for public works and training, for national economic planning, for federal aid to education, for attractive public housing—all this on a sufficiently massive scale to make a difference. We need to protest the notion that our integration into American life, so long delayed, must now proceed in an atmosphere of competitive scarcity instead of in the security of abundance which technology makes possible. We cannot claim to have answers to all the complex problems of modern society. That is too much to ask of a movement still battling barbarism in Mississippi. But we can agitate the right questions by probing at the contradictions which still stand in the way of the "Great Society." The questions having been asked, motion must begin in the larger society, for there is a limit to what Negroes can do alone.

Reprinted from

Commentary

The independent journal of significant thought
sponsored as a public service by
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

An attractive saving on one year

Commentary Gift Subscriptions

...if you order two or more. First subscription, $8; additional subscriptions $5 each. (You may also include a renewal of your own subscription.) Please check:

☐ **Remittance enclosed** ☐ **Send bill later**

TO____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____
Gift card to read:____________________

TO____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____
Gift card to read:____________________

TO____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____
Gift card to read:____________________

TO____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____
Gift card to read:____________________

☐ Also renew my subscription (to begin after my present subscription expires.)

MY NAME____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____

An attractive saving on one year

Commentary Gift Subscriptions

...if you order two or more. First subscription, $8; additional subscriptions $5 each. (You may also include a renewal of your own subscription.) Please check:

☐ **Remittance enclosed** ☐ **Send bill later**

TO____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____
Gift card to read:____________________

TO____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____
Gift card to read:____________________

TO____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____
Gift card to read:____________________

TO____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____
Gift card to read:____________________

☐ Also renew my subscription (to begin after my present subscription expires.)

MY NAME____________________
Address____________________
City/Zone__________ State____

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT No. 1727
New York, N. Y.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
No postage stamp necessary if mailed in the United States

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY:

Commentary
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT No. 1727
New York, N. Y.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
No postage stamp necessary if mailed in the United States

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY:

Commentary
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

In the beginning, however, it seemed that the expected large economies and profits would follow almost automatically from the fact that the two companies had been joined. With the lower piggyback rates that Eskow hoped Yale would qualify for, he figured that "we would save a million dollars a year—just by using a different bill of lading." Other economies were expected to result from consolidation of terminals, from the use of Yale labor, from the use of Yale trucks for pickup and delivery, and—this rings especially ironic—from what was described to the underwriters as Yale's "scientific approach to paper," symbolized by its two I.B.M. 1401 computers and the 1410 (with RAMAC features) on order.

Also nourishing Eskow's optimism was the prospect of uniting Yale and Republic, then scattered in several Manhattan buildings, under the roof of the new terminal and headquarters being constructed on the West Side. The building had been planned and the foundations poured before Republic was acquired, but Eskow simply added four stories and rearranged the structure's 475,000 square feet. In every respect, from its haphazard design to its executive-suite grandeur, the building expressed Eskow and rose as his monument. It was to be completed in March, 1964, but Yale did not actually move in until the following December, a delay that proved fatal to many of Eskow's hopes. Neither Yale nor its creditors are now clear about what the building was supposed to cost, or what it actually did cost—the best guess at the latter figure is between $7 million and $8 million. At any rate, Yale, under its mortgage-financing arrangement, was forced to put up one-third of these spiraling costs in cash.

Said the auditor:

"It was like pulling on what you thought was the tail of a pussycat. You pulled and pulled and out came a tiger."

But in the period immediately following the acquisition, euphoria prevailed. Within six weeks the board gave its mood concrete expression and, assuming that the merger had doubled profits, voted to double the quarterly dividend to 15 cents. Thus Yale's management committed itself to producing at least the pre-merger level of profits, under pain of otherwise perhaps being forced to reduce the dividend and make embarrassing explanations.

Mating antelopes and giraffes

The first move toward physical consolidation of Yale and Republic was dictated by necessity. Yale had been compelled to move out of its old building, which was being demolished to make way for the new one; and so Eskow decided to put operations together—temporarily, he believed—in grotesquely inefficient rented railroad sheds along the Hudson River. Every pound of freight had to be lifted or lowered by hand. Amid wild confusion, freight was moved in iron-wheeled carts so heavy that, even when empty, two men had to push them. Drivers delicately maneuvered forty-foot trailers into platform spaces designed for horses and wagons. But the worst disadvantage, incredibly enough, was apparent from the beginning: Yale's chief landlord, the New York Central Railroad, did *not* offer the reduced piggyback rates on which the company had been counting so heavily.

Unfortunately, the "temporary" disorder and high costs continued month after month, as the completion date of the new building slipped. At the same time the railroads, aiming a blow at their trucking competitors, introduced new rules that upset the established economics of freight forwarding. Forwarders were faced with the urgent necessity of refiguring their costs and devising new operating formulas. However, the chaotic consolidation of Yale and Republic in New York had destroyed the bases on which each had measured its business. Traditionally, Yale had calculated costs and profits on the basis of revenues, Republic on the basis of tonnage moved. Now everything had been thrown together and, as Eskow recalls, "I found that all the meaningful yardsticks were gone." In addition, there was the deeper confusion arising from Eskow's determination to impose Yale's operating philosophy on Republic, an effort that, in retrospect, strikes an industry observer as a futile attempt "to mate antelopes and giraffes." Under Yale's "antelope" philosophy of swift service, piggyback trailers sometimes went off to their destinations half empty, an inefficiency that had grim consequences. Republic's largest single expense, running to more than 70 percent of revenues, was purchased transportation. If Republic's load factor dropped as little as 10 percent, it was calculated after the fact, the swing in profits could be as much as $3,850,000 in a year.

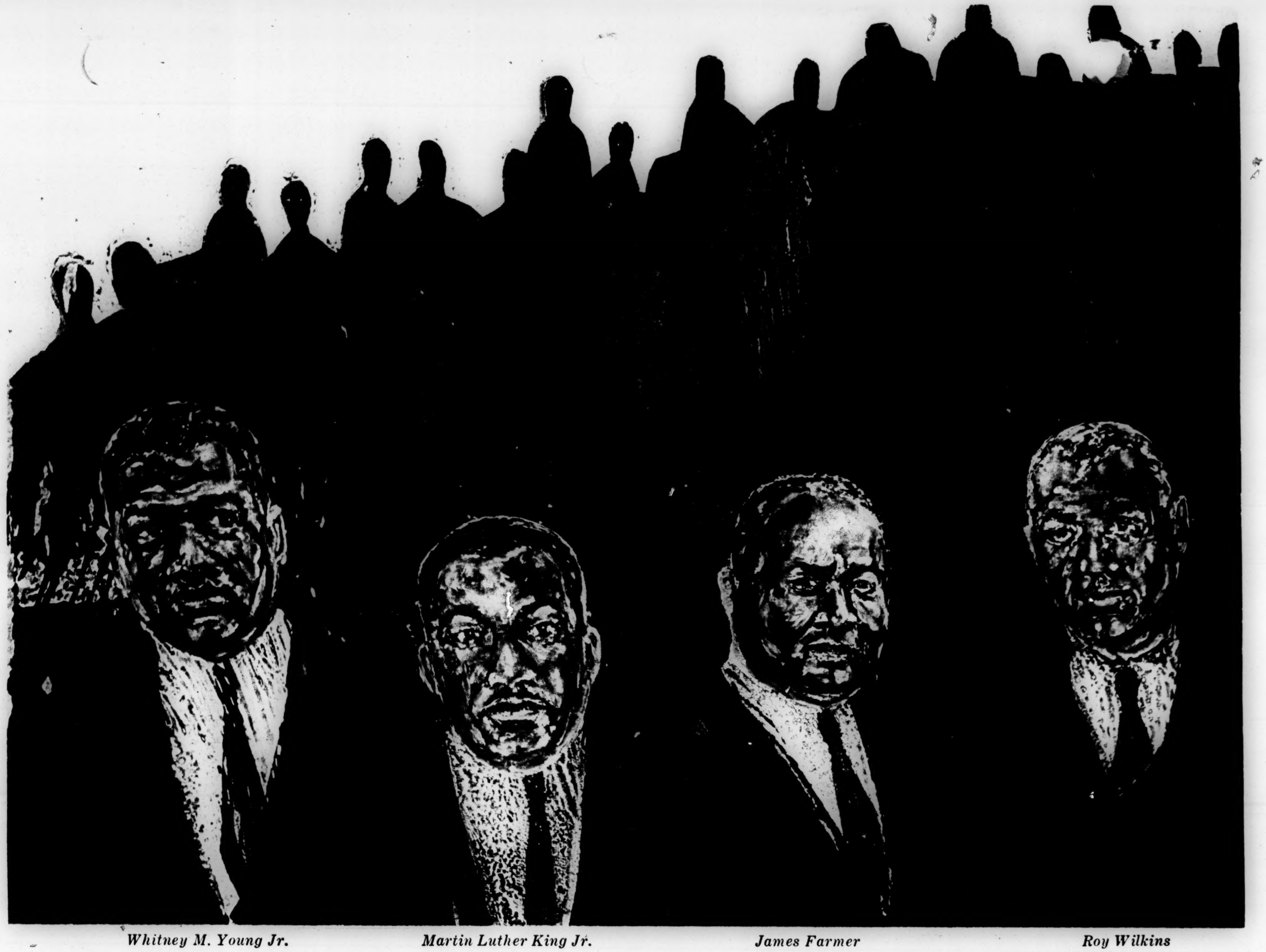
Cost controls in both companies were inadequate. Hence even when trailers moved fully loaded, it was often with marginally profitable freight. Many of Yale's trucks also rolled at a loss, a fact that went undetected. The company's competitors in New York succeeded in luring away some of Yale's most desirable traffic, for shippers were afraid to rely too heavily on the merged Yale and Republic when both could be crippled by a strike. Sales campaigns rebuilt Yale's volume, but much of it was low-rated freight other truckers didn't want. In one instance, Yale carried a truckload of inflated basketballs from upstate New York to Tennessee, handling the shipment a costly half-dozen times en route, for total revenues of $400 versus actual costs of $800.

Late in 1963, Eskow, underestimating the magnitude of the problems and assuming they would all be solved with the move to the new building, remained publicly optimistic. But, aware that the old formulas were no longer valid, he gave Mackensen the assignment of devising new profit-and-loss yardsticks for the combined operations.

At the same time, plans were made to combine the accounting systems of the merged companies. As with so much else, the accounting procedures of Yale and Republic were incompatible—and so, unfortunately, were the chief accounting personnel of the two companies, who were jockeying for position and scarcely speaking to each other. Competent enough to perform routine functions for the separate companies, they were unable to cope with change, and certainly not with the radical change that Mackensen had in mind. Furthermore, the basic data with which they worked was suspect; the vaunted "scientific" EDP system at Yale was badly programed and almost nightmarishly erratic.

Historically, Yale picked up both its revenues and its costs—principally depreciation, payroll, and maintenance—very quickly, and kept its books on a semi-cash basis. After twenty days it cut off and drew a balance, picking up late-arriving bills in subsequent periods. This was a very liberal form of accounting, but did not significantly affect the financial statements of what was essentially an

continued page 226



Whitney M. Young Jr. *Martin Luther King Jr.* *James Farmer* *Roy Wilkins*

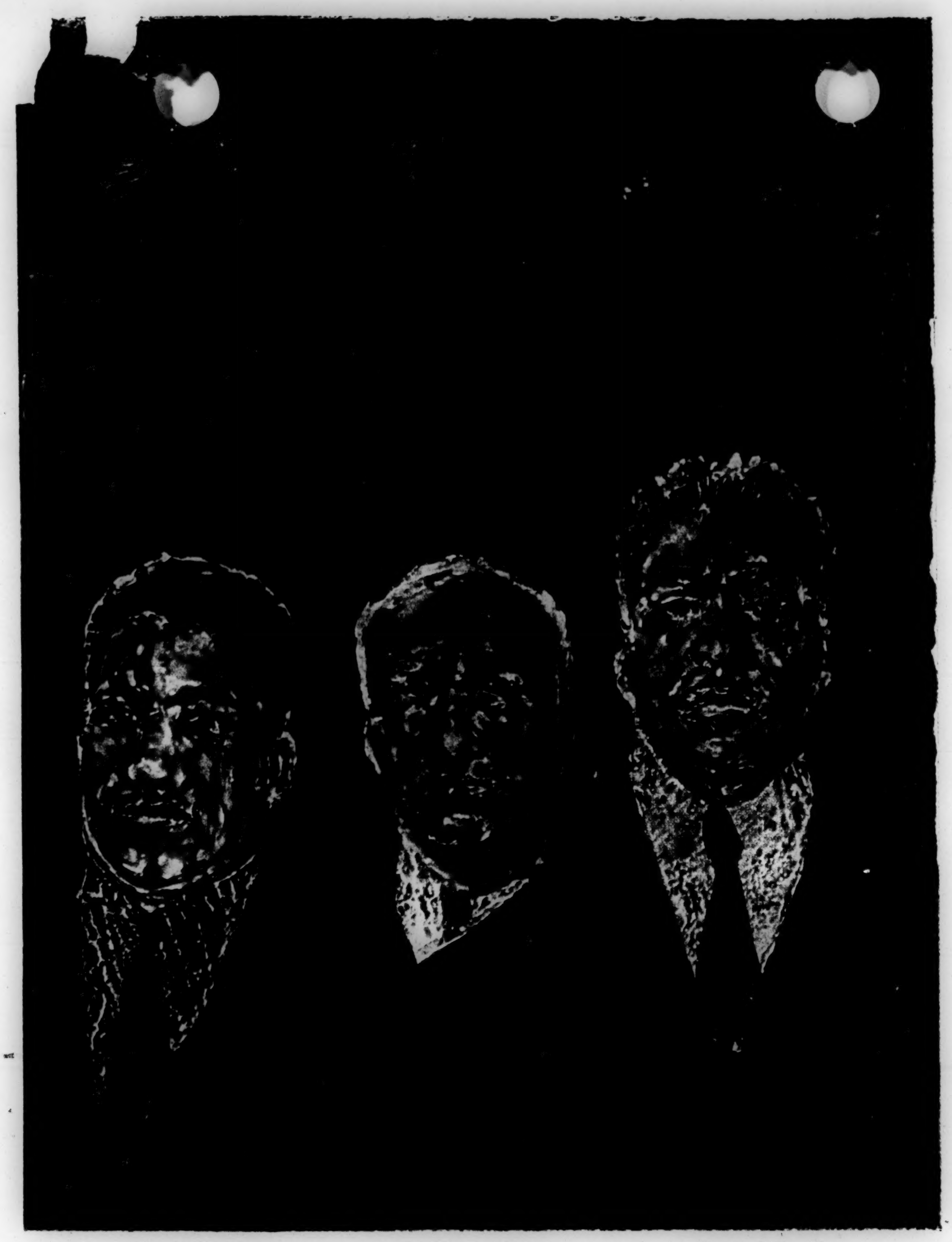
"Beware the Day They Change Their Minds!"

by Charles E. Silberman

"There is no more civil-rights movement," the Reverend James Bevel, one of Martin Luther King's principal aides, told the August convention of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "President Johnson signed it out of existence when he signed the voting-rights bill." The Reverend Mr. Bevel's speech was widely interpreted as reflecting an understandable, if excessive, euphoria; with the signing of the voting-rights bill just a year after the civil-rights law of 1964, civil-rights groups certainly had gained a considerable part of what they had been fighting for in recent years.

In fact, Bevel's speech reflected not euphoria but a spreading frustration and gloom. The civil-rights movement is not dead, of course, and no one, Bevel included, really thinks it is. The movement *is* at a dreadful impasse; its leaders, as the painting above suggests, are estranged from their rank and file and divided and uncertain where to turn. Their frustration and confusion are widely shared, particularly in Washington. Within the past year, as historian C. Vann Woodward writes, Congress "has put more teeth in the law and more law on the books" regarding civil

Painting by John Russell Clift



James Forman *A. Philip Randolph* *Bayard Rustin*

The cause of civil rights, fresh from its greatest victories, is facing its greatest threat—a bitter new mood, with elements of nihilism and hopelessness, that is suddenly making headway in the Negro community.

rights than it has in the ninety years since the end of Reconstruction; insofar as federal legislation can cope with the knotty problems of race, Congress has now done just about all that can be done. And yet we seem to be as far as ever from having solved the problem of race.

The reality, however, is not that the legislative victories of the past year were meaningless, but that they served to move the so-called "Negro problem" to a new and unfamiliar plane, one in which the problem, perhaps for the first time, is visible in all its fullness and all its many dimensions. And so the long and tortuous history of Negro-white relations has entered a new and radically different stage—a stage so different from the recent or distant past as to make the familiar approaches and solutions obsolete, irrelevant, and sometimes even harmful. This new stage offers an opportunity, as President Johnson has put it, "to make good the promise of America"—an opportunity the U.S. may never have again.

By the same token, the U.S. now faces a racial crisis every bit as serious as, and in some ways more urgent than, the one that tore the nation asunder a century ago. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that unless we make the plight of the Negro American the central concern of all Americans, there will be no social peace in this country for generations to come.

If any evidence were needed, last summer's week-long riot in the Watts section of Los Angeles provided it. For the riot dramatized a fundamental change in Negro-white relations—a change that was inevitable, and that had been clearly visible, though widely ignored, for some time. What is new is that Negroes have begun to reveal and to express—indeed, to act out—the anger and hatred they have always felt, but had always been obliged to hide and suppress behind a mask of sweet docility. (*"Got one mind for white folks to see, Another for what I know is me,"* an old Negro work song goes.) The anger was there, but it was turned inward, in the form of self-hatred, or violence against other Negroes. Now, at long last, the anger is exploding outward, against what has always been its true object: "the man," "Mr. Charlie," "Whitey," which is to say white men—*all* white men.

The change has come about in spite of, but also in a sense because of, the enormous strides Negroes have taken in recent years toward full equality. The push toward equality of opportunity has been based on the implicit assumption that something approximating equality of results would follow. It hasn't, nor is it likely to. Equality of results is impossible in a competitive society unless people enter the competition on roughly equal terms. And the harsh but inescapable fact is that all too many Negroes are unable—or unwilling—to compete. To say this is not, in any way, to suggest that Negroes are inherently inferior; it is simply to recognize that three hundred and fifty years of brutalization, humiliation, and exclusion have taken, and continue to take, a heavy toll. "The Negro, if he fails to recognize his deprivation or acts as though it doesn't exist," Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, has written, "is guilty of stupid chauvinism. And the white person who ignores this reality or acts as though it doesn't exist is guilty of dishonesty."

Where some get none

Worse yet, for a great many Negroes the disparities have been widening rather than narrowing. As the U.S. Department of Labor put it in the widely publicized "Moynihan Report" (so-called because its principal author was former Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel P. Moynihan), "Individually, Negro Americans reach the highest peaks of achievement. But collectively, in the spectrum of American ethnic and religious and regional groups, where some get plenty and some get none, where some send 80 percent of their children to college and others pull them out of school at the eighth grade, Negroes are among the weakest. The most difficult fact for white Americans to understand is that in these terms the circumstances of the Negro American community in recent years has probably been getting *worse, not better.*"

This deterioration is not only exacerbating the enormous store of anger and hatred that Negroes were already beginning to express, but is also giving it a destructive, nihilistic, sometimes even suicidal turn. There has always been a certain dualism in Negro thought; Negroes have always wondered whether they should, after all, keep banging on the doors of a society that seemed determined to keep them out, and at moments they have wanted, Samson-like, to bring the whole house crashing down. (*"If I had-a my way,"* an old spiritual begins, *"I'd tear this building down."*) Alienation and nihilistic hatred have always existed in exquisite tension with Negroes' burning desire to enter the larger society. Now the balance is shifting somewhat, as the opportunities to enter white society increase faster than a great many Negroes' ability to enter.

There is, in short, a Negro's Negro problem every bit as severe as the one with which the white man wrestles. But the grim irony of history is that whites, having created the Negro's Negro problem, are no longer in a position to solve it through their actions alone. This in no way reduces the burden or responsibility that white men have. But because Negro Americans, as novelist Ralph Ellison has put it, "are in desperate search for an identity," there is ultimately a point at which only Negroes can solve the Negro problem, by creating a sense of community that will provide the identity for which they are searching.

The irony is compounded. Since the collapse of Booker T. Washington's strategy of "self-improvement" around the turn of the century, any such ideas have been indissolubly linked with a posture of accommodation and submission. Understandably, the emphasis of the civil-rights movement has been on ending the legal system of segregation, which is to say on ending the public humiliation of Negro Americans. But one result of this emphasis has been to blur the distinction between a compulsory ghetto and a voluntary community. Because Negroes had no choice but to live in all-Negro neighborhoods, attend all-Negro schools, etc., Negro leaders were trapped in a rhetoric and a logic whose premise was that any all-Negro institution is per se degrading. They found themselves, therefore, unable to argue simultaneously *against* Jim Crow and *for* the improvement of the Negro community. And the great mass of big-city Negroes, trapped in the ghetto, became convinced that their "leaders," far from trying to help them, were merely trying to escape from being black.

The explosive increase of Negro anger is compounding both these problems. On one hand, the new mood of militancy makes it virtually impossible for any Negro leader—indeed, any Negro intellectual—to acknowledge publicly the need for change within the Negro community. And this, in turn, prevents the leaders from doing anything that might produce a change. This same mood of anger, with its black-nationalist overtones, also serves to widen the already enormous breach between civil-rights leaders and a large mass of urban Negroes who are far less concerned with where they can eat or vote than with where—or whether—they can find a decently paid job.

Decline of a taboo

The real question, let it be acknowledged from the start, is not why Negroes are expressing their anger, but why the explosion did not occur until now—and why white men did not see the anger until it erupted, as in Watts. Its explosive nature has been a central theme of the poetry of Langston Hughes, who summed up the situation twenty-three years ago, in five spare lines:

Negroes,
Sweet and docile,
Meek, humble, and kind:
Beware the day
They change their minds!

But why now? The change has occurred, in part, because after three hundred and fifty years of fearing whites, Negroes have discovered that it is also the other way around—that the whites are afraid of Negroes. It is hard for whites to appreciate what a tremendous liberating force this discovery of white fear is, for fear of "the man" has dominated Negro life and thought. In large areas of the South it still does, although the fear is receding. In Mississippi, Alabama, rural Georgia, and elsewhere, this fear is soundly based; whites have always kept Negroes "in their place" through sheer terror and brutality. But the southern Negro's fear of the white man went beyond the rational; it had—and still has—elements of an almost mystical or magical taboo. Even in the North the taboo has not been completely broken—witness the fact that the Watts rioters did not shoot to kill,* and that they did not venture outside the Negro district.

**Despite reports of "marauding mobs" that "pillaged, burned, and killed," the fact is that the rioters killed only one person, a deputy sheriff (and that killing was accidental); the police and National Guardsmen killed twenty-six rioters and bystanders, and an individual store owner shot and killed someone looting his store. (In addition, one policeman was killed when another accidentally discharged his gun; a fireman was killed when a wall collapsed; and four deaths remain unexplained.)*

But the taboo is breaking down very rapidly. The hatred of everything white was much more overt and explicit in Watts this year than in Harlem last year. It was also much more carefully controlled and focused; in Watts the burning and looting for the most part were limited to white-owned businesses, frequently in a systematic way. Watts aside, Negroes generally feel much freer about admitting their anger than they did a year ago.

In large measure, however, this new feeling stems less from any change in Negro psychology than from demographic changes. These changes have been largely overlooked in discussions of the Negroes' new situation, but they are crucial. As recently as 1940, more than two-thirds of all Negro Americans lived in the eleven states of the Old Confederacy, most of them in rural areas. As a result of the tremendous migration of Negroes that occurred during the 1940's and 1950's, about half of all Negroes now live in cities outside the Deep South. This double shift—from south to north and from country to city—ranks as one of the great population changes in history. (See "The City and the Negro," FORTUNE, March, 1962.)

But even more than that is involved. Because the migrants were predominantly young people with a high birth rate, the number of Negroes who had been born outside the South increased more than 150 percent in twenty years; by 1960, in fact, according to calculations by Professor C. Horace Hamilton of the University of North Carolina, nearly three-fifths of the Negro population living in the North had been born there—hence those Negroes were relatively free of the taboo that prevents southern Negroes from expressing their anger.

The exaggerated Americans

Then there is the teenage dimension. The combination of great social mobility, rapidly changing standards of morality and authority, and an explosive birth rate has elevated teenagers' traditional rebellion against their elders into something of a national problem. In this sense, Negroes have become what Gunnar Myrdal called "exaggerated Americans." Even more than their white peers, Negro teenagers and young adults feel the need to rebel against their parents—to destroy any remnants in themselves of the "Sambo image," of the meek, docile, submissive Negro. And the number of Negro teenagers in the North is increasing far more rapidly than the number of white teenagers.

What is happening, moreover, is that the expression of anger is turning out to be a cumulative rather than a cathartic process. Instead of expending itself, the anger is feeding upon itself; the more it is expressed, the more there is to express—the more reasons for anger these young Negroes begin to discover. For "with rebellion, awareness is born," as Albert Camus has put it. Before the act of rebellion, the individual had accepted all the demands made upon him—had accepted indignities, without reacting against them, that were far more terrible than the one at which he balks. "He accepted them patiently, though he may have protested inwardly . . . But with the loss of patience," Camus argues, "—with impatience—a reaction begins which can extend to everything that he previously accepted, and which is almost always retroactive."

The new anger also reflects the fact that full equality still eludes most Negroes. For all the changes that have taken place in recent years, Negroes are still excluded from many areas of American life. Housing segregation remains rigid, notwithstanding President Kennedy's "stroke of the pen" decree. The quality of education offered Negro children is still grossly inferior to that given whites. "Children who are treated as if they are uneducable," as Professor Kenneth B. Clark of New York's City College puts it, "almost invariably become uneducable." And consciously or unconsciously, a staggeringly large proportion of the teachers with whom Negro children come into contact—in the North at least as much as in the South—do treat them as if they are uneducable. Job discrimination, moreover, still bars Negroes from many occupations and industries, though the discrimination tends to be more polite. To the Negro, however, the effect is the same whether the personnel officer says, "Sorry, we have no vacancies" or simply, "We don't hire niggers." In a sense, the latter is easier to take; Negroes' uncertainty over how they will be received or treated—over where they will meet discrimination and where not—is one of the most frustrating aspects of the changes now going on. "Blessed is he who expects nothing, for he shall not be disappointed."

Growth of an ethic

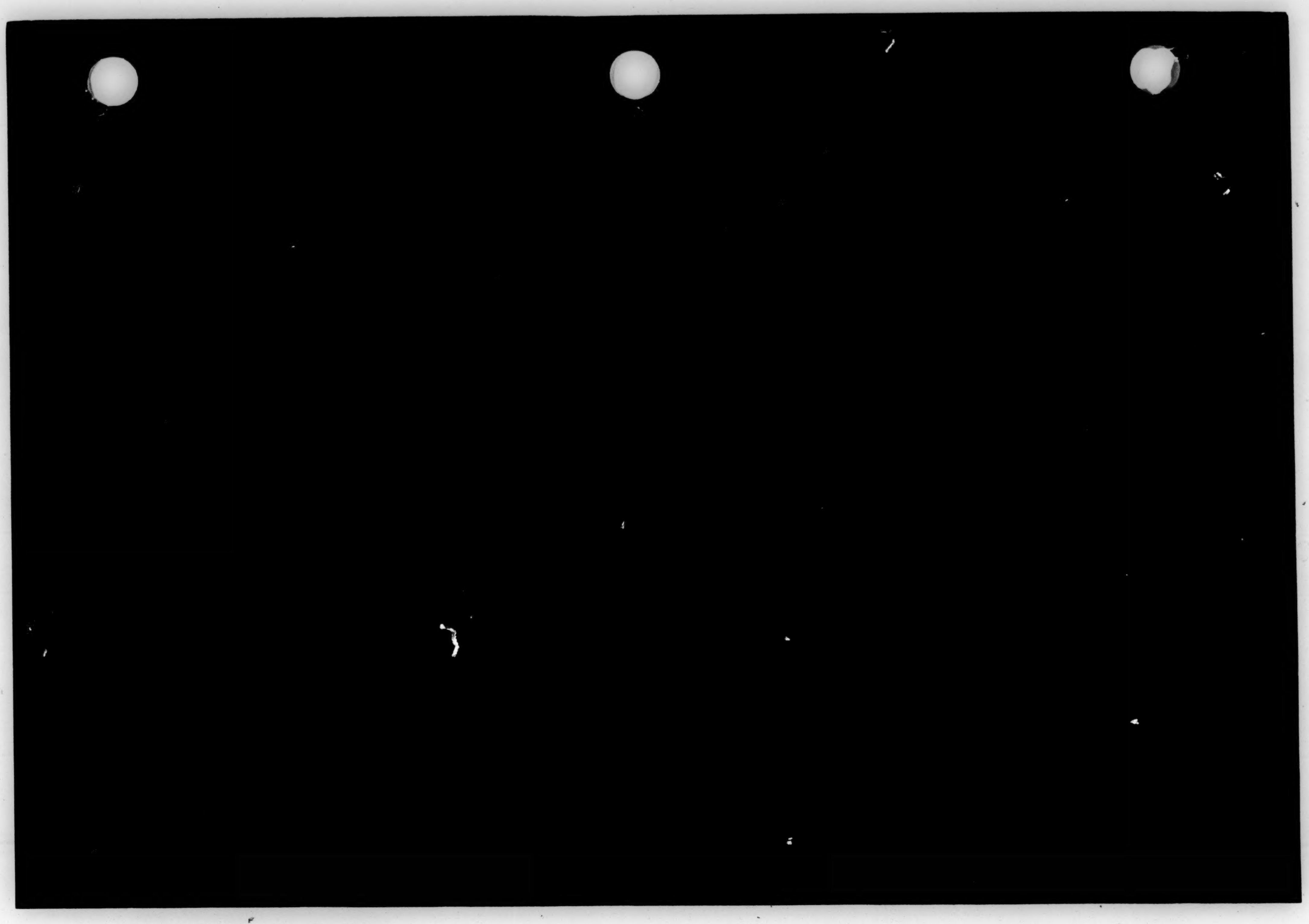
But Negroes do expect a great deal, and their expectations are being disappointed. There is hardly a Negro who does not still meet humiliation and insult—or, what is worse, unconscious condescension—with maddening regularity. ("They'll have to get somebody else to practice on," Sammy Davis Jr. remarked, after attending a party at which one guest assured him that he was a credit to his race, and another proudly announced, "My son goes to school with Ralph Bunche's son.") And Negroes continually come up against maddening inconsistencies in white behavior, inconsistencies that add up to a kind of double standard: for example, the government's massive failure to give southern Negroes the protection of the law, or the fact that the murder of civil-rights workers who are Negro goes virtually unnoticed, as in Selma, Alabama, whereas the slaying of a white civil-rights worker arouses the national conscience.

The result is a sense of betrayal that leads to even greater rage (it's not surprising that Negroes' bitterest anger has been directed at "the white liberal") and confirms Negroes in their conviction of the basic hypocrisy of white protestations of justice. Hence the growth of what some Negro intellectuals are calling "the new ethic," which amounts to a kind of opting out of American society and an explicit rejection of "white" (i.e., Judaeo-Christian) morality as simply hypocritical.

But Negroes' advocacy of "the new ethic" also represents—consciously or not—a cover for withdrawal from competition, the educated Negro's heroin, so to speak. If, in the past, Negroes directed the hatred they felt for whites against themselves, it is almost certainly the case that some Negroes are now directing some of the hatred they feel for themselves (for their fear of competing in a white world) against that world itself. "There come times," James Weldon Johnson wrote in 1934, "when the most persistent integrationist becomes an isolationist, when he curses the White world and consigns it to hell."

For many Negroes, it is apparent, one of those times has come. Their tendency to withdraw is apt to increase at the point at which the doors begin to open; for the writer or artist unsure of his ability to compete in the white world there is great comfort in asking, "Who wants to be integrated into a burning house?"—and thereby justifying withdrawal on the grounds of superior morality rather than on fear of failure.

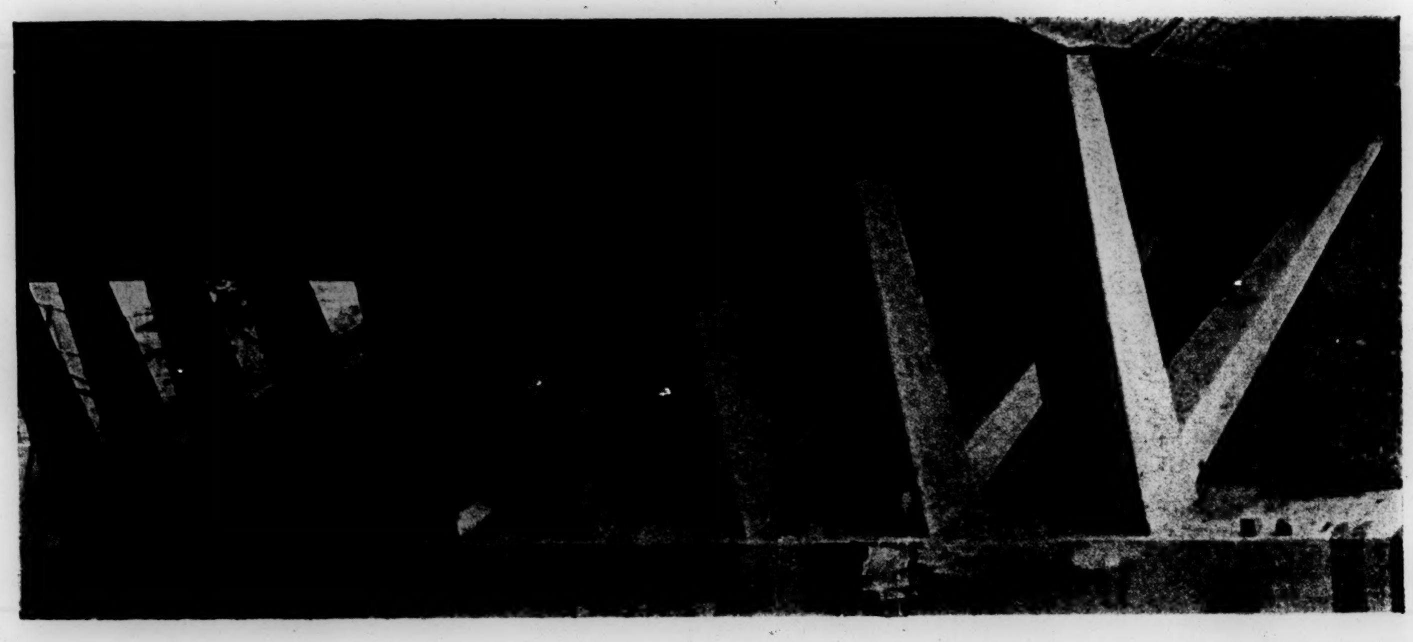
continued page 255



The 5.4-mile-long General Rafael Urdaneta Bridge across Lake Maracaibo in Venezuela displays the rugged simplicity characteristic of Morandi's work. The longest bridge ever built of reinforced, prestressed concrete, it links the fast-growing oil city of Maracaibo and the agricultural districts of western Venezuela to the rest of the country. The bridge was finished at a cost of more than $100 million in 1962. The five center stretches soar 150 feet above water level to allow passage of huge tankers and other ocean-going vessels. Nevertheless, a crippled tanker smashed into the bridge last year and opened a 700-foot gap (see right), since repaired.

BRIDGES THAT

For the Via Olimpica, built for the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome, Morandi designed a simple but subtle viaduct over the Corso Francia. The span is supported by cantilevered oblique girders anchored at either end by concrete beams (right).



"Beware the Day . . ." *continued from page 153*

The turn toward nihilism and despair often has a belligerent ring to it. "If we can't sit at the table, let's knock the f-----g legs off!" James Forman, executive secretary of S.N.C.C. (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), shouted last March at a mass meeting in Montgomery, Alabama. Within S.N.C.C. itself, and a host of smaller groups clustered around it, there is a growing insistence—fed by such things as President Johnson's appointment of Mississippi ex-Governor Coleman to the federal judiciary and the Justice Department's failure to make real use of the voting-examiner provision of the 1965 voting-rights law—that Negro aspirations cannot be met within the existing structure of American politics and government.

S.N.C.C. members and sympathizers have been moving toward a rhetorical stance in which *any* cooperation with the established organs of government or the existing political parties is decried as selling out to the Establishment, though they are not above accepting governmental help when it suits their purpose. The young Negro radicals are also moving toward black nationalism. "At the mass meetings, the effort is still made to say 'white segregationist,' not just 'the whites,'" Pat Watters of the Southern Regional Council writes in *Encounter With the Future*, a perceptive (and largely sympathetic) study of S.N.C.C. published recently. "But in private conversations, it is the man, the white man, Mister Charlie, all inclusive." And they are moving away from any devotion to nonviolence; as Watters puts it, "the possibilities for success of terrorism against whites" is becoming "a topic for informal discussion."

The revulsion against nonviolence was also evident in Watts—both in the rioting itself and in the heckling Martin Luther King received when he visited the area. "We don't believe in turning the other cheek down here," one heckler told a FORTUNE reporter. "We believe in hit back when you get hit. Why should King turn the other cheek when the white man hasn't turned one? All he does is turn his head and ignore you." The temptation to violence was evident, too, in the expressions of sympathy and support for the rioters that came from Negroes of all classes and in all parts of the country. "I hate this, I deplore it," one eminently respectable Negro remarked, "but I must smile a little at getting back. I was kind of glad at first to see them beat up the police a little."

James Baldwin warned two years ago, in *The Fire Next Time:* "The Negroes of this country may never be able to rise to power, but they are very well placed indeed to precipitate chaos and ring down the curtain on the American dream." The rioting in Watts suggests that the desire to ring down the curtain is more widespread than most whites—or most Negro leaders—had been willing to admit.

Those who "want in"

But this destructive impulse, we have observed, exists side by side with a burning desire to enter the larger society. Indeed, some of the angriest Negroes display the most wistful yearning for the values and accouterments of the society they profess to hate; a certain ambivalence has always been part of the price of being Negro in the U. S. The rioting in Watts also reflected this ambivalence. It was simultaneously an expression of hatred for white society and an attempt at forced entry into that society; the same people who expressed their bitterness in burning and looting were almost pathetically eager to explain their point of view to any white willing to listen. Both during the riots and afterward, a reporter had only to stand on a corner and take out a pencil and notebook

continued page 258

Versatile custom arrangements in fine hand-rubbed walnut. We will be pleased to send you our brochure.

DISTINGUISHED FURNITURE FOR DISTINCTIVE OFFICES

stow & davis

16-N Summer, N.W., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49502

Model 350 D
COMMENDED by PARENTS' MAGAZINE
Good Housekeeping GUARANTEES

GENTLEMEN . . .
WE PRESENT
DELTA®
SINGLE HANDLE BALL FAUCETS

An American Product, made in America by Americans and proclaimed by millions of women across the land as the greatest faucet ever created for the home.
Gentlemen, it's more than that. It's also the most dependable faucet ever created for any building whether it be office, warehouse or plant. Call any plumber.
Thank You.

DELTA FAUCET COMPANY
GREENSBURG, INDIANA
Division of MASCO Corporation

IN CANADA: Delta Faucet of Canada Ltd. • Ontario

When American eyes

...they're counting the benefits of building a factory in Ireland

Why Ireland? It's easy to see why. To get them off to a flying start, Ireland offers American manufacturers *total tax exemption* on all export profits for a full ten years.*

And for companies that qualify, the Irish Government gives outright, *non-repayable cash grants* of up to ⅔ of the cost of fixed assets including site, buildings, machinery and equipment!

Workers are plentiful. Ireland is the only North European country with a manpower surplus . . . has enough workers right now to double its industry. There are factory and office workers, scientists and engineers to fill your needs for decades to come.

What's more, Irish workers *want* to work. You're sure to get a good day's work for reasonable wages.

At the doorway to fast-growing British markets. Ireland is 3,000 miles closer to Great Britain (population over 53 million) than any place in the U. S. Normally, practically all Irish-made goods enter Britain free of customs duty.

Ships sail to British ports daily. Daily air service links Dublin, Shannon and Cork with all major industrial and commercial centers in Great Britain.

Major markets on the Continent are almost as convenient.

are smiling

The welcome mat is out. Ireland is one country in Europe where manufacturers can be sure that all political parties welcome foreign business. That's a big reason why more than 125 companies from the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Denmark, The Netherlands, Japan and other countries have built factories in Ireland during the past five years.

Want to know more? If you're thinking of starting something new in Europe, we'd like to talk to you . . . and we think it will pay you to talk to us. We are seeking sound, well based projects that will benefit the manufacturer and the Irish economy.

9865

**Location at the Shannon Free Airport Industrial Estate has additional advantages for manufacturers who can use air transportation. Premises are provided (for sale or rent), and there is complete exemption from tax on export profits until 1983. Grants may also be given for up to 50% of the cost of machinery, and towards the cost of training workers.*

IRISH INDUSTRIAL
DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
405 Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022 · Tel: 421-3797
Chicago: Consulate General of Ireland
400 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. · DE 7-1868

to be surrounded by men and women clamoring to talk. "What this is all about," one participant explained, "is the gravy from this great society. We want some of it, brother—yeah, and a piece of the steak. We want *in*."

By some measures, a fair number of Negroes actually are getting in. Thus the number of Negro families earning $7,000 a year or more, in dollars of 1964 purchasing power, has more than tripled in the past decade to nearly one million—20.4 percent of all Negro families. The number earning $10,000 or above has more than quintupled—from 71,500 families in 1954 to almost 400,000 (8.3 percent) last year.

The missing men

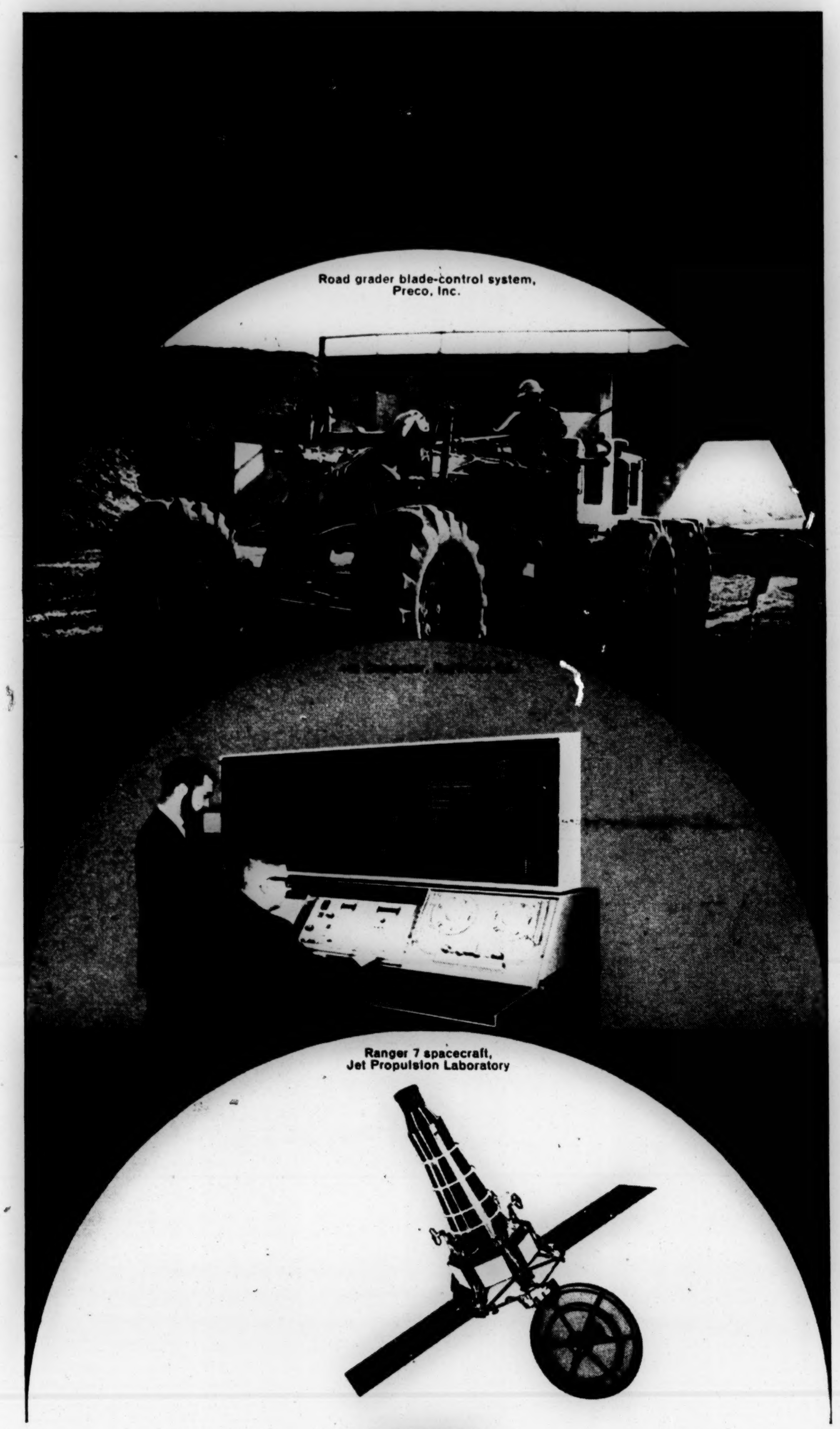
But most Negroes still have good reason to feel left out of the affluent society; the Negro community is sharply divided between a growing but still small middle-class group and a large and in many ways increasingly disorganized and disadvantaged lower-class group. The median income of Negro families last year ($3,839) was only 56 percent that of white families—the same ratio as ten years ago. No fewer than 45.8 percent of all Negro families earned less than $3,500—i.e., less than a "poverty income." Unemployment among Negroes averaged 9.8 percent in 1964, versus 4.6 percent for whites. And more than one-quarter of all Negroes in the labor force were out of work at some time or other during the course of the year.

Furthermore, the measured unemployment rate grossly understates the number of Negro men who are idle; the government counts as unemployed only those who are both out of work and looking for work, and a substantial number of Negro men are not looking for work. They have sunk so deeply into apathy and idleness that they are not counted as part of the labor force; some are so far out that they are not even counted as part of the *population*. According to the Census of Population, there were, in urban areas, only eight-six Negro men for every 100 Negro women in the fifteen to forty-four age group. But this is impossible: there can't be significantly fewer Negro men than women, since in the age brackets below fifteen the number of males is roughly the same as the number of females. What is involved, quite clearly, is a massive error in reporting; a substantial number of Negro men simply aren't around when the census enumerator—or anyone else presumed to represent authority—comes to call.

The problem of Negro "outness" goes far beyond the income and employment data. The heart of the matter, indeed, is the deterioration of Negro family life at the lower end of the economic scale. The deterioration is rooted in slavery, which made stable family relationships impossible, and in segregation, which continued to crush Negro men's sense of manhood and to thwart their inclinations to be family providers. Today nearly 25 percent of urban Negro women who have been married are divorced, separated, or living apart from their husbands. Fewer than half of all Negro children reaching eighteen have lived all their lives with both parents; more than half (56 percent) receive public assistance at some time during their childhood—the rate is seven times that for white children. Nearly one-fourth of all Negro births are illegitimate, versus 3 percent of white births. In some cities the rates are startlingly higher. In central Harlem, for example, over 43 percent of the births that occurred in 1963 were illegitimate.

Against this background of poverty and broken homes, it is scarcely surprising that young Negroes do not compete very effectively in the white world. More than 50 percent of

continued page 262



Road grader blade-control system, Preco, Inc.
Ranger 7 spacecraft, Jet Propulsion Laboratory

BOURNS... FROM SPADE WORK TO SPACE WORK

The mission may be scientific—like blazing a trail to the moon; or it may be commercial—like creating a sophisticated computer to speed man's work. For 16 years Bourns products have met the needs of such missions with outstanding success. We are proud that Bourns adjustment potentiometers are used more than any others in America's industrial, military, commercial and aerospace programs.

BOURNS

BOURNS, INC., RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

Manufacturing facilities: Riverside, California; Ames, Iowa; Toronto, Canada
Subsidiaries: Toronto, Canada; Zug, Switzerland; The Hague, Netherlands
Products: TRIMPOT Division—Adjustment and Precision Potentiometers, Relays, Relay Systems, Resistors, Capacitors, Inductors, Transformers, Micro Circuits
INSTRUMENT Division—Transducers for pressure, position and acceleration measurement with potentiometric, variable-reluctance, differential-transformer and strain-gage output

what say?

"X = ZY + 12 COS (CM-3)"

"FISCAL BUDGET 1962...$3,765,574.32"

"SALES A3646...$12,000...6-10-65"

"SHIPPED 5-5-65...9 GROSS"

"E = MC2"

"INVENTORY J-67443-A...12 UNITS"

tell it to the new CONTROL DATA® 3300/3500 time-sharing systems for business/scientific computing

CONTROL DATA 3300/3500 Computer Systems introduce time-sharing tailored to your individual data processing or computational requirements, with new flexibility ideal for a whole spectrum of medium to high performance needs. Here is power to make business more scientific—scientific problem-solving more businesslike. And with the comprehensive range of Control Data peripherals available to you (many of them shown here) information can be input and output in any preferred format, from widely separated locations. 3300/3500 Systems talk the language of research—production control—engineering—accounting—business management—you name it. And, talk the language of ordinary individuals, through people-oriented peripherals, the newest breed of Control Data devices, that permit scores of people to use 3300/3500 Computer power simultaneously as if the system were totally dedicated to each user. 3300/3500 Computers offer a choice of several power configurations . . . automatic program relocation features . . . main core memory of over one million characters . . . 1.25 or 0.8 microsecond central memory cycle . . . new and powerful commercial data processing instructions . . . improved performance from existing software library . . . new time-sharing software systems. We can provide complete documentation, hardware and software demonstration, and practically immediate delivery!

and talk about price/performance

. . . better than anything seen yet, even from Control Data: If you're paying $10,000 or more monthly, CONTROL DATA 3300/3500 Time-Sharing Systems are well worth looking into. They're no mere experimental beginnings, but the first concrete and proven time-sharing systems in their price/power class. For information contact our Representative in your area; or write our Minneapolis address.

the biggest computers for the biggest installations come from

CONTROL DATA
CORPORATION
8100 34th AVE. SO., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. 55440

Negro youngsters (versus 15 percent of white) fail the Armed Forces Qualification Test, which measures ability to perform a job at an acceptable level of competence—the level that ought to be found in someone with a seventh- or eighth-grade education. This inability to compete is the heart of the Negro's Negro problem. "They *are* inferior, and they know it," a Negro reporter says of the youngsters who rioted in Watts. "It's the knowing it that makes them dangerous."

No roots in the ghetto

The tragedy of the civil-rights movement is that it failed to address itself to this Negro's Negro problem, and in its failure it has lost touch with its own constituency. "Civil-rights organizations have failed," James Farmer, national director of CORE, said just after the Watts riot. "No one had any roots in the ghetto." Bayard Rustin, a strategist and theoretician for the civil-rights movement, commented about the young people of Watts: "We must hold ourselves responsible for not reaching out to them . . . Roy [Wilkins], Martin [Luther King], and I haven't done a damn thing about it. We've done plenty to get votes in the South and seats in the lunchrooms, but we've had no program for these youngsters."

These leaders still don't; the confessions of failure are not being followed up by any appropriate action—certainly not by any action that gives promise of success. Items:

▶ The N.A.A.C.P. continues to be primarily concerned with the white man's Negro problem—i.e. with eliminating white prejudice and discrimination. The greatest present need, as Executive Director Roy Wilkins sees it, is "a teaching and educating job on the use of the new legislation," which is to say, an emphasis on making sure that the new laws are actually enforced. As to the Negro's Negro problem: "You can't persuade the Negro that he ought to be concerned with larger issues of the community when he still feels the billy club on his neck—or when the banker won't give him a mortgage."

▶ James Farmer talks of building a mass base, as he has for some time. CORE has changed character in the past several years, from a middle-class organization with a predominantly white membership to an organization more and more dominated by militant young Negroes of predominantly lower-class background. But Farmer shows no signs of being able to pull these elements together or to develop a coherent program; CORE remains essentially a loose collection of small and largely autonomous groups.

▶ The radical student groups like S.N.C.C., Northern Student Movement, and Students for a Democratic Society *are* trying to build a mass base for "the movement." These tough-minded young people have the courage and commitment to put their lives on the line; unlike their better-known elders, they live in the rural and urban slums they are trying to organize. And as Robert Penn Warren writes, they are "good enough psychologists to understand that a mass base is not created by preaching abstractions; it is created by involvement, by acting out." But their rejection of "the corruption" of white society is too rigid and uncompromising to enable them to succeed. S.N.C.C.'s principal strategy of building "parallel institutions"—e.g., the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party—may be useful as a means of exerting pressure for change, but it also dooms Negroes to the role of perennial outsiders. The militants can't have it both ways; they can't acquire the political power they consider essential unless they are willing to bring Negroes into the existing political system. "Too much integrity," as Pat Watters writes, "can be a neurotic paralysis. You can become so right, so uncompromising that you no longer are able to function in this wicked world."

▶ As a result of Watts and the frustrations it revealed, Martin Luther King is now turning his energies to the problem of the northern city; he expects to make Chicago something of a test of his ability to create a mass movement in the North. How much success he will have remains to be seen. Dr. King's appeal has always been much greater among southern than among northern Negroes—and greater among northern whites than among northern Negroes. His philosophy of non-violence has reassured whites; it has tended to anger lower-class Negroes, who see it as coming too close to the image of the docile Negro they have rejected. And the Negroes of the North—particularly the men—have moved pretty far away from the Negro churches, which provide Dr. King's base in the South. Dr. King, too, has had trouble developing a coherent program responsive to the new Negro mood. "Periodic mass euphoria around a charismatic leader should not be confused with building an organization," says Saul D. Alinsky of the Industrial Areas Foundation, who has built working-class organizations in various parts of the country. Dr. King says that he is "less concerned with building an organization than with building a movement," i.e., building "a national consensus that will arouse the conscience of Americans and cause them to respond creatively to Negro demands." But in the last analysis, and despite all the accompanying references to Gandhi's "constructive program" of self-improvement, this leaves the emphasis *not* on change within the *Negro* community, but on action to change the *white* community. "The power structure must help the nonviolent leaders," he says. "We need victories; until we get them, the people won't trust us." Victory, in short, is still defined as something whites give Negroes.

"A real ball"

How might the Negro's Negro problem be solved—or at least diminished? It is at least clear that there can be no hope of halting or reversing the breakdown of the Negro family unless Negro men can find jobs that afford them some measure of dignity and enable them to support their families. It may well be that Negro unemployment can't be solved in the short run without some expanded program of public works and training, and King and Rustin seem increasingly interested in some such program. However, they grossly exaggerate the impact of automation and grossly underestimate the private economy's ability to generate jobs—for Negroes as well as whites. As a result of the vigorous rate of growth of the past four years, the unemployment rate among Negro men aged twenty and over has dropped in half—from 12 percent in the second quarter of 1961 to 6 percent in the third quarter of this year.

But it is also clear that the problem is not just an insufficient number of jobs for Negroes. "The roots of the multiple pathology in the dark ghetto," Kenneth Clark writes, "do not lie primarily in unemployment. In fact, if all of its residents were employed it would not materially alter the pathology of the community." More important, in many ways, are the *kinds* of jobs that are made available to Negroes—and Negroes' willingness to take the jobs and their ability to hold them. After the 1964 riots in Harlem, for example, Rustin got jobs for 120 youngsters; a few weeks later, only twelve of them were still working. One boy told Rustin he could make more money playing pool than the $50 a week he had been earning; another could make more than his $60 salary selling "pot" (marijuana); another turned down a four-year basketball scholarship to a major university because he preferred to be a pimp.

The explanation of this behavior, in part, is that the life

continued page 267

of the street appears much more glamorous and exciting than the life of work. "My childhood delinquent career was a real ball," Claude Brown, author of the searing autobiography, *Manchild in the Promised Land*, says. "It was an exciting adventure to me. I was a delinquent not because I was forced to, you know what I mean, I was a delinquent because I wanted to be one."

In part, too, the problem is bound up with the "desperate search for identity" of which Ralph Ellison spoke—in particular, with the younger generation's attempt to escape completely from the "Sambo image" that previous generations were forced to act out. Hence, many of the jobs that are available to people with little or no skill, training, or education—e.g., hospital attendant, waiter, busboy, etc.—are spurned as "slaving," particularly if they are to be performed for whites; the jobs are just too close to the image of servility that Negro teenagers and young adults are trying desperately to escape. The problem has been compounded by the rhetoric of the Negro revolt. "To want a Cadillac is not un-American," Rustin wrote last February; "to push a cart in the garment center is."

What Negro teenagers and adults lack most, however, is not motivation but that minimum sense of competence that is prerequisite to performing any job. By the time a good many Negro slum youngsters reach sixteen, they have been so completely beaten, so totally convinced of their own worthlessness, of their inability to succeed at anything that they are—or appear to be—unemployable and untrainable. "We are plagued, in work with these youth, by what appears to be a low tolerance for frustration," Professors Richard A. Cloward and Robert Ontell have written, in commenting on the work-training experiences of Mobilization for Youth. "They are not able to absorb setbacks. Minor irritants and rebuffs are magnified out of all proportion to reality. Perhaps they react as they do because they are not equal to the world that confronts them, and they know it. And it is the knowing that is devastating."

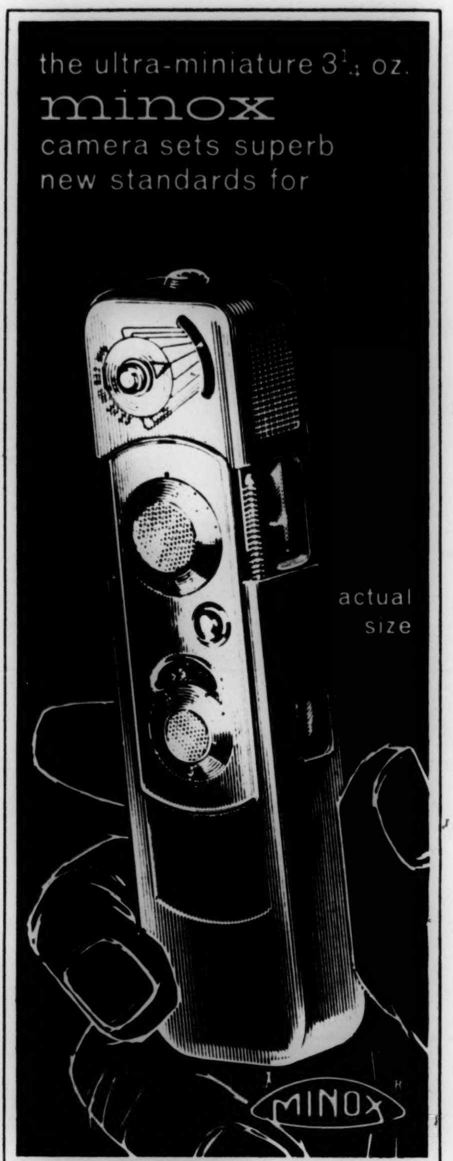
"The time for failure is gone"

And yet the situation is not entirely hopeless. As the Moynihan Report observed, "That the Negro American has survived at all is extraordinary—a lesser people might simply have died out, as indeed others have. That the Negro community has not only survived, but in this political generation has entered national affairs as a moderate, humane and constructive national force is the highest testament to the healing powers of the democratic ideal and the creative vitality of the Negro people."

The manner in which the Negroes will continue to impinge on U.S. political life is still being decided. It is not likely that, in the end, many Negroes will nihilistically "opt out" of American society; but it is still unclear how—and by whose efforts—they are going to get in. Somehow, and soon, they *must* get in, and perhaps the real ground for optimism these days is the fact that this proposition is now accepted as obvious. "It is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity," President Johnson declared last June, in his commencement address at Howard University. "All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates." And so we have entered "the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights," in which "we seek not just legal equity but human ability—not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result." Johnson added, "The time for failure is gone."

END

the ultra-miniature 3¼ oz.
minox
camera sets superb
new standards for



employee recognition programs, executive awards, & corporate gifts.

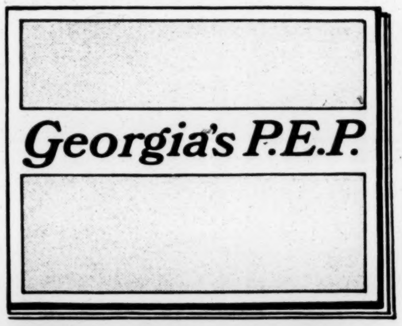
It's the gift that keeps on giving . . . and its recipients identify themselves with prominent Minox owners seen daily in news, screen and television. King of conversation pieces, the feather-light Minox is always the center of attraction. It builds good will as it takes sharp wallet-sized prints or enlargements 5 x 7" and larger, in both black and white or magnificent full color.

f/3.5 lens; all speeds to 1/1000 sec.; focuses 8" to infinity; instant drop-in film loading . . . no threading . . . no rewinding.

At fine camera stores, or write for brochure on employee recognition programs and the new role of the Minox Camera.

minox corporation
257 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010
BERKEY PHOTO
A Berkey Photo Company

What this country needs is a free package of engineering and technical services to help a company relocate!


Georgia's P.E.P.

It's here!

The service is free and so is the booklet that gives all the details. Order your free copy today.

Carl E. Sanders, Governor, or
James H. Nutter, Director,
Ga. Dept. of Industry & Trade,
100 State Capitol, Atlanta, Ga. 30334
Please send me free booklet on Georgia's P.E.P. service for new industry. I understand my inquiry will be kept in confidence.

NAME ____________________
FIRM ____________________
ADDRESS ____________________
CITY ____________ STATE ________ F

The Biggest, Cheapest Lift Ever *continued from page 180*

almost as low as sea transport for many items, some experts figure that the great saving in time, port charges, damage, and pilferage will make it cheaper for the Air Force to fly out everything worth more than $1 a pound. The Air Force reports that it has saved some $4.5 billion since 1958, even with today's less efficient planes, by reducing stockpiles around the U.S. and abroad and shipping most of its spare parts by air as they are needed. The C-5 is expected to hurt the sickly, strike-ridden American merchant marine so badly that a special Washington task force has already been organized to study the problem.

Says Stanley Brewer, professor of transportation at the University of Washington: "The C-5 means that the U.S. will never again need to put 10,000 men or 10,000 tons of intricate, highly expensive equipment on a single ship, exposing them to the threat of air or submarine attack for fifteen to thirty days at sea."

Finally, in the area of what General Schriever calls "crisis management," the C-5 will give U.S. strategists valuable new flexibility. It should permit significant reduction in numbers of troops stationed permanently at overseas bases, in some instances eliminating all but token forces. This will save hundreds of millions in defense dollars spent abroad, to the benefit of the ailing U.S. balance of payments. As a result, some experts estimate, enough logistical personnel could be shifted over to permit formation of as many as two or even three new combat divisions, without increasing the Army's over-all manpower.

A fleet of C-5's will give the President a wider choice of options in dealing with crises abroad. Reduction of "lead time"—now often two or three weeks with seaborne forces—will give him more opportunity to maneuver politically before committing U.S. might. The C-5 will also mean, moreover, that once a commitment is made the U.S. can mount, within a matter of days, a massive heavy-duty fighting force—in contrast to lightly armed token forces "to frighten the locals," as one Pentagon hand described present U.S. capability. Word that this kind of power is available is likely to get around swiftly, thus perhaps reducing the need to use it.

The airlines are reluctant

As a future commercial carrier, the C-5 looks like the genie from Aladdin's lamp—capable of mighty deeds but hard to deal with. Forecasts of its economics are controversial because most of the experts tend to mix their judgments with special interests. The Pentagon hopes that large numbers of C-5's will be purchased by commercial carriers, thus creating a reserve fleet for national emergencies, and top Pentagon authorities are pushing for this as hard as they can. The manufacturers that competed for the contract have, of course, been sanguine about the C-5's commercial value in the hope of selling it to the airlines as well as the Air Force.

Most of the airlines, on the other hand, have so far been less than enthusiastic. This is not because they doubt the C-5's immense potential value. Their hesitancy relates instead to timing. The C-5 comes on the scene at a moment when the airlines are finally making top profits after living hungrily during the early Sixties. They have an investment of almost $3 billion in their present equipment—plus a similar amount in orders for more of the same. The C-5 will

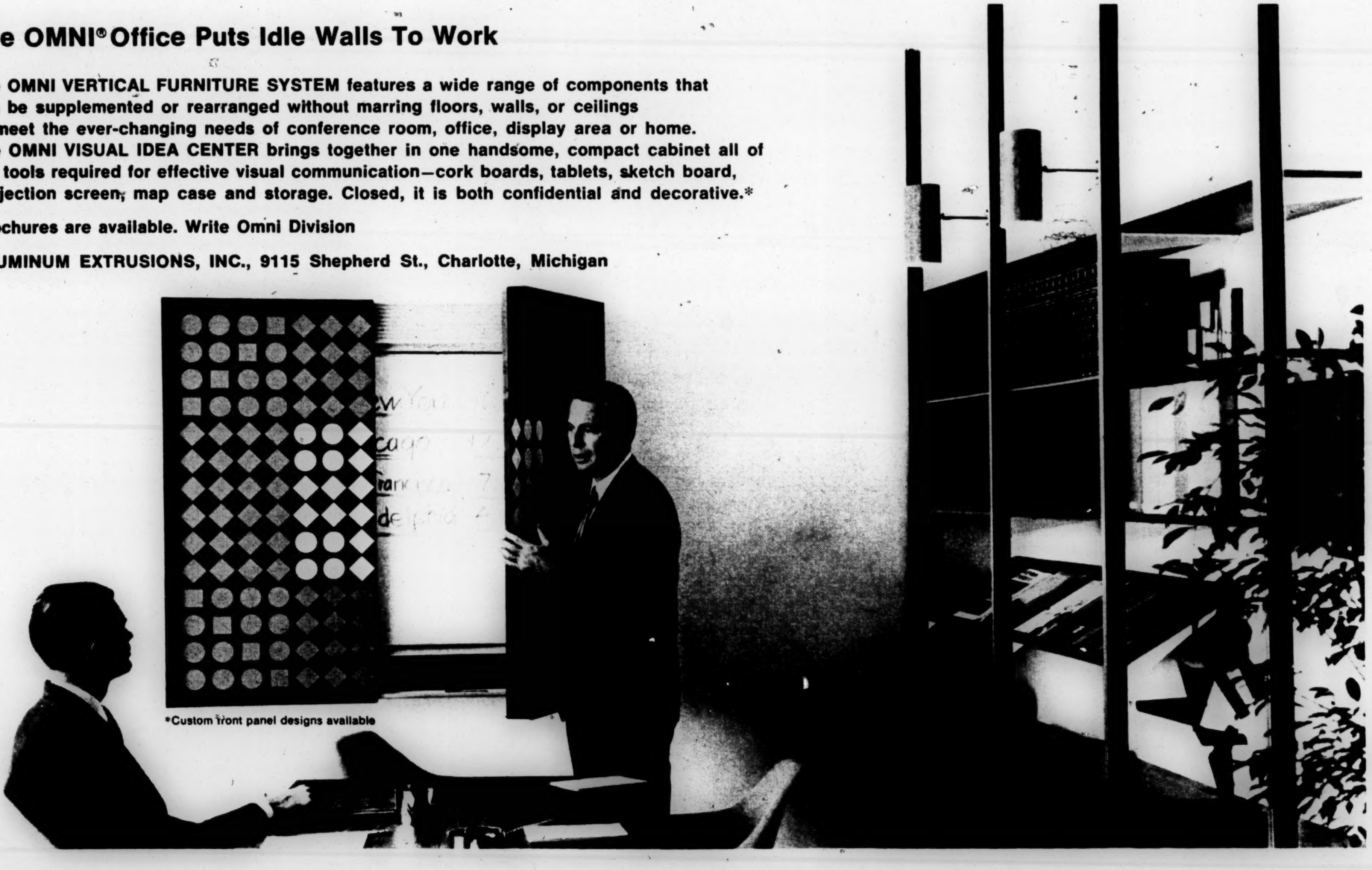
continued page 273

The OMNI® Office Puts Idle Walls To Work

The OMNI VERTICAL FURNITURE SYSTEM features a wide range of components that can be supplemented or rearranged without marring floors, walls, or ceilings to meet the ever-changing needs of conference room, office, display area or home. The OMNI VISUAL IDEA CENTER brings together in one handsome, compact cabinet all of the tools required for effective visual communication—cork boards, tablets, sketch board, projection screen, map case and storage. Closed, it is both confidential and decorative.*

Brochures are available. Write Omni Division

ALUMINUM EXTRUSIONS, INC., 9115 Shepherd St., Charlotte, Michigan



*Custom front panel designs available

© COPYRIGHT ALUMINUM EXTRUSIONS, INC. 1965

PLANNING SESSION
FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

February 7, 1966

MEMORANDUM - CONFIDENTIAL

To: Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Mr. Morris B. Abram
Mr. William T. Coleman, Jr.

From: M. Carl Holman

I am forwarding for your review a draft of the final report, minus the preamble and the final section which will deal with recommendations on the staffing, structure and content of the Spring Conference.

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

SECTION I - DRAFT OVERVIEW: KEY ISSUES AND PROPOSALS: PLANNING SESSION, WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

The proceedings of the Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" reveal a striking amount of agreement on the key issues and major elements of the problems facing the Negro American today. At the same time it should be noted that no votes were taken, that individuals were allowed to express personal views freely, and that there was no attempt to force consensus in what was essentially a free-wheeling exploration of possible solutions to a complex and deeply rooted national problem. Nevertheless, it is reasonably safe to say that from each of the eight panels* came discussion, concern, and recommendations related to these commonly agreed upon themes and problems:

I. The major problems faced by the Negro American are inextricably related, and piecemeal approaches will fail.

The Negro's ability to find a job, or earn a decent income, the kind of housing available to him, the kind of education and training he is able to secure for his children (which may or may not enable them, in turn, to earn a decent income), the quality of his medical and hospital care, his right to a day in court -- all are intertwined. The Negro without one of these is likely to be without any of them.

---

*Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security; Administration of Justice; Education, The Family: Resources for Change; Housing and the Neighborhood; Health and Welfare; Voting and Citizenship Participation; and The Community: Institutions and Social Action.

However, most of the panelists strongly shared the belief that the crucial element is economic security. They agreed that the Negro without economic security is without options, without, in a true sense, freedom. "The real horror of the ghetto today," said one of the participants, "is lack of choice." Similarly, several of the panels pointed out that until the Southern Negro is economically free, he cannot be politically free. The various parts of the problem fell together in the panel that focused on the family, which argued in its report that families should have the right to evolve in directions of their own choosing.

One key to economic security for low income Negroes was seen to be the creation of socially useful jobs -- jobs which would contribute to the rebuilding of cities, the construction of schools. Panelists advocated "sub-professional" jobs in the fields of health, welfare, education, administration of justice which would provide added services, relieve hard pressed professional workers, and link services more closely to the communities they are to serve. They urged expanded and updated training programs, teaching skills geared to the needs of the present and the future, the raising of the minimum wage and the expansion of its coverage.

Where jobs cannot be obtained, the panels said, there must be other forms of guaranteed minimum income -- through revisions in tax policy, or through changes in the welfare system. Several of the panels suggested that the welfare system must be restructured so that its true purpose is the end of welfare dependency and the beginning of economic self-sufficiency.

It was widely suggested that the Government must set as a high-priority goal the end of illiteracy in the United States -- for the illiterate has no hope of finding a decent job, of filling out his welfare forms, of exercising full citizenship, of sitting on a jury, of, in effect, coping.

Several of the panels suggested that rural poverty needs more attention. The Federal Government, which has done so much to support large farm businesses, was urged to do more for the impoverished rural Negro -- the tenant farmer, the small farm owner, the sharecropper -- whose choices are often worsening economic subjugation or flight to urban hopelessness. Such help might come through special farm programs, through Federal land and farm equipment aid.

II. Racial discrimination remains a pervasive factor - affecting all aspects of the Negro's life, limiting his options.

Discrimination, subtle or blatant, intentional or not, affects the Negro's ability to find a job, get a good education, choose a home, get medical care, become a doctor, and be dealt with fairly by welfare, police, and other agencies that determine his opportunities.

The education panel felt strongly, for example, that American education is organized along race and class lines, that segregated education is inherently inferior, no matter what brings it about, and that all evidence is that Negro children receive an education deficient in quality by every standard -- academic achievement, teaching, supervision, facilities, materials, curriculum and by every measure of consequence.

Several of the panels felt that this truth of pervasive discrimination must be faced, and that while the instruments of government cannot outlaw prejudice, neither should they cooperate with it.

III. The problems discussed by the Conference are of national importance, and there is a national responsibility to solve them; whatever the local variations, most of the problems are of such scope that only the Federal Government has the over-all perspective, responsibility and resources to initiate and underwrite significant change. Yet the solutions must focus on the local community; and Federal action does not imply preemption of state and local activity -- it means encouraging and enabling state and local instruments to make a greater contribution.

Inherent in a great many of the proposals was the belief that where Federal funds contribute to programs, there should be greater insistence on Federally established standards which require equality of services, which demand that they be equally available to all, and which have desegregation as a primary goal. Such standards were called for in housing and in welfare services. The education panel felt there should be national norms in education. Where equal access to programs is deliberately denied Negroes -- in the fields of education, training, or welfare -- it was felt that the Federal Government must step in to fill in the gap.

Many of the proposals reflected the underlying assumption that only the Federal Government had the resources -- monetary, technical, and informational -- to make significant inroads on the problems. Thus the education panel called for a major investment of Federal funds and leadership to remove racial considerations from the organization and operation of American public schools. The panel on housing called for a program to assure a vast new supply of housing for those of low and moderate incomes, widely dispersed throughout the metropolitan area, and available to anyone, whatever his race. They maintained that unless housing for those of under $6,000 income becomes available in large amounts outside the ghetto, on a racially inclusive basis, there is no hope of breaking up the ghettos and redeveloping blighted areas. The panel proposed more financial inducements to private enterprise to build houses for the poor, a large rent supplement program, better land planning, Federal encouragement for "New Towns" in which those of all income levels can live and work.

IV. There must be more coordinated planning of programs and services.

Conferees were in general agreement that services and programs must be coordinated at the local level, so that they are coherent, complete and reinforce each other. There were suggestions that there should be centers, neighborhood and community, containing and combining the various welfare, health, educational, job referral, training and other services. In the panel on the family, it was suggested that there be a national family policy which would serve to check the multiplying services and agencies, and the fragmentation of the family that often results from uncoordinated programs and services.

It was repeatedly stressed that within individual programs there must be greater insistence on regional planning. Particularly in the fields of housing and education it was felt that unless programs were planned on a metropolitan basis, including city and suburb, and that unless such plans had affirmative action to desegregate as a primary goal, all talk of solving urban problems would be meaningless.

There were suggestions that there should be regional centers for general medical, educational and welfare services patterned after the regional centers on heart disease and cancer -- so that the best that this country has to offer can more readily be available to all.

V. Government-sponsored services must be available uniformly, without discrimination; there must be efforts to inform potential clients that the services exist, and clients must also be made fully cognizant of their rights to these services. It was noted that all too often the intended recipients of a program or service are not aware that it exists; that if they do apply for help they are often treated with disrespect, if not abuse, by the dispensers of the services; and that they seldom know whether there is any recourse against denials, or the abusive dispensation, of these services.

Moreover, several of the panels, particularly those on the family and health and welfare, proposed positive efforts to assure that the poor receive the same quality and range of services, the same options, as those with higher income. Both panels felt that family planning services should be available to all who seek them.

It was widely suggested that efforts be made to assure greater accessibility of health and welfare services; and it was suggested that subprofessionals recruited from the low income neighborhoods might serve as "expeditors," helping to spread information about the availability of services. It was proposed that those who dispense the services be better trained to deal with their clients -- to treat them with understanding and respect.

VI. There must be a greater voice in the planning of programs for those whom the programs affect. A recurrent theme was the necessity of finding ways through which poor and relatively powerless Negroes may express their own needs and grievances; widespread failure to talk to those concerned, to listen to them was described in several panels. Panelists recommended that poor Negroes be included in policy formulation, and enabled to bring problems to the attention of officials and secure results through improved complaint machinery. This theme was emphasized particularly in the panel on jobs, health and welfare, education, housing, the administration of justice, and the community. There were further suggestions that government provide forums for such communication; that the government strengthen "indigenous" groups; that private groups could play an important catalytic role in this area; and that here, too, subprofessionals might form a vital link between those administering programs and those for whom the benefits of the programs were intended.

VII. There is a wide range of contributions which private groups -- civil rights and other citizen groups, foundations and other nonprofit organizations, and business -- can make towards fulfilling the rights of the Negro American, both with government cooperation and acting on their own.

It was proposed that Negro and other citizen groups should: provide opportunities for improving police-community relations; help government agencies enforce civil rights statutes by monitoring compliance and bringing complaints; help official agencies spread information about the availability of programs, and about the recipients' rights to them; conduct registration drives and voter education; support community action programs.

It was proposed that foundations and other nonprofit groups should play a larger role in: political education; in supplying low income housing by taking advantage of rent-supplement and rehabilitation programs; in providing funds for experimenting in new ways to organize public education, and in making up for the damage that segregated, inferior education has already done.

Business, both with and without incentives from the Federal Government, should: do more to create new jobs, train workers, and improve the skills of those already on the job so that they might adapt to new technologies; build housing for the long neglected low income market; lower some of the present barriers to the extension of credit; contribute to the education and protection of consumers.

VIII. There must be more aggressive enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965; there must be more forceful use of the Federal Government's explicit and inherent powers to require equal access to, and desegregation of, services and facilities supported by Federal funds.

All of the panels whose areas came under Title VI of the 1964 Act, prohibiting the use of Federal funds for maintaining segregated facilities, or the discriminatory supplying of services, felt that there had been inadequate enforcement of the Title. They urged the strengthening of compliance machinery in all Federal agencies affected by Title VI -- through more funds, more staff, and more authority. It was widely argued that the Federal Government must establish thorough performance criteria, and reject token compliance. In the field of education, for example, it was felt that many communities in the South continued to show intent to resist the law of the land by meeting its requirements with only minimal means, and by placing the burden for seeking integration on the parents and children.

In a broader sense, it was widely felt that Federal agencies are failing to use their power to encourage desegregation -- in housing, education, health and welfare -- and are inadequately informed about who is benefiting from their programs, and to what degree. There were several suggestions that effective program evaluation and compliance required more reliable collection of data by race.

The panel on the administration of justice stated that the Federal Government must do everything in its power now to ensure the safety of civil rights workers, and those advocating their rights, in the deep South. The panel felt that the Federal Government has the power to provide this protection now, and that this is literally a matter of life and death.

IX. More civil rights laws are needed, particularly to combat violence against those seeking their rights, and discrimination in employment and housing.

The panel on the administration of justice welcomed

President Johnson's call for legislation to end discrimination in the selection of juries; it recommended, in addition, legislation to make violence against those seeking their rights, and those helping them do so, a Federal crime, and to guarantee fair trials. It urged a broader program of police training, and legislation holding state and local governments liable for civil rights violence by their officers.

The panel on jobs recommended that the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, established under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, be strengthened through legislation broadening its focus and giving it power to issue cease and desist orders against discriminatory practices.

The panel on housing proposed that there be a broadened executive order, guaranteeing equal access to all housing constructed with direct or indirect Federal assistance.

X. Finally, throughout the discussions at the Planning Session there ran the theme that the current gaps in the Negro's share of the opportunities and promises of American life are not only unjust, but they are wasteful. The panelists insisted that the nation need not, and should not, produce citizens badly educated, ill-trained, economically and socially dependent, and bereft of hope when it has the resources to enrich these depleted lives and thus undergird the future of our society.

The planners looked to the Spring Conference to produce action programs and blueprints clearly responsive to their impatience to get on with the job of "fulfilling these rights."

SECTION II

PANEL I - JOBS, JOB TRAINING AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

A. Some Assumptions

Although there were some dissenting views, the panel on Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security developed broad consensus on the following general propositions:

1. Job problems encountered by Negroes are beyond the point that continued piecemeal approaches will be effective in alleviating them.
2. While a full employment economy is essential to furthering job opportunities, even a full employment economy will have, at best, very limited effect on the unemployed and underemployed Negro workers.
3. A comprehensive program needs to be directed to those areas where Negro population is heavily concentrated -- urban centers, the Negro ghettos, and rural areas.

This comprehensive program should foster significant expansion of employment opportunities and job training. Among other things, it should feature:

1. Public programs to create jobs
2. Conversion of social and human needs into job opportunities
3. Review and reengineering of occupational classifications

4. A timetable for the achievement of specific goals that reflects the involvement of both the private and public sectors

5. Collection and analysis of data necessary for planning and programing; and for program evaluations. Skill inventories should be established as well.

B. Goals and Proposals

The following goals and proposals for solving the problem of the Negro worker were identified and discussed:

1. Expansion of jobs

   (a) Full employment should be sought through governmental and private efforts

   (b) There should be developed a capital and manpower budget calling for the full utilization of the human resources potential in socially useful employment.

2. Adequacy and security of income

   All citizens engaged in useful work should be assured an income that will enable them to keep themselves and their dependents above the poverty level. Recommended in this connection by some participants:

   (a) Expansion of coverage of Fair Labor Standards Act

   (b) Raising of the minimum wage

   (c) Encouraging the organization of unorganized workers

(d) Consideration of the negative income tax

(e) Providing income supplements for workers performing certain socially necessary jobs

(f) Packaging welfare payments and work incentives in such a way so to provide welfare recipients with incentives to raise their standards of living.

Unemployment Insurance

With respect to unemployment insurance, the panel emphasized the importance of extending coverage, but it also advocated the establishment of a higher average minimum payment as well as Federal action aimed at preventing employers with seasonal workers from following hiring and firing patterns which deprive their workers of much needed benefits.

3. Elimination of discrimination

In addition to increasing the total number of jobs it is essential that Negroes be given wider opportunities to share jobs that are available, through the following actions:

(a) More effective enforcement of legislative and administrative regulations currently in force by providing adequate budgets and personnel for the appropriate agencies.

(1) The present thrust of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is largely oriented toward individual complaints. An attack through public policy and legislation upon patterns of racial discrimination in employment was suggested.

(2) Sanctions need to be strengthened.

(3) Title VII of the Civil Rights Act should be amended to enable the Commission to issue cease and desist orders, and to take more initiating and affirmative action, rather than being largely confined to acting on complaints.

(b) Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is insufficient to deal with employment discrimination in local and state governments. An attack upon racial discrimination in employment in local and state governments through Federal policy is needed.

(c) Action should be taken to provide closer coordination of Federal agencies engaged in the various aspects of civil rights.

(d) An assessment should be made to determine whether under Executive Order 11114, covering nondiscrimination in public construction, contractors' agreements with the government not to discriminate should have priority over contractors' collective bargaining agreements with labor.

(e) Performance criteria should be established so that the extent of compliance can be measured and tokenism avoided.

Further, it is essential that the community understand the relation between measures taken to eliminate discrimination in employment and those designed to eliminate discrimination in housing and education. In this connection we must consider the multiple ways in which intraurban and interurban transportation can be strengthened to assure that minority workers have easier access to jobs at reasonable cost.

4. Improvement and expansion of education and training.

Steps should be taken:

(a) To improve the quality of schools in de facto segregated areas.

(b) To assure access of minority group members to the full range of all publicly supported facilities.

(c) To rapidly expand the number and quality of junior or community colleges which should provide a wide range of courses, including those that will help members of minority groups improve their occupational mobility.

(d) To establish minimum Federal standards for the conduct of public education.

5. Encouraging entrepreneurship

The panel supported the development of an enlarged

Negro entrepreneur group through:

(a) Substantial Federal assistance in the form of loans, guarantees, etc., as well as technical assistance.

(b) Contributions of private and nonprofit organizations.

(c) Joint ventures involving Negroes and whites -- particularly in large and small franchise companies.

6. Continuing problems of the rural Negro

(a) The special needs and difficulties of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and small farm owners should be recognized.

(b) In addition to moving aggressively to eliminate discrimination in the rural South, the Federal Government should explore whether it can stimulate employment of Negroes who live on

Southern farms so that more of them can continue to live where they are.

(c) Since many individuals with rural backgrounds will continue to move to the cities, it is essential that more efforts be made by governmental and nongovernmental agencies to provide a range of services which will speed their assimilation into the urban economy.

7. Expanding and strengthening nongovernmental efforts

Targets, goals and plans should include private businesses:

(a) Private efforts should be directed toward fuller use of Negro workers at their present skill levels while implementing training program plans for locating plants and businesses so as to reach Negroes in target areas.

(b) Gains from increases in productivity should be reinvested in structured job expansion programs and structured job training programs.

(c) Incentives for private business to encourage fuller use and development of Negro manpower should be developed. Direct subsidies to create jobs for Negroes, and tax policy, can be effective in this respect. Many jobs should be retailored for effective absorption of Negro workers at present skill levels.

Government contracts with private business should play a large role in the development of targets and goals, and the implementation of job expansion and job training programs for Negro workers.

Among the other steps that might be taken by nongovernmental groups are:

(a) Strong commitments by employer groups and individual employers to a wide ranging program of affirmative action, which should encompass the realistic adjustment of testing and hiring standards; special efforts to upgrade employees with limited skills and background; reengineering of jobs, including the breakdown of complex jobs to facilitate the hiring of workers with limited skills, etc.

(b) Continuing efforts on the part of trade union organizations to remove barriers to apprenticeships, employment, upgrading of members of minority groups.

(c) Action by community leaders to establish, strengthen and make more effective local and state equal employment opportunity councils.

(d) Adoption and expansion by nonprofit organizations of equal employment opportunity practices in all of their economic activities.

Strategic Governmental Policies and Programs

8. Expansion and improvement of Federal training programs

Management and labor should be encouraged through the use of new incentives, including possibly the use of tax credits, to broaden and deepen in-plant and plant-associated education and training.

The Federal Government should give special consideration to making use of its contracting power to insure improved training opportunities.

With respect to current Federal training programs, particularly the Manpower Development and Training Act, the following is recommended:

(a) A large-scale expansion of MDTA and a conscious effort to bring Negroes in large numbers into such programs.

(b) Dissemination of information about the availability of training opportunities so that those most in need of these opportunities can learn about them.

(c) Placing additional stress on on-the-job training, thereby linking training more closely to employment.

(d) Recognition that many programs rely heavily on local initiative, and that it is to the advantage of certain local leaders to prevent low-wage employees in their community from securing training. The Federal Government, therefore, must be alert to the necessity of filling the gaps by establishing programs on its own initiative.

9. Strengthening the United States Employment Service

Significant gains for minority group members in training and employment depend on a major strengthening of the U. S. Employment Service. To this end it is recommended that:

(a) Early action be taken to establish a much higher degree of Federal leadership of the Employment Service, including the setting of national standards as a second-best answer to the Federalization of the system.

(b) The system be upgraded through better staffing, training, etc.

(c) The Federal Government act more aggressively to assure that the Service acts in a nondiscriminatory manner.

(d) The scale and scope of the Service be broadened to assure that all people, including minority groups in rural areas, have access to it.

These recommendations can be facilitated by placing personnel under state merit systems, by reallocating Federal funds in order to make special efforts to help minority group members, and by placing additional funds at the disposal of employment officers so that they can help defray the transportation costs of workers in search of jobs in other cities.

10. Complementary tax policy

Since many of the actions advocated above involve large expenditures of Federal funds, it is important in the drafting of such legislation that special care be taken not to rely on taxes that have a regressive quality. Otherwise, workers just above the poverty line will be paying for many of the programs established for those just below the poverty line.

PANEL II - ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The panel on the administration of justice concerned itself with three main areas: the remaining problems of guaranteeing equal protection of the law for Negroes, against violence in the South, and against more subtle, but equally unjust practices in the North; the improvement of the law enforcement officer's respect and treatment of Negroes, and of the Negro community for the law enforcement officer; and the ways and means of updating practices of punishment and rehabilitation so that law offenders are less likely to spend a lifetime in a cycle of crime-and-punishment.

PROPOSALS

A. Opening the Gates: Ending Racial Discrimination

1. Individual Physical Security

(a) The need to provide individual physical security for Negroes in the deep South is the most pressing problem for the Federal Government in the administration of justice area.

The panel's special resolution, which is attached to this report, stated forcefully that the top item on the civil rights legislative agenda for 1966 should be a sweeping and effective new Federal statute dealing with individual physical security. Professor Amsterdam presented a detailed 17-page memorandum containing a tentative draft of what he termed the "Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966." That memorandum and a summary of it are attached. Among the suggestions made in that draft statute, as well as in the discussions of new Federal legislation, were the following:

(1) Granting Federal courts original and removal jurisdiction, at the instance of the

Attorney General, over state criminal law offenses whenever the prosecution of such offenses in a Federal court is necessary to protect Federal rights of victims;

(2) considerably extending present Federal civil rights laws applicable to violence by a statute creating new substantive civil rights offenses -- for example, making the assault or murder of a person seeking to exercise Federal rights a Federal crime;

(3) broadening the injunctive power of the Federal courts in civil rights cases by legislative provisions that will give greater authority for Federal courts to stop state proceedings on the basis of denial of civil rights;

(4) making state subdivisions liable for money damages for the violent misdeeds of their officers; and

(5) providing for the removal of state officers, who violate civil rights, through Federal administrative proceedings.

(b) There should be more vigorous enforcement of present laws, including 18 USC 242. Moreover, the panel strongly approved the following sentence in the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights' report, Law Enforcement (page 180), and urged a greater Federal presence in the South:

> The Commission recommends that the President direct that Federal law enforcement officers be stationed at the scene of likely violence, that increased numbers of Federal officials be assigned to communities where violence has occurred, that more extensive investigation and surveillance activities be undertaken by these officials, and that Federal law enforcement officers be authorized to make on-the-scene arrests for violations of Federal law.

(c) There was broad agreement that Federal police agencies have the constitutional power to provide protection in those instances where the states and localities are not doing so.

(d) The Department of Justice should review its present use of personnel resources. Civil rights should be the most important problem of the Department. Lawyers assigned to such activities as anti-trust work should be reassigned for a massive effort in the field of civil rights, especially in pursuing enforcement of present statutes dealing with violence.

(e) Any new Federal legislation should also concern itself with compensation for the victims of violence. Such a compensation system should be separate from the court process, and it should be handled by a Federal administrative panel, or by referees, as in the present Federal law that applies to longshoremen.

(f) Some panelists urged that the focus of concern for illegal violence should not only be on civil rights workers in the South, but rather on the poor in general, especially those who live in Northern urban slums where there is an exceedingly high amount of violence of all sorts.

(g) Other panelists were of the opinion that too much attention was being devoted to the action of the police and the FBI. It was urged that lawyers, bar associations, business organizations, and labor unions -- all important elements of power -- could become a powerful force for the reduction of violence in local communities.

2. Jury Selection

(a) Minimum Federal standards should be established that would apply in both Federal and state courts for the selection of jurors. This system should be supervised by a Federal administrative organization. Scientific selection techniques should be utilized to choose jurors. Where a community continues to discriminate, Federal jury commissioners should be appointed, using an approach somewhat similar to the appointment of Federal voting registrars.

(b) More vigorous action by the Department of Justice would have a positive impact on the problem of discrimination in the selection of juries. This action could include injunctive suits by the Attorney General; more criminal suits should also be brought by the Department of Justice under Sections 242 and 243. Explicit Federal statutory authority for private injunction actions was also urged. Other panelists suggested statutory authorization of removal by defendants from state to Federal courts in cases where jury discrimination was shown, pointing out that this remedy was the more effective in that it did not rely either upon the resources of the Department of Justice or upon private affirmative suits which could realistically be expected to be brought, if at all, only by the small and overworked corps of private civil rights lawyers. The remedy of a Federal statute requiring removal from office of state jury-selection officials who discriminated in juror selection was also suggested.

(c) Support should be given to programs for educating Negroes for service on juries, perhaps under the poverty program. Such programs could also be initiated by private civil rights groups. They would seek to encourage Negroes to serve when called, and to overcome fears about participation in the Southern system of justice.

(d) There is a need to deal with two related problems, not necessarily covered by the above recommendations. First, in many communities when a few Negro jurors do serve, they are often intimidated by the white majority on the jury. This would be partly alleviated if more Negroes served. Second, many prosecutors and defense attorneys preemptorily strike Negroes, called for jury service, from the panel. Often, this has the silent support of judges.

3. Other Aspects of Dual Justice

(a) The American Bar Association, and other legal organizations, should devote greater support to the idea that the handling of civil rights litigation is an honorable and vital calling for lawyers.

It was pointed out that the ABA has supported a campaign aimed at sensitizing bar organizations, as well as individual lawyers, to the need for counsel for the poor. Similar efforts should be made in the area of counsel for civil rights cases.

(b) Greater attention should be paid to eradicating employment discrimination in the agencies of justice.

B. Dissolving Divisive Prejudices: Police-Community Relations

1. Improvements within Police Agencies

(a) A key advance would be the redefinition of the role of the police in modern society. This definition would go beyond civil rights, but would be a necessary condition for improving relations between police and Negroes. This new role would require the police to conceive of their role as keeping the peace in the broadest sense. Thus the police would have to take positive steps to reach out to those minority groups in the community from whom they have become alienated. Many police departments today accept the prevention of riots, not merely their suppression, as a vital part of their function. This should also be applied to the prevention of individual criminal acts.

(b) Police departments must deliberately take steps to improve relations with minority groups. This would not only involve redefinition of the police role, but also would require a complete review of present police procedures. For example, certain "normal" police practices, such as "stop-and-frisk," are often applied almost exclusively to Negroes and are viewed by Negroes as discriminatory acts. The law enforcement value of such practices may not outweigh their bad effects.

(c) All police departments should have a community relations unit and an active community relations program. These units must receive the support of top-ranking officers, otherwise they may have no effect on the department. Every effort must be made to prevent Negro officers from being isolated in the community relations unit. Moreover, the employment policies of police departments are crucial, for if Negroes are excluded from employment in departments, or if Negro employment is minimal, the possibility of good police-community relations is diminished.

(d) The police must also reach out to the community to try to induce Negroes to join the police force. In other words, they must act to combat traditions that have excluded Negroes from positions in law enforcement agencies. This may require special training programs that would provide Negroes with the basic skills to be police officers. One panelist suggested that there should be a crash Federal program to recruit and train Negroes for police positions. He suggested that there might be a Federal pool of trained Negro officers for various state and local departments to draw upon.

(e) The Federal Government should provide a massive program of support for the entire field of law enforcement, courts, and corrections. This program should provide grants-in-aid that would assist local police departments in recruitment, in-service training, community relations, and in linking police training and promotion to standard educational institutions. The panelists proposed that the experimental program of this type is now being carried out by the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance of the Department of Justice, which has a $7.2 million appropriation for its first partial year of operation, should be enlarged.

(f) Administration of justice programs should be "right next to the President." Administration of justice programs are so crucial as to require the designation of a special agency or person, situated within the Federal hierarchy as close to the President as possible, to supervise them.

(g) The principal minority point of view expressed during the above discussion was "You are putting too much on the police." In other words, a few panelists were of the opinion that the majority of the panel was seeking to make the police assume responsibilities that they should not have.

Policemen, it was urged, should not be made into social workers, and they should not be used as agents for social change. It was argued in rebuttal that in the panel on the administration of justice, the mandate was to discuss programs for advance that fit within the confines of the field -- and the police were a vital part of it. The statement was also made that for the great majority of Negroes in many communities, relations with policemen were absolutely crucial.

2. Programs by Negro Groups

(a) Negro groups and Negro leaders have vital contributions to make toward improving police-community relations. In those communities where the police are making an honest effort to improve relations, Negro organizations could take the leadership in promoting reciprocal efforts among Negroes.

(b) Civil rights groups might also work with the police in combating crime. It is vital to convince the police that they could more effectively fight crime if a positive relationship could be established with civil rights groups. The police must work out good relations at the precinct level with grass roots Negro organizations.

3. Administration of Citizen Complaints

(a) There was no agreement among the panelists as to whether police review boards were appropriate devices for dealing with complaints of police illegalities. One police official stated that the major difficulty was that these boards had no responsibility for dealing with the problems on a day-to-day basis. Other panelists stated that the police review boards in some communities were not overly effective. At the same time, many of the panelists were in favor of police review boards. Some stated that the boards acted as symbols to Negroes of the concern in high places about their complaints against the police. Other panelists urged that these police review boards were most effective in handling complaints. It was also pointed out, however, that in some communities the police have been able to impress civil rights groups with their impartiality and, therefore, civil rights groups in these communities are not pressing for police review boards.

(b) There should be a more comprehensive complaint institution. Indeed, all criticism should not be directed at the police because many of the complaints deal with other agencies of the government.

4. Roles of Other Groups

Many other groups can make a vital contribution to improved police-community relations. Particularly significant would be the active assistance of legal service programs, such as those supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity, in serving as advocates of Negro groups in regard to relations with the police.

C. Passing Through the Gates: Rehabilitation and Training

There was little time for discussion of this section of the agenda paper. It was pointed out that the new Federal work-release statute had made it possible to place convicted persons at work in some local communities where they draw good wages while serving their sentences. This was one example of steps that are being taken to rehabilitate persons convicted of crimes. It was urged that a "Correctional Bill of Rights" be promulgated which would give greater protection to persons convicted of crimes.

PANEL III - EDUCATION

The education panel approached the general problem of race and education by discussing: (1) the facts concerning the extent of segregation and desegregation in American public education and the consequences and cost of racially segregated education; (2) direct and indirect, overt and covert obstacles to effective desegregation; (3) realistic programs for increasing the efficiency of effectively desegregating American public education.

A. The Nature of the Problem

As *de jure* barriers have been breached by the courts, *de facto* barriers, no less rigid for their foundation in custom rather than law, have become even more formidable.

1. Today the overwhelming majority of American school children -- more than 90 per cent -- are educated in segregated schools.
2. The evidence is that American education continues to be organized along racial and class lines and that nothing significant has happened in the last eleven years to change this fundamental fact.
3. The group agreed also that segregated education is, by definition, inferior education for both Negroes and whites.

(a) It has serious and costly consequences for Negro children. All the evidence indicates that Negro children receive an education deficient in quality by every standard of quality -- academic achievement, teaching, supervision, materials, facilities, curricula, building standards and so forth -- and by every measure of consequences -- reading ability, attendance at college, drop-out rate, IQ and other tests, and incidence of personal alienation and social disorganization (crime and delinquency, drug addiction, family instability, menial jobs and unemployment). There is clear documentary evidence of a direct relationship between segregated schools and inferior education, and of cumulative academic retardation among children in Negro ghettos. There is evidence also that this waste is remediable, hence the greater tragedy.

(b) The consequences for white children of racially segregated schools are also serious because they reinforce racism and make it difficult if not impossible to prepare white children for life in a democratic society and to function effectively in a world of human diversity.

Quality education must be defined as "attitudinal as well as cognitive," as one member put it -- values as well as knowledge.

4. The consequences for democratic society of an educational system which is deeply rooted in racism, with its wastage and destruction of human potential and its erosion of values, are patently not consistent with the promises and erode the potential and power of democracy itself.

5. The search in the South for minimal means to satisfy the requirements of the Federal Government in order to procure Federal funds for schools and the growing segregation in the North, seemed conclusively to

indicate a widespread intent to resist the law of the land, a resistance that law alone cannot combat. This resistance, flagrant or subtle, can be overcome only by firm and serious commitment of national leadership to the enforcement of law, but will require also a major reorganization of the American educational system.

B. The Process of Change: Obstacles and Facilitating Forces

Forces which have sustained segregation, and direct or indirect obstacles which stand in the way of school desegregation were seen as:

1. Stemming from prejudice: (a) the organized opposition of such groups as the White Citizens Councils and Parents and Taxpayers groups; (b) the implacability of political officials and school boards; and (c) the hostility, apathy, and incompetence of many educational administrators; and
2. Procedural obstacles:
    - (a) The use of achievement and intelligence tests in the early elementary grades for placing children in special tracks and which stigmatize children of ghetto schools as unintelligent and uneducable, thereby effectively institutionalizing a pattern of segregation.
    - (b) The continuation of segregated school staffs and all-white school boards and the exclusion of

minority and lower class members from these important decision-making bodies.

(c) The use of textbooks which perpetuate an image of Negro inferiority -- now more by omission than by commission.

(d) The zoning for school attendance by neighborhood in cities where neighborhoods are segregated, thereby institutionalizing by the "neighborhood school" segregation in public schools and particularly in the early grades. The evidence shows, in this regard, that the greatest damage to the future learning capacity of Negro children is done in these same early grades.

(e) The track system in the higher grades, where statistics show a greater degree of integration because of a lesser dependence on neighborhood patterns, has imposed an intramural or intra-school pattern of segregation, where Negro children are for the most part clustered in classes on lower "tracks."

(f) Further segregation at the high school level through encouraging Negro students to concentrate on dead-end vocational, rather than academic preparation.

(g) At the college level, college entrance tests generally favor those of middle class background and reflect the educational handicaps of lower class and minority group children. The actual inferiority of the elementary and secondary education of these less privileged children together with rigid college entrance requirements effectively exclude them from the advantages of a college education.

3. Pseudo-programs - the group noted as one of the major obstacles, the "pseudo-programs" that seem to promise the substance of change and either fail to do so in reality, act as a substitute for meaningful change, or actually act to reinforce segregation. Among such

pseudo-programs, the group listed the freedom-of-choice plan and other open enrollment and voluntary transfer plans, and many compensatory education plans.

(a) No plans which place the primary burden of school desegregation upon the parent and child rather than requiring the school system to reform or reorganize itself can be considered effective means of desegregation.

(b) Many of the enrichment and other compensatory programs -- from the preschool plans like Head Start to enrichment programs and special tutoring of Negro students -- are worthy in themselves as help to selected individuals. But the very benefits of these programs can obscure the need for fundamental change of the educational system whose basic inefficiency makes such special programs necessary.

(c) On the question of Negro colleges, the group was not in agreement, some members feeling that they should be strengthened in order to give quality education to students who, for many years, may be excluded from other schools, others feeling that segregated education was, by its very nature, of inferior quality, and that to strengthen it was to perpetuate segregated and inferior education.

4. Covert Obstacles

The group was also convinced that there were covert, less tangible forms of resistance to desegregation. Some of these are the obstacles in the minds of men that condition them to accept racism. Such obstacles are the old theories of racial inferiority of Negroes and their contemporary manifestation in some of the theories of "cultural deprivation," which, while emphasizing cultural rather than racial causes of inferiority, have the same result in overall educational consequences. Such theories have been used by teachers and administrators as supports for their doubts about the motivation of Negro children and their parents, and their questions concerning the ability of Negro children to learn. This leads to an anticipation of failure which becomes self-fulfilling.

This expectation and reality of failure, in its turn, stimulates the fears of whites that desegregated education is necessarily inferior education and that their own children will be contaminated by contact with Negroes. However well-intentioned such theories may originally be, they have the result of seeing the Negro child as different in kind from white children, as needing to be made ready for acceptance in American society. They place the burden of cause not on the society nor on education, but on the child and his home; they maintain the status quo of segregation, encapsulating children in the ghetto. They do not demand the transformation of the basic segregated pattern of education itself.

PROPOSALS

C. Programs for Effective Change

Since the opposition to change is deeply entrenched in American society, the counter-opposition must be even stronger if it is to succeed. The ways to achieve desegregated and democratic education are not mysterious; what is missing is not a miraculous solution, a new idea, a new program, but commitment, purpose, and the application of power.

American education needs first a sense of full commitment to the goal of desegregated education, i.e., a system of education and an organization of public schools in which race and class are not relevant factors; and second, an exercise of power and authority by the Federal Government effective enough to demonstrate its serious intention of attaining this end.

1. The Office of Education must fully enforce Title VI, refuse to accept minimal passive local acquiescence in desegregation in the South, and apply Title VI to Northern urban centers like Chicago and Boston. The group expressed the view that the entire program of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is

in danger of emasculation if it does not assert the authority of the Executive. As an expression of this deep concern, the group urged that the following message be submitted at the conclusion of the Planning Session to the President of the United States:

> The Educational section of the Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," having discussed the matter of school desegregation extensively, wishes to express its position to the chairmen of this Conference, and to request that they communicate this expression to the President immediately. We make this unusual request because this educational section unanimously believes this matter is of such urgency that it should be brought to the attention of the President now.
>
> We find that school desegregation has been proceeding at a dangerously slow pace -- and that in the North the trend has been toward increased segregation. We believe that continuation of segregated education constitutes a major hazard to the welfare of the nation, and a specific obstacle to the attainment of the goals of the Great Society.
>
> In view of this danger, we urge the President to use the full force of his personal leadership, and the full authority of his office to alert the American people to the present danger, and to bring about the promise of school desegregation.
>
> Because of the depth of his personal commitment, we respectfully urge the President to direct the Office of Education and other appropriate governmental agencies to enforce

the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Failure to enforce Title VI or acceptance of token compliance makes Title VI meaningless.

In light of the evidence examined at this Conference, we respectfully suggest that while continuous study, such as the proposal to submit the problem to the Civil Rights Commission, would certainly be helpful, the urgency of the educational emergency that confronts the American people demands that Title VI be enforced immediately by executive direction.

2. The Reorganization of Education

The group made a number of program proposals that, taken as a whole, would help achieve desegregated democratic education -- that is, a truly efficient American educational system.

(a) Federal:

(1) The immediate appointment of a Presidential Task Force, among whom might be some members of the panel, to study the problems and to develop a plan for dealing with: (a) a reexamination and articulation of the goals of contemporary American public education and a determination of the necessary guidelines, standards, approach and administrative and fiscal reorganization required to raise the level of educational efficiency throughout the country and to obtain the stated and imperative goals; (b) an effective implementation of Title VI, and (c) the necessary steps in an orderly but imperative reorganization of the American system of public education.

(2) The enforcement of existing regulations under Title VI and the rejection of evasive, token and ineffective implementation of Title VI, such as the freedom-of-choice plans and the use of standardized tests for exclusion of Negro students from higher education.

(3) The strengthening of the Office of Education so as to give it effective regulatory powers. If this is not possible, the establishment of a separate agency of the Federal Government with powers necessary to obtain the goals of desegregated and more efficient education.

(4) A major investment of Federal funds in education at all levels, preschool, elementary, secondary and college, with designation of special funds for the elimination of all racially segregated school systems. Such funds to be used for: (a) educational innovation; (b) technical assistance for counseling and other expert aid; (c) reading programs; (d) cooperative programs among colleges and high schools; (e) training and retraining of teachers; (f) educational and other administrative and institutional reorganization; (g) strengthening and use of local collegiate institutions wherever possible; (h) encouragement of the reexamination of criteria for college admission; (i) exploration of the educational and economic feasibility of educational parks.

(5) That submission of joint proposals be required of inner city and suburban schools, or predominantly white and predominantly Negro colleges in the same locality so that Federal funds will be used affirmatively to facilitate desegregated and democratic education.

(6) That there be special appropriations to states with low financial resources to

encourage and enable them to introduce the above programs.

(7) That use of Federal funds in other areas of governmental concern, particularly housing be so regulated as to assist in achieving desegregated education.

(8) That the movement toward national leadership for the designation of minimum standards of student performance and the establishment of national norms in academic performance and general educational efficiency of local school systems be accelerated.

(9) That the Federal Government provide for education in those areas where the local government is unwilling or unable to provide nonsegregated public education for all children. (Some members of the group believed that the section should recommend that the Federal Government should set up a National System of Education, but the majority of the participants believed that this would introduce more problems than it would solve).

(b) State and Local Programs

The group agreed that education must be reorganized at the state and local levels also. On such levels, reorganization might well follow the model presented by the New York State Allen Committee Report as a transitional program for the desegregation of the public schools of large cities.

The group recommended especially:

(1) The total reorganization of school systems in terms of goals, curriculum, methods, building construction and location of facilities (such as educational parks), fiscal arrangements and support, quality of materials, facilities and textbooks; training and selection of administrative and teaching personnel to the end of the

achievement of more efficient education for all children and the elimination of racially segregated schools.

(2) The extension of preschool and other compensatory programs in terms of implicit value and need but not as a substitute for basic educational reform and reorganization.

(3) The reorganization of school boards to represent all groups in the community.

(4) The assuming of the initiative by the educational profession and other informed and concerned citizens in developing an affirmative national program of public education, information, and persuasion for support of democratic, racially nonsegregated education; and the assertion of an aggressive leadership role in the attainment of this goal by responsible educators and educational officials.

Conclusion

The group concluded that enforcement of Title VI was only a beginning step in the arduous and complex task of reforming American public education away from its present pattern of racial and class organization to the desired goal of democratic, nonracial education in nonsegregated schools.

Public education -- the public schools and colleges -- are the basic social institutions designed to make real, vitalize and strengthen American democracy. Racially segregated schools are a mockery and make it difficult if not impossible to attain the goals of a democratic society. Such schools destroy the potentials of human beings. They contribute to social instability and community pathology. They weaken the foundations of the American system of government.

The members of the education section were unanimous in the belief that President Johnson's commitment to fulfill the rights of American citizens without regard to race or color and to attain equality for Negroes "as a fact and as a result" cannot be achieved under a system of racially segregated schools, but can only be achieved when American public schools are reorganized and function under nonracial and nonsegregated conditions.

This can be done -- and the future of America and all of its children may be determined by the speed with which America understands that it must do so, resolves to do so, mobilizes the resources and allocates the funds for the unprecedented national effort which is required.

PANEL IV - THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE

The issues discussed and the suggestions made in this panel covered a wide range. The frequency with which several problems were mentioned and the recurrence of some of the proposals related to these problems indicated several clear focuses of concern. These focal areas reflect significant agreement among panel members not only about the major problems that confront the family, especially the low income Negro family, but also about the kinds and levels of program activity that are necessary and appropriate.

Concerns about the family today and proposals to strengthen the family centered about expressed needs for:

- A. Assurance of adequate economic supports for families
- B. Provision of noneconomic family supports and services
- C. Elimination of discrimination in opportunities and services
- D. Coordination of programs and services

A. It is essential that all families be assured of adequate economic supports.

1. The viability of the family is dependent primarily on its economic status and resources.
2. The issue of jobs for men is paramount.

PROPOSALS FOR DEALING WITH THE FAMILY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

1. A full employment policy, including public works and needed services, should be encouraged and implemented.

2. An adequate minimum wage should be established, and unwarranted wage differentials should be eliminated.
3. An expanded program of housing and educational subsidies should be put into effect.
4. Where direct earning power is insufficient, family strength and stability should be maintained by other sources of income; among the possibilities mentioned: family allowances and the guaranteed minimum income (through the mechanism of a negative income tax).
5. Job descriptions that are overwritten should be reviewed and revised to reflect the level of training and skill actually required to perform the work, thus making more jobs available for youths.
6. The Head Start type of program should be continued and broadened, thus giving opportunities for work that would not only be rewarding psychologically and financially but would also lay a foundation for improved family life.
7. A prime objective of public and private programs should be the broadening of the Negro middle class through encouraging a business enterprise, entrance into the skilled trades, additional support and

improvement of colleges with largely Negro enrollment.

8. There should be increases in programs of consumer education, consumer protection, and consumer aid -- including low cost loans through credit unions and readily available emergency loans for families.

B. Noneconomic supports and services are necessary to strengthen families.

1. Among the supports most needed by low income families are full protection under the law and legal advice where needed.
2. Until such times as the viability and choice of low income families has been significantly improved -- and one sign of significant change would be more fathers in the home -- two kinds of support were strongly recommended:
    - (a) help for the low income mother in her multiple roles -- homemaker, child rearer and breadwinner
    - (b) effective male role models for children -- girls as well as boys
3. "Jobs for the future" and "education for the future" should be important considerations in planning for economic maintenance and meaningful

work programs, particularly with respect to youth.

4. Large numbers of unwanted pregnancies are a threat to marital and also to economic stability.
5. The relieving of external pressures does not automatically take care of the pressures of family life.

PROPOSALS FOR DEALING WITH THESE ISSUES INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

1. Legal protection and legal advice for the poor should be improved and extended, especially in connection with jobs, housing, consumer practices, and family and child welfare.
2. Male models for youngsters can be provided by supplying jobs for men so they are useful and respected members of the community. These should be jobs with status and with a future, not dead-end and make-work jobs.

   New sources for male models should be developed through (a) increasing the number of male teachers in elementary and high schools, (b) building up group and local "heroes;" e.g., performers in the arts, leaders in the civil rights movement, etc.

3. Efforts should be made to develop new institutions for young people that will catch their imagination and give them excitement and a sense of commitment and worth, such as the Peace Corps has done.
4. People should be offered the most effective means of contraception that is consistent with their own concept of morals and religion; this should be a voluntary program.
5. The concern for better family living should include a concern for relationships within the family as well as for external pressures operating on the family.
6. Family improvement programs should seek, among other things, the improvement of housing, health care, parental confidence and control of younger children, prevention of out-of-wedlock births, and more enlightened ways of dealing with low income out-of-wedlock mothers and children.

C. Discrimination in opportunities and services must be eliminated.

1. Discrimination persists as a major factor affecting family living and services;
2. Discrimination diminishes options for its victims:

"The real horror of the ghetto today is lack of choice;"

3. Denial of civil rights leads to other deprivations, especially among Negroes and the poor.

PROPOSALS FOR ELIMINATING DISCRIMINATION IN PROGRAMS AND SERVICES INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

1. Changing staffing patterns to include more Negroes in administrative positions;
2. Setting up training programs and standards that would effect changes in the orientations and attitudes of some staff persons and practitioners toward Negro and low income clients;
3. Improving the circulating of information about available programs and services;
4. Stepping up evaluation and surveillance of programs and the use of available compliance procedures;
5. Considering the application of specific criteria to the operation of some programs -- for example, a requirement that a certain ratio be maintained between the amount of money spent on administrative structure and the amount funnelled into direct services, or into income for families;

6. Considering requiring that some of the Federal programs which provide opportunities and services be made obligatory on the states rather than a matter of choice.

D. In order to be of maximum benefit to Negro and poor families programs and services must be coordinated.

1. Program lags and gaps are frequently at the state and local -- not the Federal -- level.
2. There is a wide range of contributions which private groups and individuals can make toward helping Negro and poor families achieve greater viability and choice.
3. Federal action means encouraging and enabling state and local instruments to make greater contributions to programs aimed at strengthening the family.
4. The unchecked multiplying of services and agencies and the lack of coordination of family programs and services result in the fragmentation of families, waste and inefficiency.
5. Although the problems of the low income Negro family should be given high priority, and special attention (for reasons that have nothing to do with race per se), it is necessary to take cognizance of the

middle class, and the affluent as well as of the poor; and it is urgently necessary to think imaginatively and flexibly in considering how to help all of today's families cope with their problems.

PROPOSALS ADDRESSED TO THESE ISSUES INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

1. A national family policy should be proclaimed and implemented. One aim of such a policy should be to work out an appropriate division of labor between the public and the private sector, the national and the local levels.

2. A national family policy should:

   (a) Reaffirm the importance of the family on all socio-economic levels as a prime national resource;

   (b) Affirm the rights of families on all levels to the resources and experiences that promote family viability and choice by enhancing a family's competence and confidence in dealing with its environment;

   (c) Provide directions and guidance in realizing the objectives of current family-oriented programs, and in pushing toward needed innovations in policies, administration, and in funding -- national and local, public and private;

   (d) Emphasize the role of the government as that of enabler, rather than super-parent.

3. Consideration should be given to establishing an

Under Secretary for Family, perhaps in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

4. Citizen groups, including civil rights groups, should be involved in implementing and supporting family policy, especially at the local level.
5. Multi-service, family-oriented and community-based agencies in which health, education and welfare services would be centralized should be established.

PANEL V - HOUSING AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The panel on Housing and the Neighborhood established a high degree of unanimity from the very beginning. The differences within the group were those of relative emphasis. Those who might be identified as closest to the civil rights action groups were more emphatic about specific actions now, with relatively short-term objectives. Those who might be identified as planners and scholars were more concerned about longer-range goals and a comprehensive strategy. However, there was surprisingly little polarization within the work group.

GOALS

The work group was careful to distinguish between ultimate goals and proposals for action programs.

Broad Goals

1. An absolutely open, discrimination free housing market.

   Every house offered for sale or rent, all financing programs, and all community facilities must be open, without a trace of racial distinction.

2. New types of communities inclusive of the total range of socio-economic class and racial groups are needed. Such communities should be planned to provide economic opportunities for a wide range of skills and community facilities to serve the needs of a full cross section of the population.

3. All levels and instruments of government, the private institutions, and citizen organizations must become affirmatively involved in planning for and committing their influence, power, and resources to the building of the new communities and neighborhoods.

   Piecemeal measures, such as fair housing laws, low and moderate income housing programs, urban renewal, each functioning separately, are not likely to produce the results intended. Therefore, while all these programs are useful tools there is urgent need for a comprehensive design.

4. The long range goal is to close the gaps of opportunity between white and Negro and between the upper and lower income groups. This means that planning for housing and neighborhoods must be coordinated with planning for education, job opportunity, etc.

Immediate Goals

There was agreement that the above goals would not meet the immediate challenge of the slum-ghetto. The immediate goals for such areas must be:

1. Crash programs to provide training and job opportunity.
2. Immediate elimination of the worst abuses in the operation of slum area housing.
3. Increased welfare allowances and/or rent supplements.
4. Strong leadership from the heads of government, Federal, state, and local, directed toward relieving slum conditions.

PROPOSALS

Achieving an Open, Discrimination-Free Housing Market

1. Executive leadership -- the kind that has been effective on the employment, voting and public accommodations issues -- should be applied to housing.

   The leadership can be exercised in several ways:

   (a) An extension of the executive order to cover all direct and indirect forms of assistance.

   (b) As an alternative to extending the existing order, issuance of a new executive order to cover every single element of the housing supply which receives, or will receive, any form of Federal assistance, direct or indirect.

   (c) A White House Conference for the housing industry per se called as a specific challenge to prompt the industry to make a greater contribution to solution of the problems of providing housing for the poor.

   (d) Something less formalized but more direct than a White House Conference, such as a series of meetings with the leaders of the industry, similar to ones that have been held with employers.

   (e) A housing industry program, initiated by the President and comparable to Plans for Progress, to promote equal opportunity in housing.

   (f) A directive from the President to the administrators of the housing agencies that all housing programs are to be used as instruments for promoting genuine, equal opportunity and racial desegregation, rather than the "neutral" posture and role which now prevails.

   (g) An executive order requiring that any form of Federal assistance to localities be conditioned upon participation in a regional "workable program," of which racial desegregation is one element.

2. A realistic plan for racial desegregation, forcefully implemented, as a requirement of all workable programs for urban renewal.
3. Full implementation of the provisions of Title VI as they apply to public housing, urban renewal developments and community facilities. The new Department of Housing and Urban Development should issue regulations and guidelines, as has been done by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Local authorities should be informed that failure to act will result in direct Federal administration of local programs.
4. Requirement by Federal agencies responsible for administering the provisions of Executive Order 11063 and Title VI of a great deal more than mere prohibitions against refusal to sell or rent homes to Negroes. Affirmative marketing of homes to Negroes should be required as a demonstration of good faith.
5. A Federal equal housing opportunity law covering all housing. However, this long-range objective should not be a substitute for an immediate

executive order.

6. Adoption of fair housing laws in all states. Existing state laws need to be broadened to cover all housing and greatly strengthened in their enforcement procedures, particularly injunctive proceedings to withhold contested units from the market while complaints are processed. Enforcement agencies require adequate appropriations and more positive support from the state administrations.
7. Concerted action to defeat popular referenda aimed at blocking or rescinding state fair housing laws.
8. The setting of the standard in this field by the Federal Government. Billions of dollars in Federal aids go to the assistance of localities now. More Federal billions for water supply, waste disposal, air purification, highways and transportation appear inevitable. If this government does not make such aids conditional upon planning for the local welfare, including the removal of discrimination and segregation in housing the government will, in fact, be underwriting discrimination. A few

participants strongly advocated the proposition that Title VI could be interpreted to require that fair housing laws could be required as conditions to highway and other community facilities aids to states.

Eliminating the Ghetto

1. Totally new programs on a scale never before thought of, for encouraging development of new towns and rebuilding our cities to meet the needs of the expanding population, to rid our cities of slums and blight, to offer something far more interesting, challenging and creative than the sterility of suburban sprawl, should be designed. The group did not have time to go into details. It was evident that nearly all felt that existing concepts and programs are not adequate. Over and over again the discussion returned to the importance of comprehensive planning for the entire metropolitan region, the need for communities smaller in size than megalopolis, larger than the typical one-class suburban town, fully inclusive of a total cross-section of the population, adequately supplied with community facilities. The group

recognized that such a program, nationwide, would require the investment of billions of dollars. Such an investment, said the group, would be less expensive than maintaining and extending the present pattern of slums and suburban sprawl. Some indicated reservations about "new town" concepts and regional planning as unrealistic and impractical.

2. The Federal Government should commit far greater resources to research on environment and housing. The Government has invested and continues to invest vast sums on research in agriculture and, in more recent years, in the physical and biological sciences. The investment on environment and housing is infinitesimal. The costs of housing are much too high; research should be directed to bringing them down.

3. Emphasis upon Federal action should not becloud the responsibility of state and local government. State governments in particular should accept responsibility for regulating the behavior and activity of local jurisdictions, especially suburban ones which function extensively to exclude both Negroes and less affluent

whites. Central cities probably can no longer cope with the burdens of race and poverty unless state and Federal governments force all of the constituent units of a metropolitan area to cooperate in meeting the needs of the total population.

4. State and local governments and school authorities must be far more responsive to the needs of declining and racially transitional areas, where they should fight blight and decay by improving services and facilities.
5. Federal agencies should be required by executive order to plan new governmental installations and dispersal of agencies in such a manner that job opportunities are decentralized and that multi-income, open-occupancy housing is encouraged.
6. The same principle should be applied to private industry where new plant facilities are related to government contracts.

Moderate and Low Income Housing

1. The rent supplement program provided for in the housing act of 1965 should not only be

funded at the next session of Congress but should be broadened to cover moderate income, as well as low income, groups. Rent supplements to serve the income group above the eligibility levels for public housing could become one of the most important single tools for helping moderate income Negro families find their way out of the slums and into racially inclusive neighborhoods. An alternative to rent supplements in the form of income supplements was suggested.

2. No further large public housing projects should be authorized. Public housing should be retained and used as one element of a comprehensive program for rebuilding and desegregating the cities. Public housing authorities should not be permitted to proceed independently to build more and more publicly subsidized ghettos. Small projects widely dispersed throughout the city and suburban areas and the purchase or lease of existing dwellings for rental to low income families as part of a general plan are examples of how public housing could be used creatively. A

few panelists proposed drastic measures to dispose of or reform public housing -- suggesting that it be sold to nonprofit corporations to be operated under 221 (d) (3) financing and the rent supplements program.

3. Programs for low and moderate income housing such as 221 (d) (3) and 213 should receive far greater encouragement than they have to date. The budgetary controls over the amount of 221 housing to be authorized should be relaxed. The interest rate for low and moderate income housing should be reduced to two percent or even to zero.
4. National and/or local development foundations or nonprofit corporations should be established to foster development of low and moderate income housing utilizing such Federal aids as 221 (d) (3), rent supplements, etc.
5. FNMA should be authorized to provide a secondary market for financing the purchase of existing housing for resale or rental to low income families.
6. There should be a Federally sponsored property

insurance program to cover properties in areas where private companies refuse to insure.

7. A recurrent issue that arose in connection with several other matters was the network of barriers to land that discourage and prevent entrepreneurs, public authorities and nonprofit sponsors from developing low and moderate income housing in suburban areas. Among the barriers most frequently mentioned were: (a) the use of zoning and other powers by suburban governments to prevent unwanted development, (b) opposition from hostile neighborhoods, (c) preemption of desirable land for future development, and (d) land cost. The group was unanimous in its agreement that the barriers had to be breached. A number of proposals for solution were advanced. All received favorable response, but there was little critical evaluation concerning their potential practicality.

Among the proposals were the following:

(a) The Federal Government should create and empower an agency within the D.H.U.D. to directly purchase and reserve land in metropolitan areas throughout the nation for low and moderate income development.

(b) The Federal Government should supply loans and grants to metropolitan authority empowered by the respective states to perform the same function.

(c) A nationally chartered and Federally financed corporation should be created to serve this purpose.

(d) Federal loans and grants should be made available to state chartered corporations.

(e) State enabling laws should be amended to authorize local housing and urban renewal authorities to operate on a metropolitan-wide basis.

(f) A combined arrangement should be devised under which localities would have the choice of developing their own means for reserving land or accepting direct Federal action.

(g) State governments should assume the responsibility of regulating the control of land for the general welfare -- removing such control from local government jurisdiction.

Other Proposals

1. The housing industry (builders, lenders, brokers) needs to face up to and accept its responsibility. There needs to be a dialogue in depth between the operators of the industry and the civic, religious and civil rights groups.

2. Civil rights groups and their allies need to give more attention to the total area of housing, planning and urban development. Much more needs to be done to enlist the support of more people, white and nonwhite. The Federal Government should supply technical assistance to the citizens' fair housing councils.
3. THe NAREB should be investigated by the Department of Justice for possible practices in restraint of trade.
4. One member of the group felt strongly about the failure to devote a part of the agenda to the problem of rural housing and all agreed it was a serious omission.

PANEL VI - HEALTH AND WELFARE

The following were among the major problems identified as affecting Negro Americans in the areas of health and welfare:

A. The total lack of availability of such services in some places, particularly in the rural South. Related to this, the failure of state and local governments to take advantage of existing Federal programs.

B. Discrimination in the provision of services, where they are available, which often results either in depriving people of the services or in stripping them of their dignity.

C. Regardless of discrimination, the lack of accessibility to services and the manner in which services are provided that often impede their utilization. These impediments include:

   1. The conditions under which services are provided -- location, adequacy of facilities, and quality and attitude of personnel.

   2. The public attitudes towards persons who use public health and welfare services that regard such users as less worthy and therefore worthy of less.

D. Lack of information on the part of civil rights groups and potential beneficiaries concerning health and welfare programs or services, and their rights with respect to such programs or services.

E. The powerlessness, or sense of powerlessness, of recipients, actual or potential, to do anything about the above problems, which leads to an increased sense of dependency.

PROPOSALS

A. Availability of Services

1. The Federal Government should establish standards for the quality, availability, accessibility and acceptability of health and welfare services. Where these standards are not met, the Federal Government should be empowered and enabled to contract for the direct provision of such services.

2. Fundamental changes are required in the organization and delivery of both health and welfare services, to assure that the high quality of services that the nation's scientific and economic development has made possible will benefit all Americans.

3. Consideration should be given to several aspects of family planning services including:

   (a) The problem of variations in access to family planning services by different economic and racial groups, and the implications of such variations.

   (b) Freedom from coercion. Family planning services should be provided only by choice of the client, and dispensed with respect for all clients' religious and personal beliefs. They should not become prerequisite to receipt of other services.

4. There should be a universal adult literacy program which is available as a right to all who wish to avail themselves of it.

5. Considerable attention should be given to the arguments for and against a Federally-operated program of health and welfare services.

   Arguments for: uniformity of standards; higher quality of services; safeguard for minority rights particularly in any state where a government, unresponsive to Negro needs for services, forms a barrier to delivery of services; better administration, organizational structure, and personnel placement; greater adequacy of grants.

   Arguments against: deviation from existing policies of Federal-state relationships and necessity for modification of our legal philosophy; loss or diminution of local relationship to local needs and consequent difficulty of keeping programs related; resistance based upon established U.S. traditions.

6. Consideration should be given to the following alternatives to the present organization of the welfare system:

   (a) Abolishing the Federal-state grant system and developing a regional planning system designed to assure local access to the most recent health and welfare facilities.

   (b) Abolishing the several categories of public assistance, and the locally-determined means test and residency requirements for receiving public assistance. Establishing need, as determined by a Federal eligibility scale, as the sole criterion for receipt of assistance.

   (c) As an alternative to abolition of the residency requirement, 100-percent reimbursement to the states by the Federal Government to nonresidents until legal residency is established.

7. More attention should be focused on mental health

programs (particularly in the South) and the need for staffing such programs with adequately trained personnel.

B. Discrimination in Provision of Services

Federal programs

1. Since the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 cover more than 190 programs administered by 21 Federal departments and agencies which in fiscal 1966 will distribute over $18 billion in Federal benefits, Federal funds should also be appropriated for full implementation and enforcement of Title VI. There should be a study in depth of personnel requirements for adequate staffing of all Federal installations having responsibilities under Title VI. To facilitate Federal monitoring of compliance, the administrative structure should include specially trained personnel and an improved mechanism for detection of noncompliance. Existing personnel resources should be supplemented by additional and better trained staff for investigation of complaints and local hearings. To achieve the intent of Title VI, greater priority should be given to programs involving job development and

training, housing and slum rehabilitation and the establishment of quality educational and health facilities.

Specifically, sufficient funds should be appropriated for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to fully implement the prohibition against discrimination contained in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The panel felt that insufficient funds are devoted to administering Title VI.

2. Attention must be given to the problem of the extent to which Federal funds are being used to maintain segregation and other forms of discrimination. In the area of health services the problem may be alleviated by having HEW, and all other agencies with responsibilities under Title VI, require that hospitals and other health facilities file checklists of their practices, so that a clear picture may be obtained of the extent to which discrimination still exists. Private organizations should be encouraged to conduct similar fact-finding programs.

3. Civil rights and other local groups should compile documentation of infringements of Title VI, and of other legal rights accruing to beneficiaries of public programs.
4. Civil rights and other local groups must be fully and accurately informed of the instances in which evidence of noncompliance may be submitted directly to the Federal Government for Federal action to secure compliance, rather than having to go through the individual appeal process.
5. The U. S. Public Health Service should establish a unit with a surveillance function to give special attention to providing presently available and new health services to minority groups; of particular concern should be the quality and accessibility of services.
6. In order to detect discrimination, overt and subtle, and to determine areas of need for improved programs and additional funds, the Public Health Service should maintain racial statistics on all programs concerned with providing health services to the public. The National Center for Health Statistics should be required to publish an annual inventory of the health status of minorities,

including data relating to infant and prenatal mortality and tuberculosis morbidity. Local health facilities should be required to maintain records of specified diseases to make it possible to gauge the success of programs intended to deal with illness of high incidence among Negro patients.

Negroes in health professions

1. To alleviate the serious shortage of Negro physicians in the South, the Federal Government should enforce its powers under Title VI to require state medical schools to admit Negro students. In addition, medical schools should recruit students and seek scholarship recipients at predominantly Negro colleges.
2. Government, medical organizations and hospital associations should give special attention to the problem of obtaining hospital staff appointments for Negro physicians. Negro applicants must be evaluated by the same standards that have been used for all others already on the staff.
3. There should be a special effort to recruit young Negroes for health and para-medical occupations. This effort should be supported by special programs

to assist graduates of Negro colleges to qualify for graduate training in these occupations. Suggested programs include accelerated summer study, and a fifth year of study between college and the professional school.

4. National medical, dental and hospital associations must become vigorously involved in promoting compliance by their local affiliates with their announced policies of nondiscrimination and promotion of integration in health services and facilities.
5. There is a pressing need for integration of the boards and staffs of all public and private agencies. The U. S. Public Health Service and other agencies in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare should integrate their staffs, from top to bottom now; for it is these agencies that serve as the model for local agencies handling programs administered by that Department.

C. Accessibility of Services

1. Medical services should be organized to meet the health needs of all people and to be used by all people -- those who are able to pay for services would be charged accordingly, while government or private agencies would pay for needy recipients.

Such a program could be Federally or privately sponsored.

2. Health services in general are a mystery to the consumer; thus limiting his use of these services, or his ability to demand his fair share. In order for the consumer to assess the adequacy of health services and make demands for new or improved services, he must first be taught what constitutes adequate medical care. Partially as a result of this consumer ignorance, existing services are so fragmented and delivered in such a manner that no one's needs are met.
3. To avoid fragmentation of health and welfare services, policy for provision of services on a coordinated basis must be formulated at the top level of state or local government.
4. Health services should be neighborhood-based, and staffed with well-trained and well-paid personnel who are able to communicate with the patients in their own language.
5. Federal and local governments should explore the possibility of use of VISTA volunteers in medical and para-medical capacities for health programs in urban ghettos and throughout the South.
6. Neighborhood cooperatives should be developed by

community residents to whom experts would be accountable for their technical assistance.

D. Dissemination of Information

1. There must be devised and implemented an efficient system of informing citizens of their rights to health and welfare services under existing legislation. This system must be designed not only to give pertinent data relating the nature of programs but also to give explicit instructions relating to program participation, individual or otherwise. This may be accomplished by campaigns conducted through the communications media or information programs conducted by community agencies.
2. There must be an information mechanism which serves the specific purpose of advertising to the citizen the various recourses available to him against infringement of his rights as a beneficiary of a public program.

E. Means to Decrease Dependency

1. Fundamental changes are needed in public policy to provide all persons with a decent level of income, in circumstances which maintain the full dignity of the recipient. Immediate improvements can be made in public assistance programs to assure that they

operate in all states at a uniform minimum level of decency.

2. The recipients of service must be more involved in decision-making with respect to the nature, location and other circumstances under which services are rendered.

   The Federal Government should provide a forum in which recipients of service or potential recipients of service, and their representatives, are brought together with those who are responsible for the provision of services, particularly under public auspices, and particularly in the South -- so that responsible public officials, at all levels, will be made more aware of the needs, desires, and demands of the recipients of service, and so that continuing communication may be established.

Use of nonprofessionals

1. One of the most important extensions of participation of the poor in health, welfare and other community services could revolve around employment of the nonprofessional worker. Such workers could play an "expeditor role," and work towards:

   (a) Making the poor aware of available benefits and grievance procedures for correction of abuses;

(b) Assisting the poor to avail themselves of services. As much as possible, expeditors, indigenous nonprofessionals who are actually in the neighborhoods with the persons most in need of services, should be incorporated into the governmental personnel structure. Since this measure alone cannot accomplish the job completely, this type of worker should also be used by private agencies.

2. Other aspects of the use of nonprofessional manpower that should be considered are:

   (a) The degree to which nonprofessionals can assist professionals in various occupations.

   (b) Whether nonprofessionals should be trained as specialists or generalists.

   (c) Training facilities for nonprofessional personnel -- the use of some Negro colleges for this purpose; use of the Job Corps as a major base for training both nonprofessional personnel and those who would train such workers.

   (d) Examination of professional attitudes which hinder effective use of the nonprofessional.

3. Basic education is preliminary to the exercise and enjoyment of any civil rights. If the Conference were to accomplish nothing more than the launching of an effective national campaign to eliminate illiteracy, it will have achieved a great goal.

   Literacy training should be a component of in-service training on jobs.

   Day care services to be more effective, should be combined with literacy programs for mothers.

Rights of recipients

1. Voluntary organizations should be encouraged to sponsor (i.e., provide legal services either from within or outside their ranks) violation cases through the entire appeal process -- from the filing of complaints through court actions -- and to file briefs as amicus curiae in pending cases involving violation of rights in the provision of health and welfare services.
2. Legal representation in civil cases should become a "right," just as it is in criminal cases as established by Gideon v. Wainright.
3. When necessary, the beneficiary should have legal counsel as a matter of right; however, it should be recognized than in many circumstances a nonlawyer can serve as an effective advocate.

Guaranteed Income, Rehabilitation

1. It is recommended that an analysis be made of a Federally guaranteed minimum income policy that is directed toward reducing the causes of poverty. Elements of such a policy might be:
    (a) A universal guaranteed minimum income incorporated as the middle level in a three deck

system; that is to say, between the contributing social insurance system and the public assistance program. This would have the following advantages:

(1) It would permit the contributory social insurance system to be developed explicitly as a conservator of middle income levels of living.

(2) It would free enormous amounts of financial and manpower resources in state welfare departments to develop statewide networks of services to families and children.

(b) A provision that state and local welfare departments continue to provide financial assistance to persons in need because of emergency situations such as fires, floods, and other acts of nature, because of personal emergencies and also because of the inability of those in distress to handle their funds.

2. Every means should be used to reduce the number of persons dependent, on the basis of "need," upon assistance. This may be accomplished by free health and social service programs, extension of welfare services and expansion of public works or public employment programs.

3. Welfare programs and services should be organized and administered with a recognizable focus on rehabilitation and/or developing the ability of the Negro to break dependency upon welfare where this is a realistic goal for the particular recipient of services.

4. The provision of welfare services and of cash assistance should be administratively separate services.

Other proposals

1. The neighborhood service center should be viewed as the focal point for consumer "participation and representation." Participation may be achieved by making it possible for a client to expand his role of recipient to that of member. This may be accomplished by membership drives and establishing a requirement that an individual attend so many center meetings or forums to be eligible for membership.
2. The Federal Government should establish centers to facilitate the adjustment of migrant Negroes and immigrants. White immigrants are already provided some services of this kind, migrant Negroes are not. Migrant Negroes fleeing the South to avoid persecution for civil rights activity should be accorded the same privileges as Cuban refugees.
3. A Federal land and farm equipment grant program should be established for all Southerners who are forced out of their homes and jobs in reprisal for

their participation in civil rights activities. Such a measure would allow those who wish to do so to remain in the South and would minimize migration to urban areas by persons best equipped to earn a living in rural areas.

4. Family planning services should be available to both married and unmarried females.

F. Other Proposals Not Specifically Related to Health and Welfare

1. A constitutional convention should be held to consider such items as: reorganization of the states; representation in the Congress; review of some aspects of the Executive and Judicial Branches of the Government.
2. There should be a Federal program to stimulate the moral consciousness of white Americans and encourage a change in their attitudes. A crash program should be mounted to exert a positive influence on the thinking of the white majority so that they may awaken to their responsibility to become aware of the existence and the plight of the Negro and other minority groups in the United States. At present the Negro does not exist in the consciousness of white America. It is just as important to make the Negro himself

more fully aware of his rights.

PANEL VII - VOTING AND CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION

Implicit throughout the discussion was the panelists' belief that most Negroes are isolated from the mainstream of political life. A key concern for several planners was: assuming that the registration of voters is based on the premise that political power can redress wrongs, how will the vote lead to effective power for Negroes on social and economic issues? Some were pessimistic about the Negro voter's ability to influence issues of concern to the Negro masses. Nevertheless, the panelists made the following proposals for increasing and easing voter registration. Several of the proposals had relevance to the general population, as well as to the Negro minority.

PROPOSALS

A. Registration and Voting Laws

1. National standards:

(a) A constitutional amendment to set up uniform registration and voting laws. This was considered necessary not only to insure maximum enfranchisement in the South, but also to encourage full citizen participation in the North.

(b) Some panelists suggested that the minimum national voting age be set at 18.

(c) Some panelists suggested the elimination of residency and literacy requirements and establishment of voter registration by mail.

2. Universal and permanent registration: the majority of the panel supported universal and permanent registration, perhaps by utilizing computers and the data already collected for social security and income tax records. One panelist suggested that the Federal Government could issue registration cards for voting at the same time it issued social security cards.

3. A few panelists suggested elimination of the registration process.

4. There should be a Federal study of the mechanics of the voting process, with the purpose of better guarantees of the secret ballot, elimination of election fraud, and efficient handling of the increasing numbers of voters.

   (a) Election fraud, whether on the national or local level, should be made a Federal crime.

   (b) There should be consideration of a nationwide system of voting, or Federal grants or matching funds should be given to states in order to enable them to standardize their voting procedures and purchase computers and other equipment.

5. A presidential executive order could create a

Commission on Registration and Voting to coordinate the Government's involvement in registration.

B. Enforcement of the Voting Rights Act of 1965

1. The government must adopt a firm and aggressive attitude in encouraging citizens to register and vote. It should assume the responsibility for getting people registered in those areas where the Negroes have been intimidated.

2. The President should use the full force of his office to launch a campaign for full citizenship. He should issue an executive order requiring all Federal agencies to cooperate in an effort to get people registered and make all Federal facilities available to assist in the effort.

3. Protection for voters

   (a) In view of the pressures put on the Southern Negro who tries to register or vote, the Government has a strong obligation to insure that such persons are afforded full protection from physical violence and economic reprisal.

   (b) The Government must take swift action in prosecuting persons who deny others the right to vote. Statutes such as 19 USG 242 and 243, and the $500 fine for infringement of voting rights, must be enforced.

   (c) Federal marshals should be assigned to registration or voting sites where there is a question of intimidation.

4. Use of federal registrars

(a) Many of the panelists felt that the Government must recognize that broad-scale voluntary compliance with the Voting Act is not going to come about in the South. The Government should take immediate steps to increase the number of Federal registrars and to put them in all areas covered by the Act.

(b) The present system, which requires that the individual collect evidence of refusal to register, places a heavy burden on the individual, and the Government has not been prompt enough in providing registrars once complaints had been made.

(c) When the Justice Department places Federal registrars, it should see that civil rights and local groups are given advance notice of the appointment in given areas.

(d) The Justice Department must take an active role in promoting registration with registrars through an imaginative and active program of advertisement. It was suggested that all agencies of the Department of Agriculture, and other departments which are active in disseminating information in the South, could be used as outlets for disseminating information on voting registration. Another panelist thought that the information should be given out in public schools so that children could take it home to their parents.

(e) Registrar offices must be more accessible to the community; their hours should be changed to make them available in the evening and on weekends.

(f) Federal registrars should be more mobile. Every tax-supported facility in the community -- schools, firehouses, libraries and post offices, etc., -- should be opened for registration. Police stations and courthouses should not be used in the South because of their negative connotations for the Negro Community.

(g) Federal registrars should use mobile units and operate on regular schedules that would be announced well in advance.

(h) The Justice Department should investigate the possibility of using "deputy registrars," as in California. Such "deputy registrars" could canvass neighborhoods for potential registrants and would be authorized to register on the spot. The Department should also consider using postmasters as registrars.

5. Federal funds should be made available to assist in costly voter registration drives. Private foundations and individual contributors should be encouraged to support registration efforts. Some of the participants felt that the Federal Government should take over the full responsibility and cost of voter registration.

6. Larger appropriations and, if needed, new legislation, should be provided in order to give the Department of Justice the powers it needs to enforce the Act.

C. Incentives for Increased Voter Registration and Citizen Participation

While there was substantial agreement on the need for Federal action in establishing a uniform registration and voting system and to enforce the 1965 Voting Act, the panel was divided on the role the Federal Government should and would be able to play in providing political education and motivation for the Negro.

1. Federal action was deemed necessary in providing clarification and possible amendment of the Hatch Act. Some felt that many of the potential leaders in the Negro community are Federal employees and that the Hatch Act restricted their participation in political activities. The Government should make it possible for them to exercise their full leadership potential. It should also conduct a public relations campaign to explain what the Hatch Act now permits or prohibits. It was felt that many state and local government employees, including school teachers, fear the loss of their jobs if they get "involved in politics" under the mistaken belief that they are also covered by the Federal law.
2. There was some discussion of whether registering and voting should be made mandatory for all citizens, but there was no consensus on this.
3. There were a number of suggestions that Election Day be made a national holiday. Other panelists wanted to hold elections over a two-day period or on Sundays.

4. It was also suggested that voting booths be set up in all businesses which employ more than 100 persons.
5. There were a number of suggestions for nation-wide programs for educating the Negro on his rights, opportunities and powers in the political system. These included suggestions for the establishment of a national Citizenship House to assimilate information and train indigenous leaders, compulsory courses in high school on voter registration, neighborhood centers for citizenship education, and political education and crash programs to eliminate illiteracy.
6. It was proposed that civil rights groups put pressure on the major political parties to force them to consider issues such as housing, employment and income which affect the Negro. It was suggested that similar pressure be applied to see that more Negroes are appointed on the local level and that local organizations are more active in registering minorities.
7. Some panelists urged that Negro groups organize on the precinct level and play an active role in county and district meetings.

8. A minority view was expressed that if it is assumed that party organizations are a legitimate part of our democratic society, such organizations should be maintained at public expense if there is to be meaningful competition. Government, both Federal and local, must assume some of the financial burdens of running for office. It was suggested that free broadcast time be provided all candidates, as well as free mailing service. Political contributions should be made tax exempt.

9. There is a need for stronger neighborhood organizations, perhaps supported by Federal funds, to gain power for Negro citizens to enable them to solve their problems. (Questions were raised, however, as to whether the Federal Government would make funds available to Negro led organizations whose aim is the achievement of political power).

PANEL VIII - THE COMMUNITY: INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION

The session on community was designed to focus on problems in the context of community action. Because of this wide focus, the participants discussed the full range of Negro problems. Their observations and recommendations frequently dealt with problems of employment, segregation, or housing, as well as community action as such.

There was a wide variety of opinion about the obstacles to the development of community action, but in the main the problems of the Negro were seen as stemming from the existence of a "dual system" of housing, employment, education, services, and justice which has "kept the Negro subjugated." It was stated that some programs of Federal agencies are guilty of reinforcing poverty and of perpetuating discrimination through many of their practices. In addition, while a few panelists stated that most local community organizations are much less effective than they need to be, or than they are alleged to be, most indicated the need to institute a system whereby local community groups may receive recognition and direct assistance from both Federal and local government.

PROPOSALS

(The panel members felt that the White House Conference was not intended to present a forum for the discussion of the specifics of strategy and tactics by various local groups. Their proposals concentrate on the relationship between community action and the Federal Government).

A. Federal Government and Local Groups

It was felt that on the whole the current use of Federal funds leads to the strengthening of established bureaucracies on the state and city levels, and that neighborhood groups derive little resource or political influence from them. The power position of low income groups, particularly in Negro communities, is not being significantly altered by these Federal programs. It was recommended that the Federal Government should:

1. Discard policies which weaken and discriminate against low income minority communities; and provide jobs and careers which recognize the abilities of the people of such areas.
2. Support the development of autonomous, democratic, powerful, mass organizations of minority low income communities by:
   (a) legislation which makes it practicable for such organizations to become bargaining agents with the institutions controlled from

outside the Negro community;

(b) training of organizers to create and lead such organizations.

3. New ways of funneling Federal resources into communities should be found that will bypass the "establishments" which siphon off such resources to the advantage of their own institutions. In general, the channels through which Federal funds flow to communities from regional and state agencies should be reexamined to see whether these moneys are dispersed in such a fashion as to undermine and weaken indigenous groups:

   (a) Federal grants and subsidies might be given directly to community organizations;

   (b) the principle of "maximum feasible participation" could also be extended to agencies such as Job Corps and others;

   (c) new corporate structures such as consumer corporates, credit bureaus, and others might be experimented with, utilizing direct Federal subsidies.

B. Federal Sponsorship of Community Development Projects Among Negroes in the Rural South

In order to assist the Negroes in the South who are being evicted from their homes and farms when they register to vote, the Federal Government should:

1. Buy up large allotments of land in the South and make that land available at a charitable rate to "no-income" and low income people who are trying to escape from indentured existences as sharecroppers and plantation workers in a politically and economically hostile environment.
2. Underwrite or finance "community neighborhood corporations" among "no-income" and low income Southern rural Negroes as they attempt to acquire land, build homes, establish businesses and community services. Capital investments in businesses and institutions owned and run by these communities is one suggested method of assistance.

C. The Department of Housing and Urban Development

1. The Department should concern itself not only with housing, but also with social planning in a much broader sense in communities.
2. National housing policy should encompass programs of regional planning covering both city and suburb, and also a "New Towns" program.

D. The Community Relations Service

The Community Relations Service should be enlarged and strengthened. The Community Relations Service has demonstrated effectiveness in fostering organization in the Negro community, and this should be continued and encouraged.

E. New Minimum Wage Law

A higher minimum wage should be sought, as the current rate of $1.25 per hour provides less than the recognized minimum subsistence income of $3000 annually.

F. Government Policies to End Discrimination

The Government should enlarge its machinery and resources for limiting discrimination in all types of businesses which furnish services and which would not normally fall within the range of its contract compliance program.

G. Banking of Federal Funds to Help the Poor

Federal funds, especially OEO funds to local CAPs, should not be placed in banks which discriminate against Negroes or which do not offer employment and training opportunities to the poor.

H. Long-Range Federal Planning

The various massive programs suggested here are important, but they are only transitional proposals as we move out of an economy of scarcity into an economy of abundance. Therefore, after massive programs are scheduled to close present gaps, the Federal Government has to encourage a new kind of cultural, educational, political practice program, in which people who will be freed from the tyranny of burdensome work and who will have more leisure, should be encouraged to minister to each other.

Federal policy should reach the point where the Government can guarantee a family income to all of the people and present welfare policies will be unnecessary.

I. Other Proposals

1. One panelist, reflecting on the many needs of the Negro population, proposed that:

   (a) The Negro community, because of its political and economic status, should be declared a "national disaster area," and the Federal Government should provide massive aid, working in cooperation with existing and/or emerging indigenous organizations; and that

   (b) considering the disastrous state of unemployment among Negro males and the conditions of substandard housing in Negro ghetto areas (and in Southern rural Negro communities) massive programs for the construction and rehabilitation of housing should be begun, providing employment, the development of marketable skills, needed income and more and better housing for Negroes.

2. Another panelist proposed that there should be

established a "Department of Decolonization" at the Cabinet level. This department should oversee Federal policies which will "transfer the resources of the black ghettos of the United States into the hands of the local people."

SECTION III - PROPOSALS FOR STATE, LOCAL AND PRIVATE ACTION

Substantial attention was directed by the conferees toward what must be done by state and local government, business, civil rights and citizens organizations and private institutions in order for the Negro Americans to achieve fulfillment of their rights.

In some instances proposals were addressed explicitly to state, local or private groups, while in other instances their involvement is implicit as a complement to some recommended Federal action.

The following are proposals and recommendations excerpted from the panel reports:

I. Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security

A. State and Local Government

1. Education and Training

(a) The following steps were recommended while major efforts are made to speed desegregation:

i) Improving the quality of schools in *de facto* segregated areas.

ii) Assuring access of minority group members to the full range of all publicly supported facilities.

iii) Rapidly expanding the number and quality of junior or community colleges (which should provide a wide range of courses, including those designed to assist members of minority groups to improve their occupational mobility).

(b) Encouraging management and labor through the use of new incentives, including possibly the use of tax credits, to broaden and deepen in-plant and plant-associated education and training.

2. Rural Negroes

Since many Negroes from the rural South will continue to move to the cities, it is essential that more efforts be made by governmental and nongovernmental agencies to provide a range of services which will speed their integration into the urban economy. Among the most important steps is to assure that they have an opportunity to acquire basic literacy and marketable skill.

B. Private Efforts

1. Targets, Goals and Plans

Targets, goals, and plans should include private businesses:

(a) Private efforts should be directed toward fuller use of Negro workers at their present skill levels while implementing training programs and plant and business location schemes to reach Negroes in target areas.

(b) Gains from increases in productivity should be reinvested in carefully structured job expansion and job training programs.

(c) Many jobs could be retailored for effective absorption of Negro workers at present skill levels.

2. Elimination of Discrimination

It is highly desirable that nongovernmental efforts be strengthened so that discriminatory practices in employment can be reduced and eliminated as quickly as possible. Among the steps to be taken by nongovernmental groups are:

(a) Strong commitment by employer groups and individual employers to a wide range of affirmative action, such as the realistic adjustment of testing and hiring standards; special efforts to upgrade employees with limited skills and background; reengineering of jobs, including the breakdown of complex jobs to facilitate the hiring of workers with limited skills, etc.

(b) Continuing efforts on the part of trade union organizations to remove barriers to apprenticeships, employment, upgrading of members of minority groups.

(c) Action by community leaders to establish, strengthen, and make more effective local and state equal employment opportunity councils.

(d) Adoption and expansion by nonprofit organizations of equal employment opportunity practices in all of their economic activities.

It is essential that the community understand the relation between the reduction and elimination of discrimination in employment and similar action in the fields of housing and education. Ways must be found to improve intra and interurban transportation to assure that minority workers have easier and more economical access to jobs.

3. Entrepreneurship

With regard to encouraging more Negroes to become entrepreneurs, the panel took the following position:

(a) An enlarged Negro entrepreneur group is desirable because, among other reasons, the disproportionately small participation of Negroes in such an important occupation helps perpetuate the tangential relation of Negroes to the economy.

(b) Though substantial Federal financial assistance in the form of loans, guarantees, etc., as well as technical assistance will be required to significantly increase participation of Negroes in business, private and nonprofit organizations also have a significant contribution to make.

(c) It would be particularly desirable for large and small franchise companies and others operating on an agency basis to intensify their efforts to find suitable Negro personnel to staff their outlets.

(d) As far as possible, Negro businesses and businessmen should be helped to locate not only in the heart of the ghetto but on the periphery and beyond so that Negro businessmen can more speedily be integrated into the mainstream of American commerce.

(e) It is not necessary to think of Negro entrepreneurship as an exclusively Negro activity; joint ventures involving Negroes and whites should be encouraged.

4. Data on Participation by Race

In order to keep a closer check on results, consideration should be given by the civil rights organizations to reassessing their traditional opposition to the collection of data by race. It may well be that the risks of collecting such data today are less serious than the costs of not having such data available.

II. Administration of Justice

A. Local Government

Improvements Within Police Agencies

There must be a redefinition of the role of the police in modern society. This definition would extend beyond civil rights; but would be a necessary condition for improving relations between police and Negroes. This new role would require the police to conceive of their role as keeping the peace in the broadest sense. Thus the police would have to take positive steps to reach out to those minority groups in the community from whom they have become alienated. Many police departments today accept the prevention of riots, not merely their suppression, as a vital part of their function.

This viewpoint should also be applied to the prevention of individual criminal acts.

The panelists, including the police officials present, felt that a great deal could be accomplished if police departments deliberately take steps to improve relations with minority groups. This would not only involve redefinition of the police role, but also would require a complete review of present police procedures. (For example, certain "normal" police practices, such as "stop-and-frisk," are often applied almost exclusively to Negroes and are viewed by Negroes as discriminatory acts).

Every police department should have a community relations unit and an active community relations program. These units must receive the support of top-ranking officers, otherwise they may have no effect on the department. Every effort must be made to prevent the isolating of Negro officers in the community relations unit. Moreover, the employment policies of police departments are crucial, for if Negroes are excluded from employment in departments, or if Negro employment is minimal, the possibility of good police-community relations is much diminished.

Police must reach out to the community to try to induce Negroes to join the police force. In other words, they must act to combat traditions that have excluded Negroes from positions in law enforcement agencies. This may require special training programs that would provide Negroes with the basic skills to be police officers.

B. Private Efforts

1. Individual Physical Security

It was urged that lawyers, bar associations, business organizations, and labor unions -- all important elements of power and influence -- could become an effective force for reducing violence in local communities.

2. Jury Selection

There also seemed to be general agreement that support should be given to programs for educating Negroes for services on juries, perhaps under poverty programs. Such programs could also be initiated by private civil rights groups. They would seek to encourage Negroes to serve when called, and to overcome fears about participating in the Southern system of justice.

3. Other Aspects of Dual Justice

Two significant suggestions were made on other aspects of dual justice in the hard-core areas. First, the American Bar Association, and other legal organizations, should support the idea that the handling of civil rights litigation is an honorable and vital calling for lawyers. It was pointed out that the ABA has supported a campaign aimed at sensitizing bar organizations, as well as individual lawyers, to the need for counsel for the poor. Similar efforts should be made in the area of counsel for civil rights cases. Second, private groups are not paying enough attention to the need to eradicate employment discrimination in agencies of justice.

4. Programs by Negro Groups

Negro groups and Negro leaders have vital contributions to make toward improving police-community relations. In those communities where the police are making an honest effort to improve relations, Negro organizations could take the leadership in promoting reciprocal efforts among Negroes.

Civil rights groups might also work with the police in combating crime. In this connection, it is essential that police be convinced that they could more effectively fight crime if a positive relationship were established with the civil rights groups. Several panelists stated that the police must work out good relations at the precinct level with grass roots Negro organizations.

III. Voting and Citizenship Participation

A. Local Government

1. Political Education

There were a number of suggestions for programs for educating the Negro on his political rights and opportunities. These included suggestions for compulsory courses in high school on voter registration, neighborhood centers for citizenship education, and crash programs to eliminate illiteracy.

2. Expenses of Running for Office

It was proposed that if there is to be meaningful competition for public office, local as well as Federal governments must assume some of the financial burdens of running for office. It was suggested that free broadcast time be provided all candidates, as well as free mailing services. Another participant advocated that political contributions be made tax exempt.

B. Political Parties

There was a strong feeling that the major political parties were not sufficiently responsive to the Negro or his needs. It was felt that more Negroes should be in policy-making positions at the local and national levels.

C. Foundations

Private foundations and individual contributors should provide financial support for registration efforts.

D. Business

It was also suggested that increased participation in the political process be facilitated by setting up voting booths in all businesses which employ more than 100 persons.

E. Civil Rights Groups

Civil rights organizations should be more active in supporting drives to pass legislation in such areas as housing, employment and income which crucially affect the Negro. Equal effort should be focused on making sure that more Negroes are appointed on the local level.

F. Neighborhood Organizations

There is a need for stronger neighborhood organizations through which Negro citizens may gain the power to solve their problems.

Negroes should organize on the precinct level and become active in county and district meetings.

IV. Health and Welfare

Private hospitals and agencies as well as local governments should adopt policies and practices which improve access of low-income Negroes to health and welfare services.

A. General

Fundamental changes are required in the organization and delivery of both health and welfare services, to assure that the high quality of services that the nation's scientific and economic development has made possible will benefit all Americans.

In order to make health and welfare services effective and responsive to the needs of the persons being served, the recipients of service must be actively involved in decision-making with respect to nature, location and other circumstances under which services are rendered.

To reduce unemployment and attendant dependency upon cash benefits, government at all levels, and private agencies of all kinds should take immediate action to support and facilitate the recruitment, training, and employment of nonprofessionals in large numbers. Trained nonprofessionals should be utilized extensively in health, welfare, education, and other services, both in order to provide more effective and appropriate service, and to permit the more effective utilization of scarce professional manpower.

B. Discrimination in Provision of Services

There is a pressing need for integration of the boards and staffs of all public and private agencies.

Civil rights and other local groups should compile documentation of infringements of Title VI, and of other legal rights accruing to beneficiaries of public programs.

Special attention should be given to the problem of obtaining hospital staff appointments for Negro physicians--by governmental at all levels, medical groups, hospital associations and other related organizations.

There should be a special effort to recruit young Negroes for health and para-medical occupations. There should be special programs to help Negro college graduates qualify for graduate training in health and para-medical occupations.

C. Accessibility of Services

In order to project the poor into the mainstream of American medicine, medical services should be organized to meet the health needs of all people and to be used by all people--those who are able to pay for services would be charged accordingly.

Neighborhood cooperatives should be developed by community residents to whom experts would be accountable for their technical assistance.

Each community must have a top-level social policy of provision of services on a coordinated basis.

Health services should be neighborhood-based, and staffed with well-trained and adequately paid personnel who are able to communicate with the patients.

D. Dissemination of Information

There must be devised and implemented an efficient system of informing citizens of their rights to health and welfare services under existing legislation. This system must be designed not only to give pertinent data relating to the nature of programs but also to give explicit instructions relating to program participation, either individual or otherwise. This may be accomplished by campaigns conducted through the communications media or information programs conducted by community agencies.

There must be an information mechanism which services the specific purpose of advertising to the citizen the various recourses available to him for infringement of his rights as a beneficiary of a public program.

E. Means to Decrease Dependency

As much as possible, "expeditors," those who are actually in the neighborhoods with the persons most in need of services, should be incorporated into the governmental personnel structure. Since the Federal Government alone cannot accomplish this necessary change, private groups should also make use of this new source of nonprofessional manpower.

Colleges should be used as training facilities for nonprofessional personnel.

Voluntary organizations should be encouraged to provide legal services for pursuing sponsor violation cases through the entire appeal process--from the filing of complaints through court actions--and to file briefs as amicus curia in pending cases involving violation of rights to health and welfare services.

V. The Family: Resources for Change

A. State and Local Government

1. Coordination of Services

The need for better coordination of services was strongly stated. One proposal was for multi-service agencies in which health, education and welfare services would be centralized. These would not be merely referral centers, but would offer integrated services. Such centers would be family-oriented and community-based.

2. Birth Control

Family planning aid was heartily supported. The present large number of unwanted pregnancies was seen as a threat both to marital and economic stability.

3. Program Lag

Two cogent points were made: (1) there is a lack of information in some quarters about programs that are available or possible under provisions of current legislation, and (2) the program lags and gaps frequently at the state and local -- not the Federal -- level.

4. Help for Low-Income Mothers

Until such times as the viability and choice of low-income Negro families has been significantly improved--and one sign of significant change would be more fathers in the home--two kinds of support were recommended especially: (1) help for the low-income mother in her multiple roles--homemaker, child rearer, and breadwinner; (2) effective role models for children--girls as well as boys.

5. Illigitimacy

The discussion of illegitimacy, for example, focused on the need for programs of prevention as well as more effective and enlightened ways of dealing with children and mothers in out-of-wedlock situations.

B. Local Government and Private Interests

1. Discrimination in Administration of Services

Considerable attention was given to the ways in which the administration of programs discriminates against Negroes: for example, the preference of maternity homes for white unmarried mothers, the tendency of private institutions to take "the child that is easiest," leaving the Negro child to a public hospital where he is "given diagnosis but not treatment," the difference in treatment of juvenile delinquents who are white or non-white, poor or non-poor.

2. Personnel Attitudes

Personnel in programs dealing directly with families need improved training, and efforts to change attitudes that frequently combine impersonality with disrespect.

C. Private Interests

Civil Rights Organizations

A specific role for civil rights organizations in implementing and supporting family policy was suggested by a representative:

> ...we might supply these agencies... with some of the resources and assistance whereby..family assistance might be created at the local level.. I think we ought to involve these citizens groups and race relations groups as an adjunct of the local and state government (in carrying out family programs).

VI. Housing and the Neighborhood

A. State and Local Government

1. All levels and instruments of government, the private institutions, and citizen organizations must become affirmatively involved in planning for and committing their influence, power, and resources to the building of the communities and neighborhoods. Piecemeal measures, such as fair housing laws, low and moderate income housing programs, urban renewal, each functioning separately are not likely to produce the results

intended. Therefore, while all these programs are useful tools there needs to be a comprehensive design.

The long range goal is to close the gaps of opportunity between white and Negro and between the upper and lower income groups. This means that planning for housing and neighborhoods must go hand in hand with planning for education, job opportunity, etc.

2. State enabling laws should be amended to authorize local housing and urban renewal authorities to operate on a metropolitan basis.

3. State governments should assume the responsibility for regulating the control of land for the general welfare-removing such control from local government jurisdiction.

4. Housing laws should be pressed for adoption in all states. Existing state laws need to be broadened in their enforcement procedures, particularly injunctive proceedings to withhold contested units from the market while

complaints are processed. Enforcement agencies require adequate appropriations and more positive support from the state administrations.

5. State governments in particular should accept responsibility for regulating the behavior and activity of local jurisdictions, especially suburban ones which function extensively to exclude both Negroes and less affluent whites.

6. State and local governments and school authorities must be far more responsive to the needs of declining and racially transitional areas to fight blight and decay by improving services and facilities.

B. Private Efforts

1. Business

The housing industry (builders, lenders, brokers) needs to face up to and accept its responsibility. There needs to be a dialogue in depth between the operations of the industry and the civic, religious and civil rights groups.

2. Civil Rights Groups

Civil rights groups and their allies need to give more attention to the total area of housing, planning and urban development. Much more needs to be done to enlist the support of more people, white and non-white.

3. Local Citizens Groups

Popular referenda to defeat or rescind state and local fair housing laws are a very serious threat and every effort should be made to rally support for fair housing legislation at the local level.

VII. Education

A. State and Local Programs

The panel agreed that education must be reorganized at the state and local levels also. On such levels reorganization might well follow the model presented by the New York State Allen Committee Report as a transitional program for the desegregation of the public schools of large cities.

1. Active support should be provided at the state and local levels for the total reorganization of school systems in terms of goals, curriculum, methods, building construction and location of facilities (such as educational parks); fiscal arrangements and support, quality of materials, facilities and textbooks; training and selection of administrative and teaching personnel so that more efficient education could be provided for all children and racially segregated schools eliminated.

2. Pre-school and other compensatory programs should be extended, but not as a substitute for basic educational reform and reorganization.

3. School boards should be reorganized to represent all groups in the community.

B. Private Interests

The educational profession and other informed and concerned citizens should take the initiative in developing an affirmative national program of public education, information, and persuasion for support of democratic, racially nonsegregated education.

RESOLUTION OF THE PANEL ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The Panel on the Administration of Justice believes and affirms that certain of the issues referred to us are of such paramount and immediate importance that action must be taken upon them at once without waiting for the spring Conference. These matters involve the very lives and safety of Negroes and civil rights workers in the Deep South. In most urgent terms, we recommend, on behalf of our panel the following:

(1) We ask the President of the United States immediately to implement the following recommendation of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights:

> "The Commission recommends that the President direct that Federal law enforcement officers be stationed at the scene of likely violence, that increased numbers of Federal officials be assigned to communities where violence has occurred, that more extensive investigation and surveillance activities be undertaken by these officials, and that Federal law enforcement officers be authorized to make on-the-scene arrests for violations of Federal law."

The immediate implementation of this recommendation is essential to the lives and safety of Negroes and civil rights workers.

(2) We urge the President to direct the Department of Justice to put its full resources into the enforcement of all existing laws, criminal and civil, which protect the safety of Negroes and civil rights workers, including espe-

cially 18 U.S.C. 242 and 243 and Title III of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Resources should be reassigned from other activities of the Department in order to make civil rights enforcement the number one priority of the Department.

(3) As a Panel on the Administration of Justice, we have deemed it our duty to survey the entire legal process and its enforcement in the civil rights area. Having done this, we urge the President to direct an immediate speed-up in the lagging enforcement of the 1964 and 1965 civil rights laws. We especially urge that the Attorney General be directed to send voting registrars into every county where discrimination continues to exist and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to make desegregation of schools a reality through vigorous enforcement of Title VI.

(4) Finally, we ask the Administration to give full support to a federal statute to protect the physical security of all Americans and to replace segregated justice with a true system of justice throughout the land. We commend the President for his proposal on the reform of the jury system and support it as a part of such a statute. But we assert our belief that legislation on jury reform alone is not enough.

(5) We also believe it of the utmost importance, and we urgently recommend, that in the period following this conference and preceding the spring conference, the President invest in the work of examining the proposals and concerns aired at

this conference, and of formulating a program of responsive executive and legislative action, sufficient resources at the White House level to assure that the ends of this Planning Session "To Fulfill These Rights" will, in fact, be achieved.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the Justice Panel, White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"

FROM: Professor Anthony G. Amsterdam

DATE: November 16, 1965

The following pages contain the tentative draft of a federal statute embodying several possible approaches to the problems of individual physical security and repression of civil rights activities which are items I(A) and I(C) respectively on the agenda for our discussion November 17-18, 1965. I thought it might be helpful to have such a draft in hand during the discussion.

* * *

[Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as "The Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966."

FINDINGS

Sec. 50. On the basis of evidence adduced before committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and of reports of the United States Commission on Civil Rights and other agencies and departments of the Government, Congress finds:

(a) That in sections of the United States, criminal offenses defined by state law have been perpetrated upon Negroes and upon individuals advocating equal rights of Negroes, with the design and effect of intimidating these persons and others similarly situated, so as to coerce them to forego the exercise and enjoyment of rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and to forego also the exercise and enjoyment of rights, privileges and immunities under the laws of the several States in which, by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the States are required to protect equally all persons within their respective jurisdictions;

(b) That these offenses have been perpetrated sometimes by and sometimes with the connivance of persons acting under color of state law or authority, sometimes by persons acting without the participation or connivance of others under color of state law or authority;

(c) That the perpetrators of these offenses have often not been prosecuted by state authorities in cases where prosecution was practicable and necessary to afford the equal protection of the laws to all persons within the jurisdictions of the respective States where the offenses occurred; and that, where the perpetrators have been prosecuted in state courts, prosecutions have often concluded in dispositions which fail to afford the equal protection of the laws to the victims of the offenses and to others similarly situated;

(d) That by reason of the foregoing circumstances, Negroes and persons advocating the equal rights of Negroes have been denied in some sections of the United States the rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States, have been denied the equal protection of the laws, and have been given the reasonable apprehension that their persons, property, rights, privileges and immunities are unprotected by law, which apprehension itself denies them the equal protection of the laws;

(e) That, in addition, Negroes and individuals advocating equal rights of Negroes have often been sued or prosecuted in state courts for acts protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, or with the design and effect of intimidating these persons and others similarly situated, so as to coerce them to forego the exercise and enjoyment of rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and to forego also the exercise and enjoyment of rights, privileges and immunities under the laws of the several States in which, by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the States are required to protect equally all persons within their respective jurisdictions;

(f) That in such cases the burdens and inconveniences of defending against suit or prosecution, and in some instances the outcome of the suit or prosecution, have repressed the exercise and enjoyment of rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States and have effectively denied the individuals sued or prosecuted, and others similarly situated, the equal protection of the laws;

(g) That the denials of the federal rights, privileges and immunities, and the denials of equal protection of the laws described in paragraphs (a) through (f) of this section tend generally to occur in those sections of the United States where the following circumstances exist: systematic exclusion of Negroes from state court grand and petit juries; systematic disenfranchisement of Negroes from the electorate which elects state prosecutors and state judges; discrimination against or segregation of Negroes in state or local jails, prisons, police stations, court or other public buildings, schools and publicly [or privately] maintained places of public accommodation and transportation and public facilities; discrimination against Negroes in sentencing upon conviction of crime and in the terms and conditions of bail or other conditional release; discrimination against Negroes in employment by state and local agencies concerned with the administration of criminal justice, and by other state and local governmental agencies; that where these circumstances exist, they often precipitate, facilitate, cause and reinforce the denials of federal rights, privileges and immunities, and the denials of equal protection of the laws described in paragraphs (a) through (f) of this section; and that, further, where the circumstances exist, reasonable apprehension by Negroes and persons advocating the equal rights of Negroes that their persons, property, rights, privileges and immunities are unprotected by law is particularly acute and particularly likely to cause them to forego the enjoyment and exercise of federal rights, privileges and immunities, and the equal exercise and enjoyment of state rights, privileges and immunities;

(h) That, by reason of the facts set forth in paragraphs (a) through (g) of this section, the remedies provided by this Act are necessary and proper to protect and enforce the rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and to prevent the denial of equal protection of the laws by the several States to persons within their respective jurisdictions; and that these remedies are appropriate to enforce the provisions of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States and other provisions of the Constitution and laws ofthe United States.

TITLE I. CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS

Sec. 101. The district courts shall have original jurisdiction, concurrent with the courts of the States, of all prosecutions for offenses (whether felonies, misdemeanors or other offenses) defined by the laws of the State or of any subdivision of the State where acts or omissions constituting the charged offense occur, whenever the prosecution of such offenses in a federal district court is necessary and proper to protect rights, privileges or immunities guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States or to prevent the denial to any person or persons of equal protection of the laws.

Sec. 102. (a) Objection to the jurisdiction of the district court created by section 101 of this Act shall be entertained only if made before trial and in the manner authorized by the federal rules of criminal procedure in effect at the time of the objection. If such objection is not made before trial, the jurisdiction of the district court shall not thereafter be questioned in any manner or by any court.

(b) In the event of a properly presented objection to the jurisdiction of the district court under section 101 of this act, the question whether the prosecution of the charged offense in a federal district court is necessary and proper to protect rights, privileges or immunities guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States or to prevent the denial to any person or persons of equal protection of the laws shall be promptly decided by the district court sitting without jury, and its decision shall be reviewable in the manner authorized by the laws of the United States.

(c) If any one of the circumstances specified in subsection (d) of this section and any one of the circumstances specified in subsection (e) of this section is established by a preponderance of the evidence, the district court shall find that prosecution of the charged offense in a federal district court is necessary and proper to protect rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States and to prevent the denial to a person or persons of the equal protection of the laws, unless the defendant satisfies the court, by clear and convincing evidence on the record as a whole, that prosecution of the charged offense in a federal district court is not necessary and proper to protect rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States or to prevent the denial to any person or persons of the equal protection of the laws.

(d) The circumstances first referred to in subsection (c) of this section are: that the victim of the offense, or any person or class of persons prejudiced or threatened in any way by the acts or omissions constituting the offense, is or was deemed by the defendant at the time of the offense to be

(i) a member of the racial, religious or ethnic group described in subsection (e) of this section; or

(ii) a person who, by words or action, was advocating or supporting at the time of the offense or had advocated or supported prior to the time of the offense the exercise or enjoyment by any member or members of such group of rights, privileges or immunities guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States or the exercise or enjoyment by any member or members of such group of equal protection of the laws.

(e)(i) The circumstances second referred to in subsection (c) of this section are: that in any county or parish where, under applicable state law the offense might be tried the members of any racial, religious or ethnic group are

(A) systematically absent from actual service on grand or petit juries in the state or local courts, whether their absence be caused by exclusion from the venires, or by excuses or challenges peremptory or for cause, or otherwise; or

(B) systematically denied in any manner the franchise in elections at which any prosecuting official or judge in the county or parish, or any official who appoints any such prosecuting official or judge, is elected; or

(C) segregated in or discriminated against in any manner in connection with the services or facilities of, state or local jails, prisons, police stations, court or other public buildings, schools or publicly [or privately] maintained places of public accommodation and transportation or public facilities (whether or not such discrimination or segregation has been permitted to continue under the order of any state or federal court or agency); or

(D) systematically subjected to harsher punishment, pains, penalties or exactions upon conviction of crime than those to which persons generally convicted of crime are subjected (whether the punishment, pains, penalties or exactions are determined by a court, jury, administrative or executive agency or by more than one of these and whether by the initial disposition of the prosecution or by later modification thereof); or

(E) systematically subjected to more onerous terms or conditions of bail or conditional release than those to which defendants generally are subjected; or

(F) discriminated against or segregated in any manner in employment in any position by state or local governments or their agencies, excepting positions to which the holder is elected by public election.

(ii) (A) If either of the following circumstances is established by a preponderance of the evidence, the district court shall find that the circumstance described in paragraph (A) of subsection 102(e)(i) is established by a preponderance of the evidence, unless the defendant satisfies the court, by clear and convincing evidence on the record as a whole, that the circumstance described in paragraph (A) of subsection 102(e)(i) does not exist:

(1) a finding has been made by any federal or state court, whose decision has become final within five years prior to the commencement of the prosecution, that members of the racial, religious or ethnic group referred to in subsection 102(e)(i) have been systematically excluded from service either on grand or on petit juries in the state or local courts of the county or parish referred to in subsection 102(e)(i); or

(2) the ratio of the number of members of the racial, religious or ethnic group referred to in subsection 102(e)(i) who have since the last decennial census of the United States prior to the commencement of the prosecution actually served either on grand or on petit juries in any court referred to in paragraph (A) of subsection 102(e)(i) to the total number of members of that group of the age of 21 or above in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States is less than one half the ratio of the number of all other persons who have actually served on such grand or petit juries to the total number of all other persons of the age of 21 or above in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States.

(B) If either of the following circumstances is established by a preponderance of the evidence, the district court shall find that the circumstance described in paragraph (B) of subsection 102(e)(i) is established by a preponderance of the evidence, unless the defendant satisfies the court, by clear and convincing evidence on the record as a whole, that the circumstance described in paragraph (B) of subsection 102(e)(i) does not exist:

(1) a finding has been made by any federal or state court, whose decision has become final within five years prior to the commencement of the prosecution, that members of the racial, religious or ethnic group referred to in subsection 102(e)(i) have been systematically denied the franchise in any election in the county or parish referred to in subsection 102(e)(i); or

(2) the ratio of the number of members of the racial, religious or ethnic group referred to in subsection 102(e)(i) registered

to vote in elections of the officials described in paragraph (B) of subsection 102(e)(i) to the total number of members of that group of the age of 21 or above in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States is less than one half the ratio of the number of all other persons registered to vote in such elections to the total number of all other persons of the age of 21 in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States.

Sec. 103. (a) Prosecutions under the jurisdiction given by section 101 of this act shall be commenced by indictment of a federal grand jury in all cases in which the Constitution requires that prosecution be by indictment; in other cases, prosecution may be by indictment or by information.

(b) The district court shall not proceed in the exercise of jurisdiction given by section 101 of this Act unless, at final arraignment or prior to final arraignment, there is filed with the district court a certificate of the Attorney General of the United States that the prosecution of the cause by the United States in a federal district court is in the national interest for the purpose of protecting any person or class of persons in the exercise or enjoyment of a right, privilege or immunity guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or of the equal protection of the laws. Upon the filing of such a certificate, the jurisdiction given by section 101 shall become exclusive of the courts of any State, and the prosecution shall thereafter be conducted exclusively by the Attorney General of the United States or his designate, who may but need not be the United States Attorney of the district in which the prosecution is brought or his subordinate. Upon the filing of the certificate, no state court shall have or retain jurisdiction of any offense charged against the defendant prosecution for which would constitute jeopardy in respect of the offense described in the certificate. The certificate of the Attorney General shall not be subject to review by any court.

(c) If the certificate of the Attorney General described in subsection (b) of this section is not filed at or prior to final arraignment, the district court shall dismiss the prosecution without prejudice.

(d) Notwithstanding the certificate of the Attorney General described in subsection (b) of this section has not yet been filed, federal judicial, executive, administrative and law enforcement officers and agencies, including but not limited to federal judges, commissioners, marshals, grand juries, prosecuting attorneys, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation may exercise all powers given them by the laws of the United States in order to prevent and investigate any offense within the jurisdiction given by section 101 of this Act and to apprehend and prosecute the offender or offenders. In any case where such powers by the general laws of the United States are restricted to felonies, the same powers may be exercised in felonies, misdemeanors or petty offenses within the jurisdiction given by section 101. The authority given federal executive, administrative and law enforcement officers and agencies under this subsection shall be exercised under the direction of the Attorney General of the United States, but if the delay of their exercise until a direction of the Attorney General is received is impracticable in order effectively to prevent or investigate any offense within the jurisdiction given by section 101 of this Act or to apprehend or prosecute the offender or offenders, they may be exercised without direction of the Attorney General.

Sec. 104. (a) Where a prosecution has been commenced in any court of a State in respect of any offense within the jurisdiction given by section 101 of this Act, the United States may at any time before jeopardy attaches remove the prosecution for trial to the district court for the district embracing the place wherein the prosecution is pending.

(b) Such removal shall be instituted by the filing in the district court of the certificate of the Attorney General described in section 103(b) of this Act, which certificate shall identify the prosecution to be removed. The filing of this certificate, together with the filing of a copy thereof with the judge or clerk of the state court in which the prosecution is pending (which filing may precede or follow or be contemporaneous with the filing of the certificate in the district court) shall effect the removal, and the jurisdiction of the state court shall thereupon terminate and all state court proceedings thereafter be null and void for all purposes unless and until the case is remanded. Following removal under this section,

(i) the jurisdiction given by subsection (a) of this section shall be exclusive of the courts of any State, and the prosecution shall be conducted exclusively by the Attorney General or his designate, who may but need not be the United States Attorney of the district in which the prosecution is brought or his subordinate; and

(ii) no state court shall have or retain jurisdiction of any offense charged against the defendant prosecution for which would constitute jeopardy in respect of the offense described in the certificate.

The certificate of the Attorney General shall not be subject to review by any court.

Sec. 105. Any person convicted in proceedings under sections 101 through 104 of this Act shall be sentenced to the fine, term of imprisonment, or both, prescribed by the rules of state law applicable to the offense of which he is convicted. For all other purposes of imposition or execution of sentence, including but not limited to the payment of fine, custody, probation and parole, he shall be treated as a person convicted and sentenced under the criminal laws of the United States.

Sec. 106. (a) Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom of any State or Territory intentionally commits an assault or an assault and battery is guilty of an offense.

(b) Whoever, being an officer of any State or Territory or of any county or parish, municipality or other sub-division or any agency of a State or Territory, has authority and opportunity by the use of reasonable force to prevent an assault or an assault and battery upon another, and wilfully fails or neglects to do so is guilty of an offense.

(c) Whoever intentionally commits an assault or an assault and battery under the circumstances specified in subsection (d) of this section is guilty of an offense.

(d) The circumstances referred to in subsection (c) of this section are:

(i) where, upon the facts known or reasonably knowable by the assailant at the time of the assault, the assault or assault and battery committed will foreseeably tend to intimidate, coerce or threaten any person or class of persons

(A) in the exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity guaranteed by Titles II, VI or VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 78 Stat. 243-244, 252-266; or from lawfully advocating or supporting, by words or action, the exercise or enjoyment of any such right, privilege or immunity by any person or class of persons; or from lawfully protesting, by words or action, the denial of any such right, privilege or immunity to any person or class of persons; or

(B) by reason of race, creed or color, in the use, direct or indirect, of the mails or the facilities of interstate or foreign commerce; or

(C) in the use, direct or indirect, of the mails or any facility of interstate or foreign commerce for the purpose of lawfully advocating or supporting, by words or action, the equal exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity by any person or class of persons; or for the purpose of lawfully protesting, by words or action, the denial to any person or class of persons of the equal exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity; or

(D) from bringing to the attention of any legislative, judicial, executive or administrative officer of the United States, by any lawful means including protests and demonstrations calculated to come to the attention of any such officer, information relating to the denial or claimed denial to any person or class of persons of the equal exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity; or

(ii) where the assailant uses, directly or indirectly, the mails or any facility of interstate or foreign commerce, or anything that has moved in interstate or foreign commerce, in the commission of the assault or assault and battery; and where, upon the facts known or reasonably knowable by the assailant at the time of the assault, the assault or assault and battery committed will foreseeably tend to intimidate, coerce or threaten any person or class of person in the equal exercise of any right, privilege or immunity; or from lawfully advocating or supporting, by words or action, the equal exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity by any person or class of persons; or from lawfully protesting, by words or action, the denial to any person or class of persons of the equal exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity.

(e) Whoever is convicted

(i) of an offense defined by subsections (a) or (c) of this section shall be fined not more than $1000 or imprisoned not more than one year or both; but if the assault or assault and battery results in the maiming or death of any person, the convicted party shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years or both;

(ii) of the offense defined by subsection (b) of this section shall be fined not more than $500 or imprisoned not more than six months or both.

Sec. 107. (a) Prosecution under the jurisdiction given by sections 101 and 104 of this Act, and prosecution for any offense defined by section 106 of this Act or by Chapter 13 of Title 18, United States Code, or for conspiracy to violate section 106 of this Act or Chapter 13 of Title 18, United States Code, shall be had in the State and district in which the offense was committed. If the district consists of two or more divisions within the State, the prosecution may be commenced by indictment or information, or removed by certificate of the Attorney General, in any division. Trial shall be had in the division in which the prosecution is commenced or removed, unless the case is transferred for trial pursuant to subsection (b) of this section or to any other provision of law.

(b) The court upon motion of the defendant or the government shall transfer the proceeding to another division within the State and district if the court is satisfied that there exists in the division where the prosecution is pending such prejudice against the moving party, or in favor of the adverse party, that a fair and impartial trial cannot be had in the division. The authority to transfer given by this subsection is in addition to any other authority given by law to transfer a criminal proceeding.

(c) (i) In any proceeding removed under section 104 of this Act, where the offense charged is one required by the Constitution to be prosecuted by indictment, and where the proceeding removed was not commenced by indictment in the court from which it was removed, indictment by a federal grand jury may be returned in the district court before or after removal. If no indictment is returned within a reasonable time after removal, the proceeding shall be remanded to the state court from which it was removed.

(ii) In any proceeding removed under section 104 of this Act, where the offense charged is one required by the Constitution to be prosecuted by indictment, and where the proceeding removed was commenced by indictment in the court from which it was removed, the prosecution may proceed following removal on the charges contained in that indictment, and no further indictment shall be required to be filed.

(iii) In any proceeding removed under section 104 of this Act, where the offense charged is one not required by the Constitution to be prosecuted by indictment, the prosecution may proceed following removal on the charges contained in complaint, information or indictment by which the prosecution was commenced in the court from which it was removed, and no further information or indictment shall be required to be filed.

(iv) In any proceeding removed under section 104 of this Act, a supervening or additional information or indictment may be filed, and the Government shall be allowed a reasonable time following removal in which to file or obtain the filing of such a supervening information or indictment. Prosecution upon any supervening or additional information or indictment or any count thereof which does not charge an offense defined by federal statute shall be treated for all purposes as a prosecution originally commenced in the district court under the jurisdiction given by section 101 of this Act, except that the certificate of the Attorney General filed pursuant to section 104(b) of the Act shall satisfy the requirements of, and have the same effect as a certificate filed under, section 103(b) of the Act.

TITLE II. CIVIL PROCEEDINGS.

Sec. 201. Section 1979 of the RUvised Statutes (42 U.S.C. § 1983) is amended as follows: Insert "(a)" before the paragraph which is present section 1979 and add the following paragraphs:

"(b) Every person who,

"(i) under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom of any State or Territory, intentionally commits an assault or an assault and battery; or

"(ii) being an officer of any State or Territory or of any county or parish, municipality or other subdivision or any agency of a State or Territory, has authority and opportunity by the use of reasonable force to prevent an assault or an assault and battery upon another, and wilfully fails or neglects to do so shall be liable to the party injured in a civil action for legal, equitable or other proper redress.

"(c) Every county or parish, municipality or other subdivision of a State or Territory

"(i) by which any individual liable for damages under subsections (a) or (b) of this section is or was employed or whose officer or agent he is or was at the time of the acts or omissions giving rise to his liability; or

"(ii) within the territorial boundaries of which any act or omission occurs or occurred on the basis of which, in whole or in part, any individual is liable for damages under subsections (a) or (b) of this section,

shall be jointly and severally liable for damages for any and all acts or omissions for which that individual is liable under subsections (a) or (b) of this section, whether or not committed within the territorial boundaries of the county or parish, municipality or other subdivision.

"(d) In any action for damages brought under this section the court shall upon motion of either party transfer the proceeding to another district or division if the court is satisfied that attitudes against the moving party or in favor of the adverse party in the district or division where the proceeding is pending will make it difficult to obtain a fair and impartial trial in that district or division. The authority to transfer given by this section is in addition to any other authority allowed by law. Any order granting or refusing a transfer under this subsection shall be subject to review, on interlocutory appeal, by the court of appeals for the circuit embracing the district where the order was made; and, in the event of an appeal, the court of appeals shall review the order on the record as a whole.

"(e)(i) Section 2283 of Title 28, United States Code, shall not apply to any proceeding brought under this section.

"(ii) In any proceeding brought under this section to redress the deprivation of

"(A) any exercise or enjoyment of the freedoms of religion, of speech, of the press, of assembly or of petition guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States; or

"(B) any exercise or enjoyment of a right, privilege or immunity guaranteed by any provision of the Constitution or laws of the United States (including but not limited to the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment) against denial by reason of race, creed or color,

no federal court shall in any manner deny or delay relief by reason of the availability of any state civil, criminal or other proceeding in which the same or similar relief might be given, or the claims sought to be enforced might be decided or otherwise affected, unless the court is convinced, on the record as a whole, that such state proceedings will in fact afford relief which, in view of the nature and importance of the rights, privileges or immunities for whose deprivation redress is sought, will be prompt and complete. It is the purpose of this subsection that in the class of cases described therein, no federal court shall abstain in the exercise of its jurisdiction, require of any party the exhaustion of state remedies, decline to enjoin state civil or criminal proceedings, or give effect to any similar principles or doctrines unless the court is so convinced; but no inference may be drawn from this subsection that relief should be delayed or denied in any other case."

Sec. 202 (a) Every person who intentionally commits an assault or an assault and battery under the circumstances specified in subsection (d) of Section 106 of this Act shall be liable to the party injured in a civil action for legal, equitable or other proper redress.

(b) In any action for damages brought under this section, the provisions of subsection 1979(d) of the Revised Statutes, as amended by section 201 of this Act, shall be applicable.

Sec. 203 (a) Whenever

(i) any person has engaged, or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage, in any act or practice which by violence, coercion, intimidation or threat of any sort will tend to harass any person or class of persons in, deter any person or class of persons from, or punish any person or class of persons for

(A) any exercise or enjoyment of the freedoms of religion, of speech, of the press, of assembly or of petition guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States; or

(B) any exercise or enjoyment of a right, privilege or immunity guaranteed by any provision of the Constitution or laws of the United States (including but not limited to the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment) against denial by reason of race, creed or color; and

(ii) in any State or part thereof where any part of such act or practice has occurred or is reasonably likely to occur, the failure or probable failure of the State to prevent the denial to any person or class of persons of any of the rights, privileges or immunities described in either paragraph (A) or paragraph (B) of subsection 203(a)(i) of this Act, makes preventive relief by a federal court necessary and proper to prevent its denial,

an action for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order or other order (including but not limited to an order requiring the posting of a bond conditioned upon compliance with any order of the court) may be instituted by any person or member of a class of persons aggrieved.

Upon the filing in the district court of a certificate of the Attorney General of the United States, that the institution of, or intervention in, such an action by the United States is in the national interest for the protection of any right, privilege or immunity described in either paragraph (A) or paragraph (B) of subsection 203(a)(i) of this Act, the United States may institute an action under this section, or intervene as of right in any action brought by any person under this section, as the case may be. The certificate of the Attorney General shall not be subject to review by any court.

(b) If the act or practice described in subsection (a) of this section or any part of such act or practice has occurred or is reasonably likely to occur in any county or parish, and if both of the circumstances specified in subsection (c) of this section are established by a preponderance of the evidence, the court shall find unless satisfied of the contrary by a preponderance of the evidence on the record as a whole that, in the part of the State where the act or practice has occurred or is reasonably likely to occur, the failure or probable failure of the State to prevent the denial to a person or class of persons of a right, privilege or immunity described in either paragraph (A) or paragraph (B) of subsection 203(a)(i) of this Act makes preventive relief by a federal court necessary and proper to prevent its denial.

(c) The circumstances referred to in subsection (b) of this section are

(i) that any person or class of persons affected or likely to be affected by the act or practice is a person or is composed of persons described in either paragraph (i) or paragraph (ii) of subsection 102(d) of this Act; and

(ii) that in the county or parish described in subsection (b) of this section, any of the circumstances described in subsection (e)(i) of section 102 of this Act exists. In determining for this purpose whether any circumstance described in subsection (e)(i) exists, the provisions of subsection 102(e)(ii) shall be applicable.

TITLE III. REMOVAL: HABEAS CORPUS.

Sec. 301(a). Any of the following proceedings commenced in a State or local court may be removed by the defendant to the district court of the United States for the district and division embracing the place wherein it is pending:

(i) any action or proceeding (civil, criminal or otherwise) for or on account of any act or omission in the exercise or enjoyment of the freedoms of religion, of speech, of the press, of assembly or of petition guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States; or in the exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity guaranteed, secured or protected in any manner by any provision of the Constitution or laws of the United States (including but not limited to the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment) against denial by reason of race, creed or color; or

(ii) any action or proceeding (excepting an action or proceeding in which the only relief or remedy which the court may give is compensatory damages) pending in any State or local court in any county or parish where members of any racial, religious or ethnic group are systematically excluded from service either on grand or on petit juries, when the action or proceeding is against a person who, by words or action, was advocating or supporting at the time of the acts or omissions giving rise to the action or proceeding, or had advocated or supported prior to that time, the exercise or enjoyment by any member or members of the group so excluded of rights, privileges or immunities guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States or the exercise or enjoyment by any member or members of such group of equal protection of the laws; or

(iii) any criminal prosecution in which capital punishment may be imposed at the discretion of a jury (whether or not with the concurrence or subject to the control or restriction in any manner of the court) pending in any State or local court in any county or parish where members of any racial, religious or ethnic group are systematically excluded from service either on grand or on petit juries, when the prosecution is against a member of the group so excluded for a charged offense involving harm or potential harm to any person not a member of the group.

(b) If any one of the following circumstances is established by a preponderance of the evidence, the district court shall find that members of a racial, religious or ethnic group are systematically excluded from service on grand or petit juries in the State or local courts of a county or parish, for purposes of section 301 of this Act, unless the prosecution or plaintiff satisfies the court, by clear and convincing evidence on the record as a whole, that the contrary is true:

(i) a finding has been made by any federal or state court, whose decision has become final within five years prior to the filing of the petition for removal, that members of the racial, religious or ethnic group referred to in section 301 of this Act have been systematically excluded from service either on grand or on petit juries in the State or local courts of the county or parish; or

(ii) the ratio of the number of members of the racial, religious or ethnic group referred to in section 301 of this Act who have since the last decennial census of the United States prior to the filing of the petition for removal actually served as members of the venires or panels from which either grand or petit juries were selected in any State or local court in the county or parish to the total number of members of that group of the age of 21 or above in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States is less than three quarters the ratio of the number of all other persons who have served in the same capacity to the total number of all other persons of the age of 21 or above in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States; or

(iii) the ratio of the number of members of the racial, religious or ethnic group referred to in section 301 of this Act who have since the last decennial census of the United States prior to the filing of the petition for removal actually served on grand juries in any State or local court in the county or parish to the total number of members of that group of the age of 21 or above in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States is less than one half the ratio of the number of all other persons who have served in the same capacity to the total number of all other persons of the age of 21 or above in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States; or

(iv) the ratio of the number of members of the racial, religious or ethnic group referred to in section 301 of this Act who have since the last decennial census of the United States prior to the filing of the petition for removal actually served on petit juries in any State or local court in the county or parish to the total number of members of that group of the age of 21 or above in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States is less than one half the ratio of the number of all other persons who have served in the same capacity to the total number of all other persons of the age of 21 or above in the county or parish as determined by the last decennial census of the United States; provided that any member of the racial, religious or ethnic group involved who is shown to have been excused from service on a petit jury by the peremptory challenge of a party who was a member of the same racial, religious or ethnic group shall be treated for purposes of this computation as if he had actually served on a petit jury.

Sec. 302 (a) The United States Commission on Civil Rights shall investigate the patterns of selection for, and actual service on, grand and petit jury venires and panels and of actual service on grand and petit juries by members of racial, religious and ethnic groups in the State and local courts of any county or parish in which it believes that there may be disparate treatment of members of different racial, religious or ethnic groups.

(b) Before publishing the results of any such investigation, the Commission shall furnish a copy of its proposed findings to the jury commissioners and any other officials responsible for jury selection in the county or parish concerned, and shall give them an opportunity to controvert any of the proposed findings. Upon consideration of their responses and such consultation with the affected commissioners and officials as may be indicated, the Commission may revise its proposed findings. If any of those proposed findings remains controverted, the Commission shall cause a public hearing to be held in the county or parish concerned to consider the remaining issues of fact. Such hearing may be held by the Commission or by a person or persons designated by it who may but need not be a member or members of the Commission or its staff; the person or persons thus designated shall have all the powers the Commission would have in regard to the conduct of such a hearing. If any such hearing is not held by the Commission itself, the person or persons conducting it shall prepare a report which shall be forwarded to the Commission together with such comments thereon as local officials may make and with the record of the hearing. The Commission shall thereafter publish its findings and a detailed summary of the data on which those findings are based. Judicial notice of the findings of the Commission and the data contained in its detailed summary shall be taken in any judicial proceeding in any court.

(c) In any action or proceeding removed under section 301 of this Act, the Commission's findings and summary of data under subsection (b) of this section shall constitute evidence of the facts presented therein and, except to the extent that the party controverting those facts satisfies the court, by clear and convincing evidence on the record as a whole, that particular findings or data are not correct, the district court shall accept the Commission's findings and data as adequately probative of all the facts contained therein, and shall make its findings in accordance therewith.

(d) In proceeding under this section, the Commission shall have all the powers granted it under all other statutes; and the powers conferred on it by this section are in addition to its powers under such other statutes.

Sec. 303 (a) In any action or proceeding removed under section 301 of this Act, the district court upon motion of the defendant shall transfer the action or proceeding as to him to another district or division if the court is satisfied that attitudes against the defendant or in favor of the prosecution or plaintiff in the district or division where the action or proceeding is pending will make it difficult to obtain a fair and impartial trial in that district or division.

(c) Any order granting or refusing a transfer under this section shall be subject to review, on interlocutory appeal, by the court of appeals for the circuit embracing the district where the order was made; and, in the event of an appeal, the court of appeals shall review the order on the whole record.

(d) The authority to transfer given by this section is in addition to any other authority to transfer allowed by law.

Sec. 304. In any proceeding for habeas corpus under section 2241 of Title 28, United States Code, by or on behalf of any person complaining of custody for or on account of, or incident to or consequent upon any State or local proceedings (civil, criminal or otherwise) for or on account of, any act or ommission

(i) in the exercise or enjoyment of the freedoms of religion, of speech, of the press, of assembly or of petition guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States; or

(ii) in the exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity guaranteed by any provision of the Constitution or laws of the United States (including but not limited to the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment) against denial by reason of race, creed or color,

the provisions of section 2254 of Title 28, United States Code, shall not apply; and no such person, or party proceeding on behalf of any such person, shall be required to exhaust available state remedies of any sort. It is the purpose of this section to preclude the application, in any of the proceedings for habeas corpus described therein, of any principle or doctrine requiring exhaustion of state remedies, or any similar doctrine or principle; but no inference may be drawn from this section that relief in proceedings for habeas corpus should be denied or delayed in any manner in any other case.

TITLE IV. MISCELLANEOUS.

Sec. 401. Section 1292 of Title 28, United States Code is amended as follows: Change the period at the end of subsection (4) to a semicolon and add the following paragraph:

> "(5) Interlocutory orders granting or refusing transfers where such appeals are authorized by subsection (d) of section 1979 of the Revised Statutes [as amended by section 201 of this Act] or by . . . . . [section 302(c) of this Act].

Sec. 402. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Sec. 403. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Summary of the Act

1. **Findings.** In section 50 of the Act, Congress finds:

(a) that crimes have been committed against Negroes and civil rights workers in sections of the country for the purpose of coercing them to forego federally guaranteed rights and equality in state-guaranteed rights;

(b) that in such cases state justice has failed to afford the victims protection and thus has denied them federally guaranteed rights and equal protection of the laws;

(c) that Negroes and civil rights workers have been sued and prosecuted in the state courts in sections of the country with the design and effect by harassment of coercing them to forego federally guaranteed rights and equality in state-guaranteed rights, and have thus been denied these rights; and

(d) that these denials tend to occur in coincidence with, and to be caused and reinforced by, such circumstances as the systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries and from the electorate which elects state judges and prosecutors; racial discrimination or segregation in jails, prisons, courts, public buildings, schools, places of public accommodation and facilities; racial discrimination in sentencing and bail arrangements; and racial discrimination in employment by state justice agencies and other agencies.

2. **Criminal penalties.**

(a) Section 101 of the Act gives the federal courts jurisdiction of prosecutions for state criminal offenses where the prosecution of such offenses in a federal court is necessary and proper to protect federally guaranteed rights and prevent denials of equal protection of the laws. Under section 102, a federal court must find (unless the defendant satisfies the court to the contrary by clear and convincing evidence on the record as a whole) that prosecution in a federal court is necessary and proper for these purposes whenever it is shown that an offense against a Negro or civil rights worker is triable in the state courts in any county where Negroes are systematically absent from juries; or systematically denied the franchise in elections of state judges or prosecutors; or discriminated against in public buildings or places of public accommodation or public facilities; or discriminated against in sentencing or bail arrangements; or discriminated against in public employment. Findings of systematic absence from juries and of systematic denial of the franchise must be made whenever jury exclusion or voting discrimination has been found by any court within five years previously, or whenever certain ratios of racial disparity appear in jury service or voter registration, unless the defendant negatives systematic absence from juries or systematic denial of the franchise by clear and convincing evidence on the record as a whole. Prosecution under section 101 may proceed only upon a certificate by the Attorney General that such prosecution by the United States in a federal court is in the national interest for the purpose of protecting federally guaranteed rights or preventing denials of equal protection of the laws. The certificate is not judicially reviewable. Once it has been filed, prosecution is conducted by federal prosecutors; the state courts are deprived of jurisdiction over the offense and over any offense which would constitute jeopardy; and persons convicted are sentenced under state law but thereafter treated as federal convicts for purposes of execution of sentence, pardon, parole, etc. (Sections 103, 105.) Under the same circumstances in which federal prosecution may be commenced by force of section 101, pending state prosecutions may be removed to federal court for federal prosecution by force of section 104. Notwithstanding a certificate of the Attorney General has not yet been filed, the FBI and other federal law enforcement officials are authorized to act to prevent and investigate offenses within section 101, and to apprehend and proceed preliminarily against offenders. (Section 103(d)).

(b) Subsections 106(a) and (b) of the Act make it a federal crime for a state officer to commit an intentional assault, or wilfully to fail to prevent an assault which he has power to prevent. Assault is punishable by $1000 fine and/or one year imprisonment; but if any person is maimed or killed the assault is punishable by $10,000 fine and/or twenty years imprisonment. Wilful failure to prevent an assault is punishable by $500 fine and/or six months imprisonment.

(c) Subsections 106(c) and (d) of the Act make it a federal crime for any person to commit an intentional assault where, on the facts known to or reasonably knowable by the assailant, the assault will foreseeably tend to intimidate any person in the exercise or enjoyment of rights under the Civil Rights Act of 1964; or in advocacy or protest relating to such rights; or in use of the mails or facilities of interstate commerce by reason of race; or in the use of the mails or facilities of interstate commerce for advocacy or protest relating to equal rights; or in bringing to the attention of federal officials by any lawful means (including protests and demonstrations calculated to come to their attention) denials of equal rights. The subsections also make it a federal crime to commit an intentional assault where the assailant uses the mails or facilities of commerce and where the assault will foreseeably tend to intimidate any person in the equal exercise or enjoyment of any right, or in advocacy or protest relating to equal rights. These assaults are punishable by $1000 fine and/or one year imprisonment; but if any person is maimed or killed the assault is punishable by $10,000 fine and/or twenty years imprisonment.

3. Civil liability.

(a) Civil actions for damages, injunctions or other redress are authorized to prevent or remedy any of the assaults made criminal by section 106 of the Act. (Sections 201, 202.)

(b) State subdivisions are made liable for damages for such assaults by their officers, or for other civil rights violations by their officers; and they are also made liable for assaults or other civil rights violations by state officers within the territorial boundaries of the subdivision. (Section 201.)

(c) In any action brought to vindicate First Amendment rights or rights of racial equality, the bar of the federal anti-injunction statute is removed, and federal courts are precluded from denying or delaying relief pursuant to the abstention doctrine, doctrine requiring exhaustion of state remedies, doctrine forbidding injunction of criminal proceedings, or any other similar doctrine, unless the federal court is convinced on the record as a whole that proceedings in the state courts will in fact afford prompt and complete relief to the complainant, in view of the nature and importance of the rights which he seeks to vindicate. (Section 201.)

(d) Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person will engage in any act or practice of violence, intimidation or threat tending to harass, deter or punish any person or class of persons in the exercise or enjoyment of First Amendment rights or rights of racial equality, and the failure or probable failure of a State to prevent the denial of these rights makes preventive relief by a federal court necessary and proper to prevent their denial, a civil action for preventive relief may be filed in a federal court, seeking temporary restraining orders, preliminary and permanent injunctions and other relief including a peace bond. On certificate of the Attorney General that it is in the national interest to protect First Amendment rights or rights of racial equality, the Government may initiate or intervene in such an action. The court must find (unless satisfied to the contrary by a preponderance of the evidence on the record as a whole) that the failure or probable failure of a State to prevent the denial of First Amendment rights or rights of racial equality makes preventive relied by a federal court necessary and proper to prevent their denial whenever the persons affected by an intimidating act or practice are Negroes or civil rights workers and, in any county where any part of the act or practice occurs or is likely to occur, it is shown that any of the various discriminations against Negroes detailed in paragraph 2(a) on page A of this Summary exist. (Section 203.)

3. Removal and habeas corpus.

(a) Section 301 authorizes the defensive removal to a federal court of any state proceeding (civil, criminal or otherwise) for any act or omission in the exercise of First Amendment rights or rights of racial equality.

(b) Section 304 abrogates the requirement of exhaustion of state remedies in any federal habeas corpus proceeding complaining of custody for any act or omission in the exercise of First Amendment rights or rights of racial equality.

(c) Defensive removal is also authorized by section 301 in two classes of cases:

(i) proceedings against civil rights workers, except in cases where only compensatory damages may be awarded, and

(ii) capital prosecutions against Negroes for offenses against whites where sentencing discretion is given the jury,

whenever such cases are pending in the courts of any county where Negroes are systematically excluded from grand or petit juries. The court must find such systematic exclusion (unless satisfied to the contrary by clear and convincing evidence on the record as a whole) whenever it is shown that any court has found such exclusion in the county within five years previously, or whenever certain ratios of racial disparity appear in jury service in the county. The Civil Rights Commission is directed to investigate jury selection practices and service by racial groups on juries in any county where it believes disparate treatment of racial groups in jury selection may be occurring. After furnishing copies of its proposed findings to the jury commissioners and other local jury-selection officials and giving them the opportunity to controvert the proposed findings, the Commission is to revise its proposed findings as appropriate, hold a public hearing in the county (itself or by its designate) to resolve remaining factual disputes, and publish its findings with a detailed summary of the underlying data. (Section 302.) Courts are directed to take judicial notice of the findings and summaries and, in proceedings removed under section 301, the federal court is directed to make findings in accordance with those of the Commission unless satisfied by clear and convincing evidence on the record as a whole that the findings of the Commission are incorrect.

4. Procedure.

Provisions are made for the transfer of the various federal judicial proceedings under this act and of other federal civil actions and criminal prosecutions in civil rights cases out of the district or division where they are pending in order that a fair and impartial trial may be obtained. Federal criminal prosecutions may be transferred within the district upon motion of either party. (Sections 107(a), (b).) Federal civil actions for damages may be transferred within or without the district upon motion of either party. (Section 201.) Removed proceedings may be transferred within or without the district upon motion of the defendant. (Section 303(a).)